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BARUCH SPINOZA

(1632-1677)



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A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'B Spinoza' in a cursive, flowing style.

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Version 1

The Collected Works of
BARUCH SPINOZA



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Collected Works of Baruch Spinoza



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The Books



Synagogue on Mr. Visserplein square, Amsterdam — Spinoza was born on 24 November 1632 in the Jodenbuurt in Amsterdam, Netherlands.



Spinoza lived where the Moses and Aaron Church is located today; it is likely that he was born there.



The Portuguese Synagogue in Jodenbuurt, Amsterdam, c. 1760



Die Jodenbreestraat, c. 1884



Statue of Spinoza, near his house on the Paviljoensgracht in The Hague

Short Treatise on God, Man and His Well-Being



Translated by A. Wolf

This early work was never published in Spinoza's lifetime, as he assumed with good reason that it would be suppressed. He began work on the small treatise in 1662, which "I have written on the question of the origin of things and a first cause", as he explained to a correspondent in the early months of that year. During this formative time of the philosopher's development, Spinoza had outlined the shape of a new philosophy regarding God, the human mind and nature. Recently, he had moved from Amsterdam to Rijnsburg, a small village just outside of Leiden, and he was enjoying the solitude of his new home. Rijnsburg was known for its religious tolerance, being located close to the university, where Spinoza had met friends and similar-minded thinkers. *Short Treatise on God, Man and His Well-Being* was written during this new phase of the author's life — at the time a devoted student of Cartesian philosophy, yet eager to set out on his own path of philosophical thought.

The only work by Spinoza to be written in Dutch, the rest being composed in Latin, the treatise foreshadows the structure of Spinoza's masterpiece, *Ethics*, opening with metaphysics and theology, before turning to epistemology and psychology, and culminating with ethics and religion. The treatise begins by proving God's existence, before discussing the roles of the senses, reason and the passions in human conduct, finally concluding with a eulogy to the life devoted to the love of God, while achieving a comprehensive understanding of Nature.



Portrait of Baruch de Spinoza by an unknown artist, c. 1665

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Spinoza's house in Rijnsburg from 1661 to 1663, which operates today as a museum



Portrait of René Descartes by Frans Hals, c. 1648 — Descartes (1596-1650) was a French philosopher, mathematician and scientist, whose work had a major influence on Spinoza's thinking.

SHORT TREATISE ON GOD, MAN, AND HIS WELL-BEING



PREVIOUSLY WRITTEN IN the Latin tongue by B.D.S. for the use of his disciples who wanted to devote themselves to the study of Ethics and true Philosophy. And now translated into the Dutch language for the use of the Lovers of Truth and Virtue: so that they who spout so much about it, and put their dirt and filth into the hands of simpletons as though it were ambergris, may just have their mouths stopped, and cease to profane what they do not understand: *God, themselves, and how to help people to have regard for each others well-being*, and how to heal those whose mind is sick, in a spirit of tenderness and tolerance, after the example of the Lord Christ, our best Teacher

ETHICA OR MORAL SCIENCE

COMPOSED IN TWO PARTS

WHICH TREAT

I. Of Gods Existence, and Attributes II. Of Man, with reference to the character and origin of his Passions, the use of his reason in this respect, and the means whereby he is educated to his Happiness and supreme freedom

Also an Appendix, containing a brief account of the nature of Substance — as well as that of the human Soul, and its union with the Body

COMPOSED BY

BENEDICTUS DE SPINOZA

FIRST PART. ON GOD



CHAPTER I. That God Exists



AS REGARDS THE first, namely, whether there is a God, this, we say, can be proved.

I. In the first place, a priori thus:

1. Whatever we clearly and distinctly know to belong to the nature of a thing, we can also truly affirm of that thing. Now we can know clearly and distinctly that existence belongs to the nature of God; (Understand the definite nature through which a thing is what it is, and which can by no means be removed from it without at the same time destroying that thing: thus, for instance, it belongs to the essence of a mountain that it should have a valley, or the essence of a mountain is that it has a valley; this is truly eternal and immutable, and must always be included in the concept of a mountain, even if it never existed, or did not exist now.)

Therefore...

Otherwise also thus:

2. The essence of things are from all eternity, and unto all eternity shall remain immutable; The existence of God is essence; Therefore...

II. A posteriori, thus:

If man has an idea of God, then God must exist *formaliter*; (From the definition which follows in chapter 2, namely, that God has infinite attributes, we can prove his existence thus: Whatever we clearly and distinctly see to belong to the nature of a thing, that we can also with truth affirm of that thing; now to the nature of a being that has infinite attributes belongs existence, which is an

attribute; therefore... To assert that this may well be affirmed of the idea, but not of the thing itself, is false: for the Idea does not really consist of the attribute which belongs to this being, so that that which is affirmed is [affirmed] neither of the thing, nor of that which is affirmed of the thing; so that there is a great difference between the Idea and the *Ideaturn* therefore what is affirmed of the thing is not affirmed of the Idea, and vice versa Now, man has an idea of God; Therefore...

The first we prove thus:

If there is an idea of God, then the cause thereof must exist *formaliter*, and contain in itself all that the idea has *objective*; Now there is an idea of God; Therefore...

In order to prove the first part of this argument we state the following principles, namely:

1. That the number of knowable things is infinite;
2. That a finite understanding cannot apprehend the infinite;
3. That a finite understanding, unless it is determined by something external, cannot through itself know anything; because, just as it has no power to know all things equally, so little also has it the power to begin or to commence to know this, for instance, sooner than that, or that sooner than this. Since, then, it can do neither the one nor the other it can know nothing.

The first (or the major premiss) is proved thus:

If the imagination of man were the sole cause of his ideas, then it would be impossible that he should be able to apprehend anything, but he can apprehend something; Therefore...

The first is proved by the first principle, namely, *that the knowable things are infinitely numerous*. Also, following the second principle, man cannot know all, because the human understanding is finite, and if not determined by external

things to know this sooner than that, and that sooner than this, then according to the third principle it should be impossible for it to know anything.

(Further, to say that this idea is a fiction, this also is false: for it is impossible to have this [idea] if it [the *ideatum*] does not exist; this is shown on pages 37-8, and we also add the following:

It is quite true that when an idea has first come to us from a particular thing, and we have generalised it *in abstracto*, then our understanding may fancy various things about it, and we can add to it many other attributes abstracted from other things. But it is impossible to do this without a prior knowledge of the things themselves from which these abstractions have been made. Once, however, it is assumed that this idea [of God] is a fiction, then all *other ideas* that we have must be fictions no less. If this is so, *whence* comes it that we find such a great difference among them? For as regards *some* we see that it is impossible they should exist; e g., all monsters supposed to be composed of two natures, such as an animal that should be both a bird and a horse, and the like, for which it is impossible to have a place in Nature, which we find differently constituted; *other ideas* may, but need not, exist; whether, however, they exist or do not exist, their essence is always necessary, such is the idea of a triangle, and that of the love in the soul apart from the body, etc, so that even if I at first thought that I had imagined these, I am nevertheless compelled afterwards to say that they are, and would be, the same no less even if neither I nor anybody had ever thought about them. They are, consequently, not merely imagined by me, and must also have outside me a *subjectum* other than myself, without which *subjectum* they cannot be. In addition to these there is yet *a third idea*, and it is an only one; this one carries with it necessary existence, and not, like the foregoing, the mere possibility of existence for, in the case of those, their essence was indeed necessary, but not their existence, while in its case, both its existence and its essence are necessary, and it is nothing without them. I therefore see now that the truth, essence, or existence of anything never depends on me: for, as was shown with reference to the second kind of ideas, they are what they are independently

of me, whether as regards their essence alone, or as regards both essence and existence. I find this to be true also, indeed much more so, of this third unique idea; not only does it not depend on me, but on the contrary, he alone must be the *subjectum* of that which I affirm of him. Consequently, if he did not exist, I should not be able to assert anything at all about him, although this can be done in the case of other things, even when they do not exist. He must also be, indeed, the *subjectum* of all other things.

From what has been said so far it is clearly manifest that the idea of infinite attributes in the perfect being is no fiction; we shall, however, still add the following. According to the foregoing consideration of Nature, we have so far not been able to discover more than two attributes only which belong to this all-perfect being. And these give us nothing adequate to satisfy us that this is all of which this perfect being consists, quite the contrary, we find in us *a something* which openly tells us not only of more, but of infinite perfect attributes, which must belong to this perfect being before he can be said to be perfect. And whence comes this idea of perfection? This *something* cannot be the outcome of these two [attributes]: for two can only yield two, and not an infinity. Whence then? From myself, never; else I must be able to give what I did not possess. Whence, then, but from the infinite attributes themselves which tell us *that* they are, without however telling us, at the same time, *what* they are; for only of two do we know what they are.)

From all this the second point is proved, namely, *that the cause of a man's ideas is not his imagination but some external cause, which compels him to apprehend one thing sooner than another*; and it is no other than this, that the things whose *essentia objectiva* is in his understanding exist *formaliter*, and are nearer to him than other things. If, then, man has the idea of God, it is clear that God must exist *formaliter*, though not *eminenter*, as there is nothing more real or more excellent beside or outside him. Now, that man has the idea of God, this is clear, because he knows his attributes, which attributes cannot be derived from [man] himself, because he is imperfect. And that he knows these attributes is

evident from this, namely, that he knows that the infinite cannot be obtained by putting together divers finite parts; that there cannot be two infinities, but *only one*; that it is perfect and immutable, for we know that nothing seeks, of itself, its own annihilation, and also that it cannot change into anything better, because it is perfect, which it would not be in that case, or also that such a being cannot be subjected to anything outside it, since it is omnipotent, and so forth.

From all this, then, it follows clearly that we can prove both a priori and a posteriori that God exists. Better, indeed, a priori. For things which are proved in the latter way [a posteriori] must be proved through their external causes, which is a manifest imperfection in them, inasmuch as they cannot make themselves known through themselves, but only through external causes. God, however, who is the first cause of all things, and also the cause of himself [*causa sui*], makes himself known through himself. Hence one need not attach much importance to the saying of Thomas Aquinas, namely, that God could not be proved a priori because he, forsooth, has no cause.

CHAPTER II. What God Is



NOW THAT WE have proved above *that* God is, it is time to show *what* he is. Namely, we say that he is *a being of whom all or infinite attributes are predicated of which attributes every one is infinitely perfect in its kind*. Now, in order to express our views clearly, we shall premise the four following propositions:

(The reason is this, since *Nothing* can have no attributes, the *All* must have all attributes, and just as *Nothing* has no attribute because it is Nothing, so that which is *Something* has attributes because it is *Something*. Hence, the more it is Something, the more attributes it must have, and consequently God being the most perfect, and all that is Anything, he must also have infinite, perfect, and all attributes)

1. That there is no finite substance, but that every substance must be infinitely perfect in its kind, that is to say, that in the infinite understanding of God no substance can be more perfect than that which already exists in Nature.

(Once we can prove that there can be no *Finite Substance*, then all *substance* must without limitation belong to the divine being. We do it thus: 1. It must either have limited itself or *some other* must have limited it. It could not have done so itself, because having been infinite it would have had to change its whole essence. Nor can it be limited by another, for this again must be either finite or infinite, the former is impossible, therefore the latter, therefore it [i.e., the other thing] is God. He must, then, have made it finite because he lacked either the power or the will [to make it infinite], but the first [supposition] is contrary to his omnipotence, the second is contrary to his goodness. 2. That *there can be no finite substance* is clear from this, namely, that, if so, it would necessarily have something which it

would have from Nothing, which is impossible. For whence can it derive that wherein it differs from God Certainly not from God, for he has nothing imperfect or finite, etc. So, whence then but from Nothing? Therefore there is no substance other than infinite. Whence it follows, *that there cannot be two like infinite substances*, for to posit such necessitates limitation. And from this, again, it follows *that one substance cannot produce another*; thus)

2. That there are not two like substances.

3. That one substance cannot produce another.

4. That in the infinite understanding of God there is no other substance than that which is *formaliter* in Nature.

As regards the first, namely, that there is no finite substance, etc., should any one want to maintain the opposite, we would ask the following question, namely, whether this substance is finite through itself, whether it has made itself thus finite and did not want to make itself less finite; or whether it is thus finite through its cause, which cause either could not or would not give more? The first [alternative] is not true, because it is impossible that a substance should have wanted to make itself finite, especially a substance which had come into existence through itself. Therefore, I say, it is made finite by its cause, which is necessarily God. Further, if it is finite through its cause, this must be so either because its cause could not give more, or because it would not give more. That he should not have been able to give more would contradict his omnipotence; that he should not have been willing to give more, when he could well do so, savours of ill-will, which is nowise in God, who is all goodness and perfection.

As regards the second, *that there are not two like substances*, we prove this on the ground that each substance is perfect in its kind; for if there were two alike they would necessarily limit one another, and would consequently not be infinite, as we have already shown before.

As to the third, namely, *that one substance cannot produce another*: should any one again maintain the opposite, we ask whether the cause, which is supposed to produce this substance, has or has not the same attributes as the produced [substance], The latter is impossible, because something cannot come from nothing; therefore the former. And then we ask whether in the attribute which is presumed to be the cause of this produced [substance], there is just as much perfection as in the produced substance, or less, or more. Less, we say, there cannot be, for the reasons given above. More, also not, we say, because in that case this second one would be finite, which is opposed to what has already been proved by us. Just as much, then; they are therefore alike, and are two like substances, which clearly conflicts with our previous demonstration. Further, that which is created is by no means produced from Nothing, but must necessarily have been produced from something existing. But that something should have come forth from this, and that it should nonetheless have this something even after it has issued from it, that we cannot grasp with our understanding. Lastly, if we would seek the cause of the substance which is the origin of the things which issue from its attribute, then it behoves us to seek also the cause of that cause, and then again the cause of that cause, *et sic in infinitum*; so that if we must necessarily stop and halt somewhere, as indeed we must, it is necessary to stop at this only substance.

As regards the fourth, *that there is no substance or attribute in the infinite understanding of God other than what exists “formaliter” in Nature*, this can be, and is, proved by us: (1) from the infinite power of God, since in him there can be no cause by which he might have been induced to create one sooner or more than another; (2) from the simplicity of his will; (3) because he cannot omit to do what is good, as we shall show afterwards; (4) because it would be impossible for that which does not now exist to come into existence, since one substance cannot produce another. And, what is more, in that case there would be more infinite substances not in existence than there are in existence, which is absurd. From all this it follows then: that of Nature all in all is predicated, and that consequently

Nature consists of infinite attributes, each of which is perfect in its kind. And this is just equivalent to the definition usually given of God.

Against what we have just said, namely, that there is no thing in the infinite understanding of God but what exists *formaliter* in Nature, some want to argue in this way: If God has created all, then he can create nothing more; but that he should be able to create nothing more conflicts with his omnipotence; therefore...

Concerning the first, we admit that God can create nothing more. And with regard to the second, we say that we own, if God were not able to create all that could be created, then it would conflict with his omnipotence; but that is by no means the case if he cannot create what is self-contradictory; as it is, to say that he has created all, and also that he should be able to create still more. Assuredly it is a far greater perfection in God that he has created all that was in his infinite understanding than if he had not created it, or, as they say, if he had never been able to create it. But why say so much about it? Do they not themselves argue thus or must they not argue thus from God's omniscience: If God is omniscient then he can know nothing more; but that God can know nothing more is incompatible with his perfection; therefore...? But if God has all in his understanding, and, owing to his infinite perfection, can know nothing more, well then, why can we not say that he has also created all that he had in his understanding, and has made it so that it exists or should exist *formaliter* in Nature?

Since, then, we know that all alike is in the infinite understanding of God, and that there is no cause why he should have created this sooner and more than that, and that he could have produced all things in a moment, so let us see, for once, whether we cannot use against them the same weapons which they take up against us; namely, thus:

If God can never create so much that he cannot create more, then he can never create what he can create; but that he cannot create what he can create is self-contradictory. Therefore...

Now the reasons why we said that all these attributes, which are in Nature, are but one single being, and by no means different things (although we can know them clearly and distinctly the one without the other, and the other without another), are these:

1. Because we have found already before that there must be an infinite and perfect being, by which nothing else can be meant than such a being of which all in all must be predicated. Why? [Because] to a being which has any essence attributes must be referred, and the more essence one ascribes to it, the more attributes also must one ascribe to it, and consequently if a being is infinite then its attributes also must be infinite, and this is just what we call a perfect being.

2. Because of the unity which we see everywhere in Nature. If there were different beings in it then it would be impossible for them to unite with one another.

3. Because although, as we have already seen, one substance cannot produce another, and if a substance does not exist it is impossible for it to begin to exist, we see, nevertheless, that in no substance (which we nonetheless know to exist in Nature), when considered separately, is there any necessity to be real, since existence does not pertain to its separate essence. So it must necessarily follow that Nature, which results from no causes, and which we nevertheless know to exist, must necessarily be a perfect being to which existence belongs.

From all that we have so far said it is evident, then, that we posit extension as an attribute of God; and this seems not at all appropriate to a perfect being: for since extension is divisible, the perfect being would have to consist of parts, and this is altogether inapplicable to God, because he is a simple being. Moreover, when extension is divided it is passive, and with God (who is never passive, and cannot be affected by any other being, because he is the first efficient cause of all) this can by no means be the case.

To this we reply: (1) that “part” and “whole” are not true or real entities, but only “things of reason,” and consequently there are in Nature neither whole nor parts. (2) A thing composed of different parts must be such that the parts thereof, taken separately, can be conceived and understood one without another. Take, for instance, a clock which is composed of many different wheels, cords, and other things; in it, I say, each wheel, cord, etc., can be conceived and understood separately, without the composite whole being necessary thereto. Similarly also in the case of water, which consists of straight oblong particles, each part thereof can be conceived and understood, and can exist without the whole; but extension, being a substance, one cannot say of it that it has parts, since it can neither diminish nor increase, and no parts thereof can be understood apart, because by its nature it must be infinite. And that it must be such, follows from this, namely, because if it were not such, but consisted of parts, then it would not be infinite by its nature, as it is said to be; and it is impossible to conceive parts in an infinite nature, since by their nature all parts are finite.’ Add to this still: if it consisted of different parts then it should be intelligible that supposing some parts thereof to be annihilated, extension might remain all the same, and not be annihilated together with the annihilation of some of its parts; this is clearly contradictory in what is infinite by its own nature and can never be, or be conceived, as limited or finite. Further, as regards the parts in Nature, we maintain that division, as has also been said already before, never takes place in substance, but always and only in the mode of substance. Thus, if I want to divide water, I only divide the mode of substance, and not substance itself. And whether this mode is that of water or something else it is always the same.

Division, then, or passivity, always takes place in the mode; thus when we say that man passes away or is annihilated, then this is understood to apply to man only insofar as he is such a composite being, and a mode of substance, and not the substance on which he depends.

Moreover, we have already stated, and we shall repeat it later, that outside God there is nothing at all, and that he is an *Immanent Cause*. Now, passivity,

whenever the agent and the patient are different entities, is a palpable imperfection, because the patient must necessarily be dependent on that which has caused the passivity from outside; it has, therefore, no place in God, who is perfect. Furthermore, of such an agent who acts in himself it can never be said that he has the imperfection of a patient, because he is not affected by another; such, for instance, is the case with the understanding, which, as the philosophers also assert, is the cause of its ideas, since, however, it is an immanent cause, what right has one to say that it is imperfect, howsoever frequently it is affected by itself? Lastly, since substance is [the cause] and the origin of all its modes, it may with far greater right be called an agent than a patient. And with these remarks we consider all adequately answered.

It is further objected, that there must necessarily be a first cause which sets body in motion, because when at rest it is impossible for it to set itself in motion. And since it is clearly manifest that rest and motion exist in Nature, these must, they think, necessarily result from an external cause. But it is easy for us to reply to this; for we concede that, if body were a thing existing through itself, and had no other attributes than length, breadth, and depth, then, if it really rested there would be in it no cause whereby to begin to move itself; but we have already stated before *that Nature is a being of which all attributes are predicated*, and this being so, it can be lacking in nothing wherewith to produce all that there is to be produced.

Having so far discussed what God is, we shall say but a word, as it were, about his attributes: that those which are known to us consist of two only, namely, *Thought* and *Extension*; for here we speak only of attributes which might be called the *proper attributes* of God, through which we come to know him [as he is] in himself, and not [merely] as he acts [towards things] outside himself. All else, then, that men ascribe to God beyond these two attributes, all that (if it otherwise pertains to him) must be either an “extraneous denomination,” such as *that he exists through himself*, is *Eternal*, *One*, *Immutable*, etc., or, I say, has reference to his activity, such as that he is a *cause*, *predestines*, and *rules* all

things: all which are properties of God, but give us no information as to what he is. But how and in what manner these attributes can nevertheless have a place in God we shall explain in the following chapters. But, for the better understanding of this and in further exposition thereof, we have thought it well and have decided to add the following arguments consisting of a [Dialogue].

First Dialogue. Between the Understanding, Love, Reason, and Desire



LOVE: I SEE, Brother, that both my essence and perfection depend on your perfection; and since the perfection of the object which you have conceived is your perfection, while from yours again mine proceeds, so tell me now, I pray you, whether you have conceived such a being as is supremely perfect, not capable of being limited by any other, and in which I also am comprehended.

UNDERSTANDING: I for my part consider Nature only in its totality as infinite, and supremely perfect, but you, if you have any doubts about it, ask Reason, she will tell you.

REASON: TO me the truth of the matter is indubitable, for if we would limit Nature then we should, absurdly enough, have to limit it with a mere Nothing we avoid this absurdity by stating that it is *One Eternal Unity, infinite, omnipotent*, etc., that is, that Nature is infinite and that all is contained therein; and the negative of this we call Nothing.

DESIRE: Ah indeed! It is wondrously congruous to suppose that *Unity* is in keeping with the *Difference* which I observe everywhere in Nature. But how? I see that thinking substance has nothing in common with *extended substance*, and that the one limits [not] the other; and if, in addition to these substances, you want to posit yet a third one which is perfect in all respects, then look how you involve yourself in manifest contradictions; for if this third one is placed outside the first two, then it is wanting in all the attributes which belong to those two, but this can never be the case with a whole outside of which there is nothing. Moreover if this being is omnipotent and perfect, then it must be such because it has made itself, and not because another has made it; that, however, which could produce both itself and yet another besides would be even more omnipotent. And lastly, if you

call it omniscient then it is necessary that it should know itself; and, at the same time, you must know that the knowledge of oneself alone is less than the knowledge of oneself together with the knowledge of other substances. All these are manifest contradictions. I would, therefore, have advised Love to rest content with what I show her, and to look about for no other things.

LOVE: What now, O dishonourable one, have you shown me but what would result in my immediate ruin. For, if I had ever united myself with what you have shown me, then from that moment I should have been persecuted by the two archenemies of the human race, namely, *Hatred* and *Remorse*, and sometimes also by

Oblivion; and therefore I turn again to Reason only to proceed and stop the mouths of these foes.

REASON: What you say, O Desire, that there are different substances, that, I tell you, is false; for I see clearly that there is but *One, which exists through itself, and is a support to all other attributes*. And if you will refer to the material and the mental as substances, in relation to the modes which are dependent on them, why then, you must also call them modes in relation to the substance on which they depend: for they are not conceived by you as existing through themselves. And in the same way that willing, feeling, understanding, loving, etc., are different modes of that which you call a thinking substance, in which you bring together and unite all these in one, so I also conclude, from your own proofs, that *Both Infinite Extension and Thought together with all other infinite attributes* (or, according to your usage, other *substances*) are only modes of the *One, Eternal, Infinite Being, who exists through himself*; and from all these we posit, as stated, *An Only One* or a *Unity* outside which nothing can be imagined to be.^o

DESIRE: Methinks I see a very great confusion in this argument of yours; for, it seems you will have it that *the whole must be something outside of or apart from its parts*, which is truly absurd. For all philosophers are unanimous in saying that “*whole*” is a second notion, and that it is nothing in Nature apart from human thought. Moreover, as I gather from your example, you confuse *whole* with *cause*:

for, as I say, the whole only consists of and [exists] through its parts, and so it comes that you represent the *thinking power* as a thing on which the Understanding, Love, etc., depend. But you cannot call it a *Whole*, only a *Cause of the Effects* just named by you.

REASON: I see decidedly how you muster all your friends against me, and that, after the method usually adopted by those who oppose the truth, you are designing to achieve by quibbling what you have not been able to accomplish with your fallacious reasoning. But you will not succeed in winning Love to your side by such means. Your assertion, then, is, *that the cause (since it is the Originator of the effects) must therefore be outside these*. But you say this because you only know of the *transeunt* and not of the *immanent cause*, which by no means produces anything outside itself, as is exemplified by the Understanding, which is the cause of its ideas. And that is why I called the understanding (insofar as, or because, its ideas depend on it) a *cause*; and on the other hand, since it consists of its ideas, a *whole*: so also *God is both an Immanent Cause with reference to his works or creatures, and also a whole, considered from the second point of view*.

Second Dialogue. Between Erasmus and Theophilus Relating Partly to the Preceding, Partly to the Following Second Part



ERASMUS: I HAVE heard you say, Theophilus, that God is a *cause of all things*, and, at the same time, that he can be *no other* than an *Immanent* cause. Now, if he is an *immanent cause of all things*, how then can you call him a *remote cause*? For, that is impossible in the case of an Immanent cause.

THEOPHILUS: When I said that God is a remote cause, I only said it with reference to the things [which God has produced mediately, and not with reference to those] which God (without any other conditions beyond his mere existence) has produced immediately; but on no account did I mean to call him a remote cause absolutely: as you might also have clearly gathered from my remarks. For, I also said that in some respects we can call him a remote cause.

ERASMUS: I understand now adequately what you want to say; but I note also that you have said, *that the effect of the immanent cause remains united with its cause in such a way that together they constitute a whole*. Now, if this is so, then, methinks, God cannot be an immanent cause. For, if he and that which is produced by him together form a whole, then you ascribe to God at one time more essence than at another time. I pray you, remove these doubts for me.

THEOPHILUS: If, Erasmus, you want to extricate yourself from this confusion, then mark well what I am going to tell you now. The essence of a thing does not increase through its union with another thing with which it constitutes a whole; on the contrary, the first remains unchanged. I will give you an illustration, so that you may understand me the better. An image-carver has made from wood various forms after the likeness of the parts of the human body; he takes one of these, which has the form of a human breast, joins it to another, which has the form of a human head, and of these two he makes a whole, which represents the

upper part of a human body; would you therefore say that the essence of the head has increased because it has been joined to the breast? That would be erroneous, because it is the same that it was before. For the sake of greater clearness let me give you another illustration, namely, an idea that I have of a triangle, and another resulting from an extension of one of the angles, which extended or extending angle is necessarily equal to the two interior opposite angles, and so forth. These, I say, have produced a new idea, namely, that the three angles of the triangle are equal to two right angles. This idea is so connected with the first, that it can neither be, nor be conceived without the same. Mark well now that although the new idea is joined to the preceding one, the essence of the preceding idea does not undergo any change in consequence; on the contrary, it remains without the slightest change. The same you may also observe in every idea which produces love in itself: this love in no way adds to the essence of the idea. But why multiply illustrations? since you can see it clearly in the subject which I have been illustrating and which we are discussing now. I have distinctly stated that all attributes, which depend on no other cause, and whose definition requires no genus pertain to the essence of God; and since the created things are not competent to establish an attribute, they do not increase the essence of God, however intimately they become united to him. Add to this, that “whole” is but a thing of Reason, and does not differ from the general except in this alone that the general results from various Disconnected individuals, the Whole, from various United individuals; also in this, that the General only comprises parts of the same kind, but the Whole, parts both the same and different in kind.

ERASMUS: SO far as this is concerned you have satisfied me. But, in addition to this, you have also said, that *the effect of the inner cause cannot perish so long as its cause lasts*; this, I well see, is certainly true, but if this is so, then how can God be an inner cause of all things, seeing that many things perish? After your previous distinction you will say, that *God is really a cause of the effects which he has produced immediately, without any other conditions except his attributes alone; and that these cannot perish so long as their cause endures; but that you*

do not call God an inner cause of the effects whose existence does not depend on him immediately, but which have come into being through some other thing, except insofar as their causes do not operate, and cannot operate, without God, nor also outside him, and that for this reason also, since they are not produced immediately by God, they can perish. But this does not satisfy me. For I see that you conclude, that the human understanding is immortal, because it is a product which God has produced in himself. Now it is impossible that more than the attributes of God should have been necessary in order to produce such an understanding; for, in order to be a being of such supreme perfection, it must have been created from eternity, just like all other things which depend immediately on God. And I have heard you say so, if I am not mistaken. And this being so, how will you reconcile this without leaving over any difficulties?

THEOPHILUS: It is true, Erasmus, that the things (for the existence of which no other thing is required, except the attributes of God) which have been created immediately by him have been created from eternity. It is to be remarked, however, that although in order that a thing may exist there is required a special modification and a thing beside the attributes of God, for all that, God does not cease to be able to produce a thing immediately. For, of the necessary things which are required to bring things into existence, some are there in order that they should produce the thing, and others in order that the thing should be capable of being produced. For example, I want to have light in a certain room; I kindle a light, and this lights up the room through itself; or I open a window [shutter], now this act of opening does not itself give light, but still it brings it about that the light can enter the room. Likewise in order to set a body in motion another body is required that shall have all the motion that is to pass from it to the other. But in order to produce in us an idea of God there is no need for another special thing that shall have what is to be produced in us, but only such a body in *Nature* whose idea is necessary in order to represent God immediately. This you could also have gathered from my remarks: for I said that God is only known through himself, and not through something else. However, I tell you this, that so long as we have

not such a clear idea of God as shall unite us with him in such a way that it will not let us love anything beside him, we cannot truly say that we are united with God, so as to depend immediately on him. If there is still anything that you may have to ask, leave it for another time; just now circumstances require me to attend to other matters. Farewell.

ERASMUS: Nothing at present, but I shall ponder what you have just told me till the next opportunity. God be with you.

CHAPTER III. That God Is a Cause of All Things



WE SHALL NOW begin to consider those attributes [of God] which we called *Propia*. And, first of all, how God *is a cause of all things*.

Now, we have already said above *that one substance cannot produce another*; and *that God is a being of whom all attributes are predicated*; whence it clearly follows that all other things can by no means be, or be understood, apart from or outside him. Wherefore we may say with all reason *that God is a cause of all things*.

As it is usual to divide the efficient cause in eight divisions, let me, then, inquire how and in what sense *God* is a cause.

First, then, we say that he is an *emanative* or *productive cause of his works*; and, insofar as there is activity, *an active or operating cause*, which we regard as one and the same, because they involve each other.

Secondly, he is an *immanent*, and not a *transeunt cause*, since all that he produces is within himself, and not outside him, because there is nothing outside him.

Thirdly, God is a *free cause*, and not a *natural cause*, as we shall make clear and manifest when we come to consider *whether God can omit to do what he does*, and then it will also be explained wherein *true freedom* consists.

Fourthly, God is a cause *through himself*, and not *by accident*; this will become more evident from the discussion on Predestination.

Fifthly, God is a *principal cause of his works which he has created immediately*, such as movement in matter, etc.; in which there is no place for a subsidiary [instrumental] cause, since this is confined to particular things; as when he dries the sea by means of a strong wind, and so forth in the case of all particular things in Nature.

The subsidiary provoking cause is not [found] in God, because there is nothing outside him to incite him. The *predisposing cause*, on the other hand, is his perfection itself; through it he is a cause of himself, and, consequently, of all other things.

Sixthly, God alone is *the first or Initial cause*, as is evident from our foregoing proof.

Seventhly, God is also *a Universal cause*, but only insofar as he produces various things; otherwise this can never be predicated of him, as he needs no one in order to produce any results.

Eighthly, God is the *proximate cause* of the things that are infinite, and immutable, and which we assert to have been created immediately by him, but, in one sense, he is the remote cause of all particular things.

CHAPTER IV. On God's Necessary Activity



WE DENY THAT God can omit to do what he does, and we shall also prove it when we treat of Predestination; when we will show that all things necessarily depend on their causes. But, in the second place, this conclusion also follows from the perfection of God; for it is true, beyond a doubt, *that God can make everything just as perfect as it is conceived in his Idea*; and just as things that are conceived by him cannot be conceived by him more perfectly than he conceives them, so all things can be made by him so perfect that they cannot come from him in a more perfect condition. Again, when we conclude that God could not have omitted to do what he has done, we deduce this from his perfection; because, in God, it would be an imperfection to be able to omit to do what he does; we do not, however, suppose that there is a subsidiary provoking cause in God that might have moved him to action, for then he were no God.

But now, again, there is the controversy whether, namely, of all that is in his Idea, and which he can realise so perfectly, whether, I say, he could omit to realise anything, and whether such an omission would be a perfection in him. Now, we maintain that, since all that happens is done by God, it must therefore necessarily be predetermined by him, otherwise he would be mutable, which would be a great imperfection in him. And as this predetermination by him must be from eternity, in which eternity there is no before or after, it follows irresistibly that God could never have predetermined things in any other way than that in which they are determined now, and have been from eternity, and that God could not have been either before or without these determinations. Further, if God should omit to do anything, then he must either have some cause for it, or not; if he has, then it is necessary that he should omit doing it; if he has not, then it is necessary that he should not omit to do it; this is self-evident. Moreover, in a created thing it is a

perfection to exist and to have been produced by God, for, of all imperfection, nonexistence is the greatest imperfection; and since God desires the welfare and perfection of all things, it would follow that if God desired that a certain thing should not exist, then the welfare and perfection of this thing must be supposed to consist in its nonexistence, which is self-contradictory. That is why we deny *that God can omit to do what he does*. Some regard this as blasphemy, and as a belittling of God; but such an assertion results from a misapprehension of what constitutes *true freedom*; this is by no means what they think it is, namely, the ability to do or to omit to do something good or evil; but *true freedom is only, or no other than* [the status of being] *the first cause*, which is in no way constrained or coerced by anything else, and which through its perfection alone is the cause of all perfection; consequently, if God could omit to do this, he would not be perfect: for the ability to omit doing some good, or accomplishing some perfection in what he does, can have no place in him, except through defect.

That God alone is the only free cause is, therefore, clear not only from what has just been said, but also from this, namely, that there is no external cause outside him to force or constrain him; all this is not the case with created things.

Against this it is argued thus: The good is only good because God wills it, and this being so, he can always bring it about that evil should be good. But such reasoning is about as conclusive as if I said: It is because God wills to be God that he is God; therefore it is in his power not to be God, which is absurdity itself. Furthermore, when people do anything, and they are asked why they do it, their answer is, because it is what justice demands. If the question is then put, why justice, or rather the first cause of all that is just, makes such a demand, then the answer must be, because justice wills it so. But, dear me, I think to myself, could Justice really be other than just? By no means, for then it could not be Justice. Those, however, who say that God does all that he does because it is good in itself, these, I say, may possibly think that they do not differ from us. But that is far from being the case, since they suppose that there is something before God to

which he has duties or obligations, namely, a cause [through] which [God] desires that this shall be good, and, again, that that shall be just.

Then comes the further controversy, namely, whether God, supposing all things had been created by him in some other way from eternity, or had been ordered and predetermined to be otherwise than they now are, whether, I say, he would then be just as perfect as he is now. To this it may serve as an answer, that if Nature had, from all eternity, been made different from what it is now, then, from the standpoint of those who ascribe to God will and understanding, it would necessarily follow that God had a different will and a different understanding then, in consequence of which he would have made it different; and so we should be compelled to think that God has a different character now from what he had then, and had a different character then from what he has now; so that, if we assume he is most perfect now, we are compelled to say that he would not have been so had he created all things differently. All these things, involving as they do palpable absurdities, can in no way be attributed to God, who now, in the past, and unto all eternity, is, has been, and will remain immutable. We prove this also from the definition that we have given of a free cause, which is not one that can do or omit to do anything, but is only such as is not dependent on anything else, so that whatever God does is done and carried into effect by him as the freest cause. If, therefore, he had formerly made things different from what they are now, it would needs follow that he was at one time imperfect, which is false. For, since God is the first cause of all things, there must be something in him, through which he does what he does, and omits not to do it. Since we say that *Freedom* does not consist in [having the choice of] doing or not doing something, and since we have also shown that that which makes him [God] do anything can be nothing else than his own perfection, we conclude *that, had it not been that his perfection made him do all this, then the things would not exist, and could not come into existence, in order to be what they are now.* This is just like saying: *if God were imperfect then things would be different from what they are now.*

So much as regards the first [attribute]; we shall now pass on to the second attribute, which we call a *proprium* of God, and see what we have to say about it, and so on to the end.

CHAPTER V. On Divine Providence



THE SECOND ATTRIBUTE, which we call a *proprium* [of God] is his Providence, which to us is nothing else than the *striving* which we find in the whole of Nature and in individual things to maintain and preserve their own existence. For it is manifest that no thing could, through its own nature, seek its own annihilation, but, on the contrary, that every thing has in itself a striving to preserve its condition, and to improve itself. Following these definitions of ours we, therefore, posit a *general* and a *special providence*. The *general [providence]* is that through which all things are produced and sustained insofar as they are parts of the whole of Nature. The *special providence* is the striving of each thing separately to preserve its existence [each thing, that is to say], considered not as a part of Nature, but as a whole [by itself]. This is explained by the following example: All the limbs of man are provided for, and cared for, insofar as they are parts of man, this is *general* providence; while *special [providence]* is the striving of each separate limb (as a whole in itself, and not as a part of man) to preserve and maintain its own well-being.

CHAPTER VI. On Divine Predestination



THE THIRD ATTRIBUTE, we say, is divine predestination.

1. We proved before that God cannot omit to do what he does; that he has, namely, made everything so perfect that it cannot be more perfect.
2. And, at the same time, that without him nothing can be, or be conceived.

It remains to be seen now whether there are in Nature any accidental things, that is to say, whether there are any things which may happen and may also not happen. Secondly, whether there is any thing concerning which we cannot ask why it is.

Now that there are no accidental things we prove thus: That which has no cause to exist cannot possibly exist; that which is accidental has no cause: therefore..

The first is beyond all dispute; the second we prove thus: If any thing that is accidental has a definite and certain cause why it should exist, then it must necessarily exist; but that it should be both accidental and necessary at the same time, is self-contradictory; Therefore...

Perhaps some one will say, that *an accidental thing* has indeed no definite and certain cause, but an accidental one. If this should be so, it must be so either *in sensu diviso* or *in sensu composito*, that is to say, either the existence of the cause is accidental, and not its being a cause; or it is accidental that a certain thing (which indeed must necessarily exist in Nature) should be the cause of the occurrence of that accidental thing. However, both the one and the other are false.

For, as regards the first, if the accidental something is accidental because [the existence of] its cause is accidental, then that cause must also be accidental, because the cause which has produced it is also accidental, *et sic in infinitum*.

And since it has already been proved, *that all things depend on one single cause*, this cause would therefore also have to be accidental: which is manifestly false.

As regards the second: if the cause were no more compelled to produce one thing than another, that is, [if the cause were no more compelled] to produce this something than not to produce it, then it would be impossible at once both that it should produce it and that it should not produce it, which is quite contradictory.

Concerning the second [question raised] above, *whether there is no thing in Nature about which one cannot ask why it is*, this remark of ours shows that we have to inquire through what cause a thing is real; for if this [cause] did not exist it were impossible that the thing should exist. Now, we must look for this cause either in the thing or outside the thing. If, however, any one should ask for a rule whereby to conduct this inquiry, we say that none whatever seems necessary. For if existence pertains to the nature of a thing, then it is certain that we must not look outside it for its cause; but if such is not the case, then we must always look outside the thing for its cause. Since, however, the first pertains to God alone, it is thereby proved (as we have already also proved before) that God alone is the first cause of all things. From this it is also evident that this or that will of man (since the existence of the will does not pertain to its essence) must also have an external cause, by which it is necessarily caused; that this is so is also evident from all that we have said in this chapter; and it will be still more evident when, in the second part, we come to consider and discuss the freedom of man.

Against all this others object: how is it possible that God, who is said to be supremely perfect, and the sole cause, disposer, and provider of all, nevertheless permits such *confusion* to be seen everywhere in Nature? Also, why has he not *made man so as not to be able to sin*?

Now, in the first place, it cannot be rightly said that there is *confusion in Nature*, since nobody knows all the causes of things so as to be able to judge accordingly. This objection, however, originates in this kind of ignorance, namely, that they have set up general Ideas, with which, they think, particular things must

agree if they are to be perfect. These *Ideas*, they state, are in the understanding of God, as many of *Plato's* followers have said, namely, that these *general Ideas* (such as Rational, Animal, and the like) *have been created by God*; and although those who follow *Aristotle* say, indeed, that these things are not *real* things, only things of Reason, they nevertheless regard them frequently as [real] things, since they have clearly said that his providence does not extend to particular things, but only to kinds; for example, God has never exercised his providence over Bucephalus, etc., but only over the whole genus Horse. They say also that God has no knowledge of particular and transient things, but only of the general, which, in their opinion, are imperishable. We have, however, rightly considered this to be due to their ignorance. For it is precisely the particular things, and they alone, that have a cause, and not the general, because they are nothing.

God then is the cause of, and providence over, particular things only. If particular things had to conform to some other Nature, then they could not conform to their own, and consequently could not be what they truly are. For example, if God had made all human beings like Adam before the fall, then indeed he would only have created Adam, and no Paul nor Peter; but no, it is just perfection in God, that he gives to all things, from the greatest to the least, their essence, or, to express it better, that he has all things perfectly in himself.

As regards the other [objection], *why God has not made mankind so that they should not sin*, to this it may serve [as an answer], that whatever is said about sin is only said with reference to us, that is, as when we compare two things with each other, or [consider one thing] from different points of view. For instance, if someone has made a clock precisely in order to strike and to show the hours, and the mechanism quite fulfils the aims of its maker, then we say that it is good, but if it does not do so, then we say that it is bad, notwithstanding that even then it might still be good if only it had been his intention to make it irregular and to strike at wrong times.

We say then, in conclusion, that Peter must, as is necessary, conform to the Idea of Peter, and not to the Idea of *Man*; good and evil, or sin, these are only

modes of thought, and by no means things, or anything that has reality, as we shall very likely show yet more fully in what follows. For all things and works which are in Nature are perfect.

CHAPTER VII. On the Attributes



WHICH DO NOT PERTAIN TO GOD Here we shall take up the consideration of those attributes which are commonly attributed to God, but which, nevertheless, do not pertain to him; as also of those through which it is sought to prove the existence of God, though in vain; and also of the rules of accurate definition.

For this purpose, we shall not trouble ourselves very much about the ideas that people commonly have of God, but we shall only inquire briefly into what the Philosophers can tell us about it. Now these have defined God as *a being existing through or of himself, cause of all things, Omniscient, Almighty, eternal, simple, infinite, the highest good, of infinite compassion*, etc. But before we approach this inquiry, let us just see what admissions they make to us.

In the first place, they say that it is impossible to give a true or right definition of God, because, according to their opinion, there can be no definition except *per genus et differentiam*, and as God is not a species of any genus, he cannot be defined rightly, or according to the rules.

In the second place, they say that God cannot be defined, because the definition must describe the thing itself and also positively; while, according to their standpoint, our knowledge of God cannot be of a positive, but only of a negative kind; therefore no proper definition can be given of God.

They also say, besides, that God can never be proved a priori, because he has no cause, but only by way of probability, or from his effects.

Since by these assertions of theirs they admit sufficiently that their knowledge of God is very little and slight, let us now proceed to examine their definition.

In the first place, we do not see that they give us in it any *attribute* or attributes through which it can be known what the thing (God) is, but only some *propria* or properties which do, indeed, belong to a thing, but never explain what the thing is.

For although *self-subsisting, being the cause of all things, highest good, eternal and immutable*, etc., are peculiar to God alone, nevertheless, from those properties we cannot know what that being, to whom these properties pertain, is, and what attributes he has.

It is now also time for us to consider the things which they ascribe to God, and which do not, however, pertain to him, such as *omniscient, merciful, wise*, and so forth, which things, since they are only certain modes of the thinking thing, and can by no means be, or be understood without the substances whose modes they are, can, consequently, also not be attributed to him, who *is a Being subsisting without the aid of anything, and solely through himself* Lastly, they call him *the highest good*; but if they understand by it something different from what they have already said, namely, that God *is immutable, and a cause of all things*, then they have become entangled in their own thought, or are unable to understand themselves. This is the outcome of their misconception of good and evil, for they believe that man himself, and not God, is the cause of his sins and wickedness — which, according to what we have already proved, cannot be the case, else we should be compelled to assert that man is also the cause of himself. However, this will appear yet more evident when we come to consider the will of man.

It is necessary that we should now unravel their specious arguments wherewith they seek to excuse their ignorance in Theology.

First of all, then, they say *that a correct definition must consist of a “genus” and “differentia.”* Now, although all the Logicians admit this, I do not know where they get it from. And, to be sure, if this must be true, then we can know nothing whatever. For if it is through a definition consisting of *genus* and *differentia* that we can first get to know a thing perfectly, then we can never know perfectly the highest *genus*, which has no *genus* above it. Now then: If the highest *genus*, which is the cause of our knowledge of all other things, is not known, much less, then, can the other things be understood or known which are explained by that *genus*. However, since we are free, and do not consider ourselves in any

way tied to their assertions, we shall, in accordance with true logic, propose other rules of definition, namely, on the lines of our division of Nature.

Now we have already seen that the attributes (or, as others call them, substances) are things, or, to express ourselves better and more aptly, [constitute] a being which subsists through itself, and therefore makes itself known and reveals itself through itself.

As to the other things, we see that they are but modes of the attributes, without which also they can neither be, nor be understood. Consequently definitions must be of two kinds (or sorts):

1. The first, namely, are those of attributes, which pertain to a self-subsisting being, these need no genus, or anything, through which they might be better understood or explained: for, since they exist as attributes of a self-subsisting being, they also become known through themselves.

2. The second [kind of definitions] are those [of things] which do not exist through themselves, but only through the attributes whose modes they are, and through which, as their *genus*, they must be understood.

And this is [all that need be said] concerning their statement about definitions. As regards the other [assertion], namely, that God can [not] be known by us adequately, this has been sufficiently answered by D. des Cartes in his answers to the objections relating to these things, page 39.

And the third [assertion], namely, that God cannot be proved a priori, has also already been answered by us. Since God is the cause of himself, it is enough that we prove him through himself, and such a proof is also much more conclusive than the a posteriori proof, which generally rests only on external causes.

CHAPTER VIII . On Natura Naturans



HERE, BEFORE WE proceed to something else, we shall briefly divide the whole of Nature — namely, into *Natura naturans* and *Natura naturata*. By *Natura naturans* we understand a being that we conceive clearly and distinctly through itself, and without needing anything beside itself (like all the attributes which we have so far described), that is, God. The Thomists likewise understand God by it, but their *Natura naturans* was a being (so they called it) beyond all substances.

The *Natura naturata* we shall divide into two, a general, and a particular. The *general* consists of all the modes which depend immediately on God, of which we shall treat in the following chapter; the *particular* consists of all the particular things which are produced by the general mode. So that the *Natura naturata* requires some substance in order to be well understood.

CHAPTER IX. On Natura Naturata



NOW, AS REGARDS the *general Natura naturata*, or the modes, or creations which depend on, or have been created by, God immediately, of these we know no more than two, namely, *motion* in matter, and *the understanding* in the thinking thing.

(*Note.* — What is here said about motion in matter is not said seriously. For the Author still intends to discover the cause thereof, as he has already done to some extent a posteriori. But it can stand just as it is, because nothing is based upon it, or dependent thereon [B omits this note])

These, then, we say, have been from all eternity, and to all eternity will remain immutable. A work truly as great as becomes the greatness of the work-master.

All that specially concerns *Motion*, such as that it *has been from all eternity, and to all eternity will remain immutable; that it is infinite in its kind; that it can neither be, nor be understood through itself*, but only by means of Extension, — all this, I say, since it [Motion] more properly belongs to a treatise on Natural Science rather than here, we shall not consider in this place, but we shall only say this about it, that it is *a Son, Product, or Effect* created immediately by God.

As regards the *Understanding* in the thinking thing, this, like the first, is also a *Son, Product, or immediate Creation* of God, also created by him from all eternity, and remaining immutable to all eternity. It has but one function, namely, to understand clearly and distinctly all things at all times; which produces invariably an infinite or most perfect satisfaction, which cannot omit to do what it does. Although what we have just said is sufficiently self-evident, still, we shall prove it more clearly afterwards in our account of the Affects of the Soul, and shall therefore say no more about it here.

CHAPTER X. What Good and Evil



ARE IN ORDER to explain briefly what good and evil are in themselves, we shall begin thus: Some things are in our understanding and not in Nature, and so they are also only our own creation, and their purpose is to understand things distinctly: among these we include all relations, which have reference to different things, and these we call *Entia Rationis* [things of reason]. Now the question is, whether good and evil belong to the *Entia Rationis* or to the *Entia Realia* [real things]. But since good and evil are only relations, it is beyond doubt that they must be placed among the *Entia Rationis*; for we never say that something is good except with reference to something else which is not so good, or is not so useful to us as some other thing. Thus we say that a man is bad, only in comparison with one who is better, or also that an apple is bad, in comparison with another which is good or better.

All this could not possibly be said, if that which is better or good, in comparison with which it [the bad] is so called, did not exist.

Therefore, when we say that something is good, we only mean that it conforms well to the general Idea which we have of such things. But, as we have already said before, the things must agree with their particular Ideas, whose essence must be a perfect essence, and not with the general [Ideas], since in that case they would not exist.

As to confirming what we have just said, the thing is clear to us; but still, to conclude our remarks, we will add yet the following proofs:

All things which are in Nature, are either things or actions. Now good and evil are neither things nor actions. Therefore good and evil do not exist in Nature.

For, if good and evil are things or actions, then they must have their definitions. But good and evil (as, for example, the goodness of Peter and the

wickedness of Judas) have no definitions apart from the essence of Judas or Peter, because this alone exists in Nature, and they cannot be defined without their essence. Therefore, as above — it follows that good and evil are not things or actions which exist in Nature.

SECOND PART. ON MAN AND WHAT PERTAINS TO HIM



PREFACE



HAVING, IN THE first part, discoursed on God, and on the universal and infinite things, we shall proceed now, in the second part, to the treatment of particular and finite things; though not of all, since they are innumerable, but we shall only treat of those which concern man; and, in the first place, we shall consider here what man is, insofar as he consists of certain modes (contained in the two attributes which we have remarked in God). I say of certain *modes*, for I by no means think that man, insofar as he consists of spirit, soul, or body, is a *substance*. Because, already at the beginning of this book, we proved (1) that no substance can have a beginning; (2) that one substance cannot produce another; and lastly (3), that there cannot be two like substances.

As man has not been in existence from eternity, is finite, and is like many men, he can be no substance; so that all that he has of thought are only *modes of the attribute thought* which we have attributed to God. And, again, all that he has of form, motion, and other things, are likewise [modes] of *the other attribute which is attributed by us to God*.

And although from this, [namely,] that the nature of man can neither be, nor be understood without the attributes which we ourselves admit to constitute substance, some try to prove that man is a substance, yet this has no other ground than false suppositions. For, since the nature of matter or body existed before the form of this human body existed, that nature cannot be peculiar to the human body, because it is clear that during the time when man was not, it could never belong to the nature of man.

And what they set up as a fundamental principle, [namely,] *that that pertains to the nature of a thing, without which the thing can neither be, nor be understood*, we deny. For we have already shown *that without God no thing can*

be or be understood. That is, God must first be and be understood before these particular things can be and be understood. We have also shown that *genera* do not belong to the nature of definition, but that only such things as cannot exist without others, can also not be understood without these. This being so, what kind of a rule shall we, then, state, whereby it shall be known what belongs to the nature of a thing?

Well, the rule is this: That belongs to the nature of a thing, without which the thing can neither be, nor be understood; not merely so, however, but in such wise that the judgment must be convertible, that is, that the predicate can neither be, nor be understood without the thing. Of these modes, then, of which man consists, we shall begin to treat at the commencement of the following first chapter.

CHAPTER I. On Opinion, Belief, and Knowledge



TO BEGIN OUR consideration of the modes of which man consists, we shall state, (1) what they are, (2) their effects, and (3) their cause.

As regards the first, let us begin with those that are first known to us: namely, *certain ideas or the consciousness of the knowledge of ourselves, and of the things which are outside us.*

Now we get these ideas (1) either merely through belief (which belief arises either from experience, or from hearsay), (2) or, in the second place, we acquire them by way of a true belief, (3) or, thirdly, we have them as the result of clear and distinct conception.

The first is commonly subject to error.

The second and third, however, although they differ from one another, cannot err.

To make all this somewhat clearer and more intelligible, we shall give the following illustration taken from the Rule of Three.

Some one has just heard it said that if, in the Rule of Three, the second number is multiplied by the third, and then divided by the first, a fourth number will then be obtained which has the same relation to the third as the second has to the first. And notwithstanding the possibility that he who put this before him might have been lying, he still made his calculations accordingly, and he did so without having acquired any more knowledge of the Rule of Three than a blind man has of colour, so that whatever he may have said about it, he simply repeated as a parrot repeats what it has been taught.

Another, having a more active intelligence, is not so easily satisfied with mere hearsay, but tests it by some actual calculations, and when he finds that they agree with it, then he gives credence to it. But we have rightly said that this one also is

subject to error; for how can he possibly be sure that his experience of a few particulars can serve him as a rule for all?

A third, who is not satisfied with hearsay, because it may deceive, nor with experience of a few particulars, because this cannot possibly serve as a rule, examines it in the light of true Reason, which, when properly applied, has never deceived. This then tells him that on account of the nature of the proportion in these numbers it had to be so, and could not happen otherwise.

A fourth, however, having the clearest knowledge of all, has no need of hearsay, or experience, or the art of reasoning, because by his penetration he sees the proportion in all such calculations immediately.

CHAPTER II. What Opinion, Belief, and Clear Knowledge Are



WE COME NOW to the consideration of the effects of the different grades of knowledge, of which we spoke in the preceding chapter, and, in passing as it were, we shall explain what Opinion, Belief, and clear Knowledge are.

The first [kind of knowledge], then, we call *Opinion*, the second *Belief*, but the third is what we call *clear Knowledge*.

We call it *Opinion* because it is subject to error, and has no place when we are sure of anything, but only in those cases when we are said to guess and to surmise. The second we call *Belief*, because the things we apprehend only with our reason are not seen by us, but are only known to us through the conviction of our understanding that it must be so and not otherwise. But we call that *clear Knowledge* which comes, not from our being convinced by reasons, but from our feeling and enjoying the thing itself, and it surpasses the others by far.

After these preliminary remarks let us now turn to their effects. Of these we say this, namely, that from the first proceed all the “passions” which are opposed to good reason; from the second, the good desires; and from the third, true and sincere Love, with all its offshoots.

We thus maintain that Knowledge is the proximate cause of all the “passions” in the soul. For we consider it once for all impossible that any one, who neither thinks nor knows in any of the preceding ways and modes, should be capable of being incited to Love or Desire or any other mode of Will.

CHAPTER III. The Origin of Passion. Passion Due to Opinion



HERE, THEN, LET us see how, as we have said, the passions derive their origin from opinion. To do this well and intelligently we shall take some special ones, and prove what we say by using these as illustrations.

Let *Surprise*, then, be the first. This is found in one who knows a thing after the first manner [of Knowledge]; for, since from a few particulars he draws a conclusion which is general, he stands surprised whenever he sees anything that goes against his conclusion; like one who, having never seen any sheep except with short tails, is surprised at the sheep from Morocco which have long ones. So it is related of a peasant that he had persuaded himself that beyond his fields there were no others, but when he happened to miss a cow, and was compelled to go and look for her far away, he was surprised at the great number of fields that there were beyond his few acres. And, to be sure, this must also be the case with many Philosophers who have persuaded themselves that beyond this field or little globe, on which they are, there are no more [worlds] (because they have seen no others). But surprise is never felt by him who draws true inferences. This is the first.

The second is *Love*. Since this arises either from true ideas, or from opinion, or, lastly, from hearsay only, we shall see first how [it arises] from opinion, then how [it arises] from [true] ideas; for the first tends to our ruin, and the second to our supreme happiness; and then [we shall see how it arises] from the last.

As regards the first, it is certain that whenever any one sees, or thinks he sees, something good, he is always inclined to unite himself with it, and, for the sake of the good which he discerns therein, he chooses it as the best, outside which he then knows nothing better or more agreeable. Yet if ever it happens (as it mostly does happen in these things) that he gets to know something better than this good at present known to him, then his love changes immediately from the one (first) to

the other (second). All this we shall show more clearly when we treat of the freedom of man.

As to love from true ideas, since this is not the place to speak of it, we shall pass it over now, and speak of the third, and last, namely, the Love that comes from hearsay only. This we generally observe in the attitude of children to their father: because their father tells them that this or that is good they incline towards it, without knowing anything more about it. We see it also in those who from Love give their lives for the Fatherland, and also in those who from hearsay about something fall in love with it.

Next, Hatred, the exact opposite of love, arises from error which is the outcome of opinion. For when some one has come to the conclusion that a certain thing is good, and another happens to do something to the detriment of the same thing, then there arises in him a hatred against the one who did it, and this, as we shall explain afterwards, could never happen if the true good were known. For, in comparison with the true good, all indeed that is, or is conceived, is naught but wretchedness itself; and is not such a lover of what is wretched much more deserving of pity than of hatred?

Hatred, lastly, comes also from mere hearsay, as we see it in the Turks against Jews and Christians, in the Jews against the Turks and Christians, in the Christians against the Jews and Turks, etc. For, among all these, how ignorant is the one multitude of the religion and morals of the others!

Desire. Whether (as some will have it) it consists only in a longing or inclination to obtain what is wanting, or (as others will have it) to retain the things which we already enjoy, it is certain that it cannot be found to have come upon any one except for an apparent good [*sub specie boni*]. It is therefore clear that Desire, as also Love which we have already discussed, is the outcome of the first kind of knowledge. For if any one has heard that a certain thing is good, he feels a longing and inclination for the same, as may be seen in the case of an invalid who, through hearing the doctor say that such or such a remedy is good for his ailment, at once longs for the same, and feels a desire for it.

Desire arises also from experience, as may be seen in the practice of doctors, who when they have found a certain remedy good several times are wont to regard it as something unfailing.

All that we have just said of these, the same we can say of all other passions, as is clear to everyone. And as, in what follows, we shall begin to inquire which of them are rational, and which of them are irrational, we shall leave the subject now, and say no more about it.

What has now been said of these few though most important [passions] can also be said of all others; and with this we conclude the subject of the Passions which arise from Opinion.

CHAPTER IV. What Comes from Belief; and on the Good and Evil of Man



SINCE WE HAVE shown in the preceding chapter how the Passions arise from the error of Opinion, let us now see here the effects of the two other modes of Knowing. And first of all, [the effect] of what we have called True Belief.

This shows us, indeed, what a thing ought to be, but not what it really is. And this is the reason why it can never unite us with the object of our belief. I say, then, that it only teaches us what the thing ought to be, and not what it is; between these two there is a great difference. For, as we remarked *à propos* of the example taken from the rule of three, when any one can, by the aid of proportion, find a fourth number that shall be related to the third as the second is to the first, then (having used division and multiplication) he can say that the four numbers must be proportional; and although that is so, he speaks of it nonetheless as of a thing that is beyond him. But when he comes to see the proportion in the way which we have shown in the fourth example, then he says with truth that the thing is so, because then it is in him and not beyond him. Let this suffice as regards the first [effect].

The second effect of true belief is that it brings us to a clearer understanding, through which we love God, and thus it makes us intellectually aware of the things which are not in us, but outside us.

The third effect is, that it gives us the knowledge of good and evil, and shows us all the passions which should be suppressed. And as we have already said that the passions which come from opinion are liable to great evil, it is worth the pains to see how these also are sifted out by this second kind of knowledge, so that we may see what is good and what is bad in them.

To do so conveniently, let us, using the same method as before, look at them closely, so that we may know through it which of them should be chosen and which rejected. But, before proceeding to this, let us first state briefly what is the good and evil of man.

We have already said before that all things are necessarily what they are, and that *in Nature there is no good and no evil*. So that whatever we want man to be [in this respect] must refer to his kind, which is nothing else than a *thing of Reason*. And when we have conceived in our mind an Idea of a perfect man, it should make us look (when we examine ourselves) to see whether we have any means of attaining to such perfection.

Hence, then, whatever advances us towards perfection, we call good, and, on the contrary, what hinders, or also what does not advance us towards it, bad.

I must therefore, I say, conceive a perfect man, if I want to assert anything concerning the good and evil of man, because if I were to consider the good and evil of some individual man, say, e g., of Adam, I should be confusing a real thing (*ens reale*) with a thing of Reason (*ens Rationis*), which must be most scrupulously avoided by an upright *Philosopher*, for reasons which we shall state in the sequel, or on another occasion. Furthermore, since the destiny of Adam, or of any other individual creature, is not known to us except through the result, so it follows that what we can say even of the destiny of man must be based on the idea which our understanding forms of a perfect man, which destiny, since it is a thing of Reason, we may well know; so also, as already remarked, are good and evil, which are only modes of thinking.

To come gradually to the point: We have already pointed out before how the movement, passions, and activities of the soul arise from ideas, and these ideas we have divided into four kinds, namely, [according as they are based on] mere hearsay, experience, belief, clear knowledge. And from what we have now seen of the effects of all these, it is evident that the fourth, namely, clear knowledge, is the most perfect of all. For opinion often leads us into error. True belief is good only because it is the way to true knowledge, and awakens us to things which are really

lovable. So that the final end that we seek, and the highest that we know, is true knowledge. But even this true knowledge varies with the objects that come before it: the better the object is with which it happens to unite itself, so much the better also is this knowledge. And, for this reason, he is the most perfect man who is united with God (who is the most perfect being of all), and so enjoys him.

Now, in order to find out what is good and bad in the affects or passions, let us, as suggested, take them one by one. And first of all, *Surprise*. This, since it arises either from ignorance or prejudice, is an imperfection in the man who is subject to this perturbation. I say an imperfection, because, through itself, surprise does not lead to any evil.

CHAPTER V . On Love



LOVE, WHICH IS nothing else than the enjoyment of a thing and union therewith, we shall divide according to the qualities of its object; the object, that is, which man seeks to enjoy, and to unite himself with.

Now some objects are in themselves transient; others, indeed, are not transient by virtue of their cause. There is yet a third that is eternal and imperishable through its own power and might.

The transient are all the particular things which did not exist from all time, or have had a beginning.

The others are all those modes, which we have stated to be the cause of the particular modes.

But the third is God, or, what we regard as one and the same, *Truth*.

Love, then, arises from the idea and knowledge that we have of a thing; and according as the thing shows itself greater and more glorious, so also is our love greater.

In two ways it is possible to free ourselves from love: either by getting to know something better, or by discovering that the loved object, which is held by us to be something great and glorious, brings in its train much woe and disaster.

It is also characteristic of love that we never think of emancipating ourselves from it (as from surprise and other passions); and this for the following two reasons: (1) because it is impossible, (2) because it is necessary that we should not be released from the same.

It is *impossible* because it does not depend on us, but only on the good and useful which we discern in the object; it is necessary that these should never have become known to us, if we would not or should not love it; and this is not a

matter of our free choice, or dependent on us, for if we knew nothing, it is certain that we should also be nothing.

It is *necessary* that we should not be released from it, because, owing to the weakness of our nature, we could not exist without enjoying something with which we become united, and from which we draw strength.

Now which of these three kinds of objects are we to choose or to reject?

As regards the *transient* (since, as remarked, we must, owing to the weakness of our nature, necessarily love something and become united with it in order to exist), it is certain that our nature becomes nowise strengthened through our loving, and becoming united with, these, for they are weak themselves, and the one cripple cannot carry the other. And not only do they not advance us, but they are even harmful to us. For we have said *that love is a union with the object which our understanding judges to be good and glorious*; and by this we mean such a union whereby both the lover and what is loved become one and the same thing, or together constitute one whole. He, therefore, is indeed always wretched who is united to transient things. For, since these are beyond his power, and subject to many accidents, it is impossible that, when they are affected, he should be free from these affects. And, consequently, we conclude: If those who love transient things that have some measure of reality are so wretched, how wretched must they be who love honour, riches, and pleasures, which have no reality whatever!

Let this suffice to show us how Reason teaches us to keep away from things so fleeting. For what we have just said shows us clearly the poison and the evil which lurk concealed in the love of these things. But we see this yet incomparably clearer when we observe from what glorious and excellent a good we are kept away through the enjoyment of this.

We said before that the things which are transient are beyond our power. But let us be well understood; we do not mean to say that we are a free cause depending upon nothing else; only when we say that some things are in, others beyond our power, we mean by those that are in our power such as we can produce through the order of or together with Nature, of which we are a part; by

those which are not in our power, such as, being outside us, are not liable to suffer any change through us, because they are very far removed from our real essence as thus fashioned by Nature.

To proceed, we come now to the second kind of objects, which though eternal and imperishable, are not such through their own power. However, if we institute a brief inquiry here, we become immediately aware that these are only mere modes which depend immediately on God. And since the nature of these is such, they cannot be conceived by us unless we, at the same time, have a conception of God. In this, since he is perfect, our Love must necessarily rest. And, to express it in a word, if we use our understanding aright it will be impossible for us not to love God.

The Reasons why, are clear. *First of all*, because we find that God alone has essence only, and all other things are not essences but modes. And since the modes cannot be rightly understood without the entity on which they immediately depend; and [as] we have already shown before that if, when loving something, we get to know a better thing than that which we then love, we always prefer it immediately, and forsake the first; it follows, therefore, incontrovertibly that when we get to know God, who has all perfection in himself, we must necessarily love him.

Secondly, if we use our understanding well in acquiring a knowledge of things, then we must know them in [relation to] their causes. Now then, since God is a first cause of all other things, therefore, from the nature of the case (*ex rerum natura*), the knowledge of God is, and remains, before the knowledge of all other things: because the knowledge of all other things must follow from the knowledge of the first cause. And true love results always from the knowledge that the thing is glorious and good. What else, then, can follow but that it can be lavished upon no one more ardently than upon the Lord our God? For he alone is glorious, and a perfect good.

So we see now, how we can make love strong, and also how it must rest only in God.

What more we had still to say about love, we shall bear in mind to say it when we consider the last kind of knowledge. In what follows here we shall inquire, as we promised before, as to which of the passions we are to entertain, which we are to reject.

CHAPTER VI. On Hatred



HATRED IS AN inclination to ward off from us that which has caused us some harm. Now it is to be remarked that we perform our actions in two ways, namely, either with or without passion. With passion, as is commonly seen in the [conduct of] masters towards their servants who have done something amiss. Without passion, as is related of Socrates, who, when he was compelled to chastise his slave for [the latter's own] good, never did so when he felt that he was enraged against his slave.

Now that we see that our actions are performed by us either with, or without passion, we think that it is clear that those things which hinder or have hindered us can be removed, when necessary, without any perturbation on our part. And so, which is better: that we should flee from the things with aversion and hatred, or that, with the strength of reason, we should (for we think it possible) endure them without loss of temper? First of all, it is certain that when we do what we have to do without passion, then no evil can result therefrom. And, since there is no mean between good and evil, we see that, as it is bad to do anything in a passion, so it must be good to act without it.

But let us examine whether there is any harm in fleeing from things with hatred and aversion.

As regards the hatred which comes from opinion, it is certain that it should have no place in us, because we know that one and the same thing is good for us at one time, bad for us at another time, as is always the case with medicinal herbs.

It therefore depends, in the end, on whether the hatred arises in us only through opinion, and not also through true reasoning. But to ascertain this properly we deem it right to explain distinctly what hatred is, and to distinguish it from aversion.

Now I say that *Hatred* is a perturbation of the soul against some one who has done some ill to us willingly and knowingly. But *aversion* is the perturbation which arises in us against a thing on account of some infirmity or injury which we either know or think is in it by nature. I say, by nature; for when we do not suppose or think that it is so, then, even if we have suffered some hindrance or injury from it, we have no aversion for it, because we may, on the contrary, expect something useful from it. Thus, when someone is hurt by a stone or a knife, he does not on that account feel any aversion for the same.

After these observations let us now briefly consider the consequences of both of them. From hatred there ensues sorrow; and when the hatred is great, it produces anger, which not only, like hatred, seeks to flee from what is hated, but also to annihilate it, when that is practicable: from this great hatred comes also envy. But from aversion there comes a certain sorrow, because we consider ourselves to be deprived of something which, since it is real, must always have its essence and perfection.

From what has just been said it may be easily understood that, if we use our Reason aright, we can feel no hatred or aversion for anything, because, if we do, we deprive ourselves of that perfection which is to be found in everything. We see likewise with our Reason that we can never [reasonably] feel any hatred whatever against anybody, because whatsoever exists in Nature, if we entertain any wish about it, then we must always improve it, whether for our sake or for the sake of the thing itself. And since a perfect man is the best thing for us that we know of all that we have around us or before our eyes, it is by far the best both for us and for all people individually that we should at all times seek to educate them to this perfect state. For only then can we reap the greatest benefit from them, and they from us. The means thereto is, to give regard to them always in the manner in which we are constantly taught and exhorted to do by our good Conscience; for this never prompts us to our undoing, but always to our happiness and well-being.

In conclusion, we say that Hatred and Aversion have in them as many imperfections as Love, on the contrary, has perfections. For this always produces

improvement, invigoration, and enlargement, which constitute perfection; while Hatred, on the contrary, always makes for desolation, enervation, and annihilation, which constitute imperfection itself.

CHAPTER VII. On Joy and Sorrow



HAVING SEEN THAT Hatred and Surprise are such that we may freely say, that they can have no place in those who use their understanding as they should, we shall now proceed in the same manner to speak of the other passions. To begin with, Desire and Joy shall come first. Since these arise from the same causes from which love ensues, we shall only say concerning them that we must remember and call to mind what we then said; and with this we leave the subject.

We turn next to Sorrow, of which we may say that it arises only from opinion and imagination which follows therefrom: for it comes from the loss of some good.

Now we have already remarked above, that whatsoever we do should tend towards progress and amelioration. But it is certain that so long as we are sorrowing we render ourselves unfit to act thus; on this account it is necessary that we should free ourselves from it. This we can do by thinking of the means whereby we may recover what we have lost, if it is in our power to do so. If not, [we must reflect] that it is just as necessary to make an end of it, lest we fall a prey to all the miseries and disasters which sorrow necessarily brings in its train. And either course must be adopted with joy; for it is foolish to try to restore and make good a lost good by means of a self-sought and provoked evil.

Lastly, he who uses his understanding aright must necessarily know God first. Now God, as we have shown, is the highest good and all that is good. Hence it follows incontrovertibly, that one who uses his understanding aright can fall a prey to no sorrow. How should he? Since he finds repose in that good which is all that is good, and in which there is the fulness of all joy and contentment.

Sorrow, then, comes from opinion or want of understanding, as explained.

CHAPTER VIII. On Esteem and Contempt, Etc.



WE SHALL NOW proceed to speak of Esteem and Contempt, of Self-respect and Humility, of Conceit and Culpable Humility. We shall take them in the above order, and try to distinguish accurately what is good and what is bad in them.

Esteem and Contempt are felt insofar as we know a thing to be something great or small, be this great or little thing in us or outside us.

Self-respect does not extend [to anything] outside us, and is only attributed to one who knows the real worth of his perfection, dispassionately and without seeking esteem for himself.

Humility is felt when anyone knows his own imperfection, without regard to the contempt [of others] for himself; so that Humility does not refer to anything outside the humble man.

Conceit is this, when someone attributes to himself a perfection which is not to be found in him.

Culpable humility is this, when some one attributes to himself an imperfection which he has not. I am not speaking of those hypocrites who, without meaning it, humble themselves in order to deceive others; but only of those who really think they have the imperfections which they attribute to themselves.

From these observations it is sufficiently evident what good and evil there is in each of these passions. For, as regards Self-respect and Humility, these show their excellence through themselves. For we say that the possessor thereof knows his perfection and imperfection for what it is. And this, according to what Reason teaches us, is the most important thing for the attainment of our perfection. Because if we know exactly our powers and perfection, we see thereby clearly what it is we have to do in order to attain our good end. And, on the other hand, if we know our fault and frailty, then we know what we have to avoid.

As regards Conceit and Culpable Humility, the definition of them already shows sufficiently that they arise from a certain opinion; for we said that it [conceit] is attributed to one who ascribes to himself a certain perfection, although he does not possess it, and culpable humility is the precise opposite.

From what has just been said it is evident, then, that just as Self-respect and True Humility are good and salutary, so, on the contrary, Conceit and Culpable Humility are bad and pernicious. For those [Self-respect and True Humility] not only put their possessor into a very good attitude, but are also, besides, the right ladder by which we may rise to supreme bliss. But these [Conceit and Culpable Humility] not only prevent us from attaining to our perfection, but also lead us to utter ruin. Culpable Humility is what prevents us from doing that which we should otherwise have to do in order to become perfect; we see this, for instance, in the case of the Sceptics, who, just because they deny that man can attain to any truth, deprive themselves thereof through this very denial. Conceit on the other hand is what makes us undertake things which tend straight to our ruin; as is seen in the case of all those who had the conceit, and have the conceit, that they stood, and stand, wondrously well in the opinion of God, and consequently brave fire and water, and thus, avoiding no danger, and facing every risk, they die most miserably.

As regards Esteem and Contempt, there is no more to be said about them, we have only to recall to memory what we said before about Love.

CHAPTER IX. On Hope and Fear, Etc.



WE SHALL NOW begin to speak of Hope and Fear, of Confidence, Despair, and Vacillation, of Courage, Boldness and Emulation, of Pusillanimity and Timidity, and lastly of Jealousy, and, as is our wont, we shall take them one by one, and then indicate which of these can hinder us, and which can profit us. We shall be able to do all this very easily, if only we attend closely to the thoughts that we can have about a thing that is yet to come, be it good, be it bad.

The ideas which we have about things have reference either

1. To the things themselves; or,
2. To the person who has the ideas.

The ideas that we have as regards the thing itself are these, either the thing is regarded by us as accidental, that is as something which may come or may not come, or [we think] that it necessarily must come. So much as regards the thing itself.

Next, as regards him who thinks about the thing, the case is this: he must do something either in order to advance the thing, or in order to prevent it. Now from these thoughts all these passions result as follows: when we think that a certain thing which is yet to come is good and that it can happen, the soul assumes, in consequence of this, that form which we call *hope*, which is nothing else than a certain kind of joy, though mingled with some sorrow.

And, on the other hand, if we judge that that which may be coming is bad, then that form enters into our soul which we call *fear*.

If, however, the thing is regarded by us as good, and, at the same time, as something that necessarily must come, then there comes into the soul that repose which we call *confidence*; which is a certain joy not mingled with sorrow, as hope is.

But when we think that the thing is bad, and that it necessarily must come, then *despair* enters into the soul; which is nothing else than a certain kind of sorrow.

So far we have spoken of the passions considered in this chapter, and given positive definitions of the same, and have thus stated what each of them is; we may now proceed in a converse manner, and define them negatively. We *hope* that the evil may not come, we *fear* lest the good should not come, we are *confident* that the evil will not come, we *despair* because the good will not come.

Having said this much about the passions insofar as they arise from our thoughts concerning the thing itself, we have now to speak of those which arise from the thoughts relating to him who thinks about the thing; namely:

If something must be done in order to bring the thing about, and we come to no decision concerning it, then the soul receives that form which we call *vacillation*. But when it makes a manly resolve to produce the thing, and this can be brought about, then that is called *courage*; and if the thing is difficult to effect, then that is called *intrepidity* or *bravery*.

When, however, some one decides to do a thing because another (who had done it first) has met with success, then we call it *emulation*. Lastly, if any one knows what he must decide to do in order to advance a good thing, and to hinder a bad one, and yet does not do so, then we call it *pusillanimity*; and when the same is very great, we call it *timidity*. Lastly, *jealousness* or *jalousie* is the anxiety which we feel that we may have the sole enjoyment and possession of something already acquired.

Since we know now whence these passions originate, it will be very easy for us to show which of them are good, and which are bad.

As regards Hope, Fear, Confidence, Despair, and Jealousy, it is certain that they arise from a wrong opinion. For, as we have already shown above, all things

have their necessary causes, and must necessarily happen just as they do happen. And although Confidence and Despair seem to have a place in the inviolable order and sequence of causes or to confirm the same, yet (when the truth of the matter is rightly looked into) that is far from being the case. For Confidence and Despair never arise, unless Hope and Fear (from which they derive their being) have preceded them. For example, if any one thinks that something, for which he still has to wait, is good, then he receives that form in his soul which we call Hope; and when he is confident about the acquisition of the supposed good, his soul gains that repose which we call Confidence. What we are now saying about Confidence, the same must also be said about Despair. But, according to that which we have said about Love, this also can have no place in a perfect man: because they presuppose things which, owing to the mutability to which they are subject (as remarked in our account of Love), we must not become attached to; nor (as shown in our account of Hatred) may we even have an aversion to them. The man, however, who persists in these passions is at all times subject to such attachment and aversion.

As regards Vacillation, Pusillanimity, and Timidity, these betray their imperfection through their very character and nature: for whatsoever they do to our advantage comes only negatively from the effects of their nature. For example, some one hopes for something which he thinks is good, although it is not good, yet, owing to his Vacillation or Pusillanimity, he happens to lack the courage necessary for its realisation, and so it comes about that he is negatively or by accident saved from the evil which he thought was good. These Passions, therefore, can also have no place whatever in the man who is guided by true Reason.

Lastly, as regards Courage, Boldness, and Emulation, about these there is nothing else to be said than that which we have already said about Love and Hatred.

CHAPTER X. On Remorse and Repentance



ON THE PRESENT occasion we shall speak, though briefly, about *remorse* and *repentance*. These never arise except as the result of rashness; because *remorse* comes only from this, that we do something about which we are then in doubt whether it is good, or whether it is bad; and *repentance*, from this, that we have done something which is bad.

And since many people (who use their understanding aright) sometimes (because they lack that habitual readiness which is required in order that the understanding may at all times be used aright) go astray, it might perchance be thought that such Remorse and Repentance might soon set them right again, and thence it might be inferred, as the whole world does infer, that they are good. If, however, we will get a proper insight into them, we shall find that they are not only not good, but that they are, on the contrary, pernicious, and that they are consequently bad. For it is obvious that we always succeed better through Reason and the love of truth than through remorse and sorrow. They are, therefore, pernicious and bad, because they are a certain kind of sorrow, which [sorrow] we have already shown above to be injurious, and which, for that reason, we must try to avert as an evil, and consequently we must likewise shun and flee from these also, which are like it.

CHAPTER XI. On Derision and Jest



DERISION AND JESTING rest on a false opinion, and betray an imperfection in him who derides and jests.

The opinion on which they rest is false, because it is supposed that he who is derided is the first cause of the effects which he produces, and that they do not necessarily (like the other things in Nature) depend on God. They betray an imperfection in the Derider; because either that which is derided is such that it is derisible, or it is not such. If it is not such, then it shows bad manners, to deride that which is not to be derided; if it is such, then they [who deride it] show thereby that they recognise some imperfection in that which they deride, which they ought to remedy, not by derision, but much rather by good reasoning.

Laughter does not refer to another, but only to the man who observes some good in himself; and since it is a certain kind of Joy, there is nothing else to be said about it than what has already been said about Joy. I speak of such laughter as is caused by a certain Idea which provokes one to it, and not at all of such laughter as is caused by the movement of the [vital] spirits; as to this (since it has no reference to good or to evil) we had no intention to speak of it here.

As to Envy, Anger, Indignation, we shall say nothing about them here, but only just refer back to what we have already said above concerning hatred.

CHAPTER XII. On Glory, Shame, and Shamelessness



WE SHALL NOW also briefly consider *glory*, *shame*, and *shamelessness*. The first is a certain kind of Joy which every one feels in himself whenever he becomes aware that his conduct is esteemed and praised by others, without regard to any other advantage or profit which they may have in view.

Shame is a certain kind of sorrow which arises in one when he happens to see that his conduct is despised by others, without regard to any other disadvantage or injury that they may have in view.

Shamelessness is nothing else than a want, or shaking off, of shame, not through Reason, but either from innocence of shame, as is the case with children, savage people, etc., or because, having been held in great contempt, one goes now to any length without regard for anything.

Now that we know these passions, we also know, at the same time, the vanity and imperfection which they have in them. For Glory and Shame are not only of no advantage, because of what we have observed in their definitions, but also (inasmuch as they are based on self-love, and on the opinion that man is the first cause of his action, and therefore deserving of praise and blame) they are pernicious and must be rejected.

I will not, however, say that one ought to live among men in the same way that one would live away from them, where Glory and Shame have no place; quite the contrary, I admit that we are not only free to utilise them, when we apply them in the service of mankind and for their amelioration, but that we may even do so at the price of curtailing our own (otherwise perfect and legitimate) freedom. For example: if any one wears costly clothes in order to be respected, he seeks a Glory which results from his self-love without any consideration for his fellow-men; but when some one observes that his wisdom (wherewith he can be of

service to his neighbours) is despised and trampled under foot simply because he is dressed in shabby clothes, then he will do well if (from the motive to help them) he provides himself with clothes to which they cannot take exception, thereby becoming like his fellow-man in order that he may win over his fellow-man.

Further, as regards Shamelessness, this shows itself to be such that in order to see its deformity all that we need is merely its definition, and that will be enough for us.

CHAPTER XIII. On Favour, Gratitude, and Ingratitude



NOW FOLLOWS [THE consideration] of *favour*, *gratitude*, and *ingratitude*. As regards the first two, they are the inclinations which the soul has to wish and to do some good to one's neighbour. I say, to wish, [this happens] when good is returned to one who has done some good; I say, to do, [this is the case] when we ourselves have obtained or received some good.

I am well aware that almost all people consider these affects to be good; but, notwithstanding this, I venture to say that they can have no place in a perfect man. For a perfect man is moved to help his fellow-man by sheer necessity only, and by no other cause, and therefore he feels it all the more to be his duty to help the most godless, seeing that his misery and need are so much greater.

Ingratitude is a disregard or shaking off of Gratitude, as Shamelessness is of Shame, and that without any rational ground, but solely as the result either of greed or of immoderate self-love; and that is why it can have no place in a perfect man.

CHAPTER XIV. On Grief



GRIEF SHALL BE the last of which we shall speak in our treatment of the passions, and with it we will conclude. Now grief is a certain kind of sorrow arising from the contemplation of some good which we have lost, and [lost] in such a way that there is no hope of recovering the same. It makes its imperfection so manifest that as soon as we only examine it we think it bad. For we have already shown above that it is bad to bind and link ourselves to things which may easily, or at some time, fail us, and which we cannot have when we want them. And since it is a certain kind of sorrow, we have to shun it, as we have already remarked above, when we were treating of sorrow.

I think, now, that I have already shown and proved sufficiently that it is only True Belief or Reason that leads us to the knowledge of good and evil. And so when we come to prove that Knowledge is the first and principal cause of all these passions, it will be clearly manifest that if we use our understanding and Reason aright, it should be impossible for us ever to fall a prey to one of these passions which we ought to reject. I say our *Understanding*, because I do not think that Reason alone is competent to free us from all these: as we shall afterwards show in its proper place.

We must, however, note here as an excellent thing about the passions, that we see and find that all the passions which are good are of such kind and nature that we cannot be or exist without them, and that they belong, as it were, to our essence; such is the case with Love, Desire, and all that pertains to love.

But the case is altogether different with those which are bad and must be rejected by us; seeing that we cannot only exist very well without these, but even that only then, when we have freed ourselves from them, are we really what we ought to be.

To give still greater clearness to all this, it is useful to note that the foundation of all good and evil is *Love bestowed on a certain object*: for if we do not love that object which (*nota bene*) alone is worthy of being loved, namely, God, as we have said before, but things which through their very character and nature are transient, then (since the object is liable to so many accidents, ay, even to annihilation) there necessarily results hatred, sorrow, etc., according to the changes in the object loved. Hatred, when any one deprives him of what he loves. Sorrow, when he happens to lose it. Glory, when he leans on self-love. Favour and Gratitude, when he does not love his fellow-man for the sake of God.

But, in contrast with all these, when man comes to love God who always is and remains immutable, then it is impossible for him to fall into this welter of passions. And for this reason we state it as a fixed and immovable principle that God is the first and only cause of all our good and delivers us from all our evil.

Hence it is also to be noted lastly, that only Love, etc., are limitless: namely, that as it increases more and more, so also it grows more excellent, because it is bestowed on an object which is infinite, and can therefore always go on increasing, which can happen in the case of no other thing except this alone. And, maybe, this will afterwards give us the material from which we shall prove the immortality of the soul, and how or in what way this is possible.

Having so far considered all that the third kind of effect of true belief makes known we shall now proceed to speak, in what follows, of the fourth, and last, effect which was not stated by us on page 67.

CHAPTER XV. On the True and the False



LET US NOW examine the *true* and the *false*, which indicate to us the fourth, and last, consequence of true belief. Now, in order to do this, we shall first state the definitions of Truth and Falsity. Truth is an affirmation (or a denial) made about a certain thing, which agrees with that same thing; and Falsity is an affirmation (or a denial) about a thing, which does not agree with the thing itself. But this being so, it may appear that there is no difference between the false and the true Idea, or, since the [affirmation or] denial of this or that are mere modes of thought, and [the true and the false Idea] differ in no other way except that the one agrees with the thing, and the other does not, that they are therefore, not really, but only logically different; and if this should be so, one may justly ask, what advantage has the one from his Truth, and what harm does the other incur through his falsity? And how shall the one know that his conception or Idea agrees with the thing more than the other does? Lastly, whence does it come that the one errs, and the other does not?

To this it may, in the first place, serve as an answer that the clearest things of all make known both themselves and also what is false, in such a manner that it would be a great folly to ask how we are to become aware of them: for, since they are said to be the clearest of all, there can never be any other clearness through which they might be made clear; it follows, therefore, that truth at once reveals itself and also what is false, because truth is made clear through truth, that is through itself, and through it also is falsity made clear; but falsity is never revealed and made manifest through itself. So that any one who is in possession of the truth cannot doubt that he possesses it, while one who is sunk in falsity or in error can well suppose that he has got at the truth; just as someone who is

dreaming can well think that he is awake, but one who is actually awake can never think that he is dreaming.

These remarks also explain to some extent what we said about God being the Truth, or that *the Truth is God himself*.

Now the reason why the one is more conscious of his truth than the other is, is because the Idea of [his] affirmation (or denial) entirely agrees with the nature of the thing, and consequently has more essence. It may help some to grasp this better if it be observed that Understanding (although the word does not sound like it) is a mere or pure passivity; that is, that our soul is changed in such a way that it receives other modes of thought, which it did not have before. Now when someone, in consequence of the whole object having acted upon him, receives corresponding forms or modes of thought, then it is clear that he receives a totally different feeling of the form or character of the object than does another who has not had so many causes [acting upon him], and is therefore moved to make an affirmation or denial about that thing by a different and slighter action (because he becomes aware of it only through a few, or the less important, of its attributes). From this, then, we see the perfection of one who takes his stand upon Truth, as contrasted with one who does not take his stand upon it. Since the one changes easily, while the other does not change easily, it follows therefrom that the one has more stability and essence than the other has: likewise, since the modes of thought which agree with the thing have had more causes [to produce them] they have also more stability and essence in them: and, since they entirely agree with the thing, it is impossible that they should after a time be made different or undergo some change, all the less so because we have already seen before that the essence of a thing is unchangeable. Such is not the case with falsity. And with these remarks all the above questions will be sufficiently answered.

CHAPTER XVI. On the Will



NOW THAT WE know the nature of Good and Evil, Truth and Falsity, and also wherein the well-being of a perfect man consists, it is time to begin to examine ourselves, and to see whether we attain to such well-being voluntarily or of necessity.

To this end it is necessary to inquire what the Will is, according to those who posit a Will, and wherein it is different from Desire. Desire, we have said, is the inclination which the soul has towards something which it chooses as a good; whence it follows that before our desire inclines towards something outside, we have already inwardly decided that such a thing is good, and this affirmation, or, stated more generally, the power to affirm and to deny, is called the Will.

It thus turns on the question whether our Affirmations are made voluntarily or necessarily, that is, whether we can make any affirmation or denial about a thing without some external cause compelling us to do so. Now we have already shown that a thing which is not explained through itself, or whose *existence* does not pertain to its *essence*, must necessarily have an external cause; and that a cause which is to produce something must produce it necessarily; it must therefore also follow that each separate act of willing this or that, each separate act of affirming or denying this or that of a thing, these, I say, must also result from some external cause: so also the definition which we have given of a cause is, that it cannot be free.

Possibly this will not satisfy some who are accustomed to keep their understanding busy with things of Reason more than with Particular things which really exist in Nature; and, through doing so, they come to regard a thing of Reason not as such, but as a real thing. For, because man has now this, now that volition, he forms in his soul a general mode which he calls Will, just as from this

man and that man he also forms the Idea of man; and because he does not adequately distinguish the real things from the things of Reason, he comes to regard the things of Reason as things which really exist in Nature, and so he regards himself as a cause of some things. This happens not infrequently in the treatment of the subject about which we are speaking. For if any one is asked why people want this or that, the answer usually given is, because they have a will. But, since the Will, as we have said, is only an Idea of our willing this or that, and therefore only a mode of thought, a thing of Reason, and not a real thing, nothing can be caused by it; for out of nothing, nothing comes. And so, as we have shown that the will is not a thing in Nature, but only in fancy, I also think it unnecessary to ask whether the will is free or not free.

I say this not [only] of will in general, which we have shown to be a mode of thought, but also of the particular act of willing this or that, which act of willing some have identified with affirmation and denial. Now this should be clearly evident to every one who only attends to what we have already said. For we have said that the understanding is purely passive; it is an awareness, in the soul, of the essence and existence of things; so that it is never we who affirm or deny something of a thing, but it is the thing itself that affirms or denies, in us, something of itself.

Possibly some will not admit this, because it seems to them that they are well able to affirm or to deny of the thing something different from what they know about the thing. But this is only because they have no idea of the conception which the soul has of the thing apart from or without the words [in which it is expressed]. It is quite true that (when there are reasons which prompt us to do so) we can, in words or by some other means, represent the thing to others differently from what we know it to be; but we can never bring it so far, either by words or by any other means, that we should feel about the things differently from what we feel about them; that is impossible, and clearly so to all who have for once attended to their understanding itself apart from the use of words or other significant signs.

Against this, however, some perchance may say: If it is not we, but the thing itself, that makes the affirmation and denial about itself in us, then nothing can be affirmed or denied except what is in agreement with the thing; and consequently there is no falsity. For we have said that falsity consists in affirming (or denying) ought of a thing which does not accord with that thing; that is, what the thing does not affirm or deny about itself. I think, however, that if only we consider well what we have already said about Truth and Falsity, then we shall see at once that these objections have already been sufficiently answered. For we have said that the object is the cause of what is affirmed or denied thereof, be it true or false: falsity arising thus, namely, because, when we happen to know something or a part of an object, we imagine that the object (although we only know very little of it) nevertheless affirms or denies that of itself as a whole; this takes place mostly in feeble souls, which receive very easily a mode or an idea through a slight action of the object, and make no further affirmation or denial apart from this.

Lastly, it might also be objected that there are many things which we sometimes want and [sometimes also] do not want, as, for example, to assert something about a thing or not to assert it, to speak the truth, and not to speak it, and so forth. But this results from the fact that Desire is not adequately distinguished from Will. For the Will, according to those who maintain that there is a Will, is only the activity of the understanding whereby we affirm or deny something about a thing, with regard to good or evil. Desire, however, is the disposition of the soul to obtain or to do something for the sake of the good or evil that is discerned therein; so that even after we have made an affirmation or denial about the thing, Desire still remains, namely, when we have ascertained or affirmed that the thing is good; such is the Will, according to their statements, while desire is the inclination, which we only subsequently feel, to advance it — so that, even according to their own statements, the Will may well exist without the Desire, but not the Desire without the Will, which must have preceded it.

All the activities, therefore, which we have discussed above (since they are carried out through Reason under the appearance of good, or are hindered by

Reason under the appearance of evil) can only be subsumed under that inclination which is called Desire, and by no means under the designation of Will, which is altogether inappropriate.

CHAPTER XVII. On the Distinction between Will and Desire



NOW THAT IT is known that we have no free will to make an affirmation or a denial, let us just see what is the correct and true distinction between *will* and *desire*, or what may the Will be which was called by the Latins *voluntas*.

According to Aristotle's definition, Desire appears to be a genus containing two species. For he says that the Will is the longing or inclination which one feels towards that which is or seems good. Whence it appears to me that by Desire (or *cupiditas*) he means any inclination, be it towards good, be it towards evil; but when the inclination is only towards what is or appears to be good, or when the man who has such inclination, has it under the appearance of good, then he calls it *voluntas* or good will; while, if it is bad, that is, when we observe in another an inclination towards something which is bad, he calls that *voluptas* or bad will. So that the inclination of the soul is not something whereby affirmations or denials are made, but only an inclination to obtain something which appears to be good, and to flee from what appears to be bad.

It, therefore, remains to inquire now whether the Desire is free or not free. In addition to what we have already said, namely, *that Desire depends on the idea of its objects, and that this understanding must have an external cause*, and in addition also to what we have said about the will, it still remains to prove that Desire is not free. Many people, although they see quite well that the knowledge which man has of various things is a medium through which his longing or inclination passes over from one thing to another, yet fail to observe what that may be which thus lures the inclination from the one to the other.

However, to show that this inclination of ours is not of our own free will (and in order to present vividly before our eyes what it is to pass over, and to be drawn, from one thing to another), we shall imagine a child becoming aware of

something for the first time. For example, I hold before him a little Bell, which produces a pleasant sound for his ears, so that he conceives a longing for it; consider now whether he could really help feeling this longing or desire. If you say, Yes, then I ask, how, through what cause is this to happen? Certainly not through something which he knows to be better, because this is all that he knows; nor, again, through its appearing to be bad to him, for he knows nothing else, and this pleasure is the very best that has ever come to him. But perchance he has the freedom to banish from him the longing which he feels; whence it would follow that this longing may well arise in us without our free will, but that all the same we have in us the freedom to banish it from us. This freedom, however, will not bear examination; for what, indeed, might it be that shall be able to annihilate the longing? The longing itself? Surely no, for there is nothing that through its own nature seeks its own undoing. What then might it ultimately be that shall be able to wean him from his longing? Nothing else, forsooth, except that in the natural order and course of things he is affected by something which he finds more pleasant than the first. And, therefore, just as, when we were considering the Will, we said that the human Will is nothing but *this and that Volition*, so also man has no other than *this and that Desire* which is caused by this and that idea; Desire [in the abstract] is not anything actually existing in Nature, but is only an abstraction from the particular acts of desiring this or that. *Desire*, then, as it is not really anything, can also not really cause anything. So that when we say that *Desire* is free, it is just as much as if we said that *this or that* Desire is its own cause — that is, that before it existed it had already arranged that it should exist; which is absurdity itself, and cannot be.

CHAPTER XVIII. On the Uses of the Foregoing



THUS WE SEE now that man, being *a part of the whole of Nature*, on which he depends, and by which also he is governed, cannot of himself do anything for his happiness and well-being; let us, then, just see what Uses we can derive from these propositions of ours. And this [is] all the more [necessary] because we have no doubt that they will appear not a little offensive to some.

In the first place, it follows therefrom that we are truly servants, aye, slaves, of God, and that it is our greatest perfection to be such necessarily. For, if we were thrown back upon ourselves, and thus not dependent on God, we should be able to accomplish very little, or nothing, and that would justly give us cause to lament our lot; especially so in contrast with what we now see, namely, that we are dependent on that which is the most perfect of all, in such a way that we exist also as a part of the whole, that is, of him; and we contribute, so to say, also our share to the realisation of so many skilfully ordered and perfect works, which depend on him.

Secondly, this knowledge brings it about that we do not grow proud when we have accomplished something excellent (which pride causes us to come to a standstill, because we think that we are already great, and that we need do nothing further; thereby militating precisely against our own perfection, which consists in this — that we must at all times endeavour to advance further and further); but that, on the contrary, we attribute all that we do to God, who is the first and only cause of all that we accomplish and succeed in effecting.

Thirdly, in addition to the fact that this knowledge inspires us with a real love of our neighbour, it shapes us so that we never hate him, nor are we angry with him, but love to help him, and to improve his condition. All these are the actions of such men as have great perfection or essence.

Fourthly, this knowledge also serves to promote the greatest Common Good, because through it a judge can never side with one party more than with the other, and when compelled to punish the one, and to reward the other, he will do it with a view to help and to improve the one as much as the other.

Fifthly, this knowledge frees us from Sorrow, from Despair, from Envy, from Terror, and other evil passions, which, as we shall presently say, constitute the real hell itself.

Sixthly, this knowledge brings us so far that we cease to stand in awe of God, as others do of the Devil (whom they imagine), lest he should do them harm. For why indeed should we fear God, who is the highest good itself, through whom all things are what they are, and also we who live in him?

Seventhly, this knowledge also brings us so far that we attribute all to God, love him alone because he is the most glorious and the most perfect, and thus offer ourselves up entirely to him; for these really constitute both the true service of God and our own eternal happiness and bliss. For the sole perfection and the final end of a slave and of a tool is this, that they duly fulfil the task imposed on them. For example, if a carpenter, while doing some work, finds his Hatchet of excellent service, then this Hatchet has thereby attained its end and perfection; but if he should think: this Hatchet has rendered me such good service now, therefore I shall let it rest, and exact no further service from it, then precisely this Hatchet would fail of its end, and be a Hatchet no more. Thus also is it with man, so long as he is a part of Nature he must follow the laws of Nature, and this is divine service; and so long as he does this, it is well with him. But if God should (so to say) will that man should serve him no more, that would be equivalent to depriving him of his well-being and annihilating him; because all that he is consists in this, that he serves God.

CHAPTER XIX. On Our Happiness



NOW THAT WE have seen the advantages of this True Belief, we shall endeavour to fulfil the promise we have made, namely, to inquire whether through the knowledge which we already have (as to what is good, what is evil, what truth is, and what falsity is, and what, in general, the uses of all these are), whether, I say, we can thereby attain to our well-being, namely, the LOVE of God (which we have remarked to be our supreme happiness), and also in what way we can free ourselves from the passions which we have judged to be bad.

To begin with the consideration of the last, namely, of the liberation from the passions, I say that, if we suppose that they have no other causes than those which we have assigned to them, then, provided only we use our understanding aright, as we can do very easily (now that we have a criterion of truth and falsity), we shall never fall into them.

But what we have now to prove is that they have no other causes; for this, methinks, it is required that we should study ourselves in our entirety, having regard to the body as well as to the spirit.

And first [we have] to show that in Nature there is a body through whose form and activities we are affected, and thus become aware of it. And the reason why we do this is, because when we get an insight into the activities of the body and the effects which they produce, then we shall also discover the first and foremost cause of all those passions; and, at the same time, also that through which all those passions might be annihilated. From this we shall then also be able to see whether it is possible to do such a thing by the aid of Reason. And then we shall also proceed to speak about our Love of God.

Now to prove that there is a body in Nature, can be no difficult task for us, now that we already know *that* God is, and *what* God is; whom we have defined

as a being of infinite attributes, each of which is infinite and perfect. And since extension is an attribute which we have shown to be infinite in its kind, it must therefore also necessarily be an attribute of that infinite being. And as we have also already demonstrated that this infinite being exists, it follows at once that this attribute also exists.

Moreover, since we have also proved that outside Nature, which is infinite, there is, and can be, no being, it is clearly manifest that this effect of body through which we become aware [of it] can proceed from nothing else than from extension itself, and by no means from something else which (as some will have it) has extension in an eminent degree [*eminenter*]-, for (as we have already shown in the first chapter) there is no such thing.

We have to remark, therefore, that all the effects which are seen to depend necessarily on extension must be attributed to this attribute; such as Motion and Rest. For if the power to produce these did not exist in Nature, then (even though it [Nature] might have many other attributes) it would be impossible that these should exist. For if a thing is to produce something then there must be that in it through which it, rather than another, can produce that something.

What we have just said here about extension, the same we also wish to be regarded as though it had been said about thought, and further about all that is.

It is to be observed further, that there is nothing whatever in us, but we have the power to become aware of it: so that if we find that there is nothing else in us except the effects of the thinking thing and those of extension, then we may say with certainty that there is nothing else in us.

In order that the workings of both these may be clearly understood, we shall take them up first each by itself only, and afterwards both together; as also the effects of both the one and the other.

Now when we consider extension alone, then we become aware of nothing else in it except Motion and Rest, from which we then discover all the effects that result therefrom. And these two modes of body are such that it is impossible for any other thing to change them, except only themselves. Thus, for example, when

a stone lies still, then it is impossible that it should be moved by the power of thought or anything else, but [it may] well [be moved] by motion, as when another stone, having greater motion than this has rest, makes it move. Likewise also the moving stone will not be made to rest except through something else which has less motion. It follows, accordingly, that no mode of thought can bring motion or rest into a body. In accordance, however, with what we observe in ourselves, it may well happen that a body which is moving now in one direction may nevertheless turn aside in another direction; as when I stretch out my arm and thereby bring it about that the [vital] spirits which were already moving in a different direction, nevertheless move now in this direction, though not always, but according to the disposition of the [vital] spirits, as will be stated presently.

The cause of this can be none other than that the soul, being an Idea of this body, is united with it in such a way that it and this body, thus constituted, together form a whole.

The most important effect of the other or thinking attribute is an Idea of things, which is such that, according to the manner in which it apprehends them, there arises either Love or Hatred, etc. This effect, then, as it implies no extension, can also not be attributed to the same, but only to thought; so that, whatever the changes which happen to arise in this mode, their cause must on no account be sought for in extension, but only in the thinking thing. We can see this, for instance, in the case of Love, which, whether it is to be suppressed or whether it is to be awakened, can only be thus affected through the idea itself, and this happens, as we have already remarked, either because something bad is perceived to be in the object, or because something better comes to be known. Now whenever these attributes happen to act the one on the other, there results a passivity which one suffers from the other; namely [in the case of extension], through the determination of movements which we have the power to direct in whatever direction we please. The process, then, whereby the one comes to be passively affected by the other, is this: namely, the soul in the body, as has already been remarked, can well bring it about that the [vital] spirits, which would

otherwise move in the one direction, should nevertheless move in the other direction; and since these [vital] spirits can also be made to move, and therefore directed, by the body, it may frequently happen that, when the body directs their movements towards one place, while the soul directs them towards another place, they bring about and occasion in us those peculiar fits of depression which we sometimes feel without knowing the reasons why we have them. For otherwise the reasons are generally well known to us.

Furthermore, the power which the soul has to move the [vital] spirits may well be hindered also either because the motion of the [vital] spirits is much diminished, or because it is much increased. Diminished, as when, having run much, we bring it about that the [vital] spirits, owing to this running, impart to the body much more than the usual amount of motion,” and by losing this [motion] they are necessarily that much weakened; this may also happen through taking all too little food. Increased, as when, by drinking too much wine or other strong drink, we thereby become either merry or drunk, and bring it about that the soul has no power to control the body.

Having said thus much about the influences which the soul exercises on the body, let us now consider the influences of the body on the soul. The most important of these, we maintain, is that it causes the soul to become aware of it, and through it also of other bodies. This is effected by Motion and Rest conjointly, and by nothing else: for the body has nothing else than these wherewith to operate; so that whatever else comes to the soul, besides this awareness, cannot be caused through the body. And as the first thing which the soul gets to know is the body, the result is that the soul loves it so, and becomes united with it. But since, as we have already said before, the cause of Love, Hatred, and Sorrow must not be sought for in the body but only in the soul (because all the activities of the body must proceed from motion and rest), and since we see clearly and distinctly that one love comes to an end as soon as we come to know something else that is better, it follows clearly from all this that, *If once we get to know God, at least with a knowledge as clear as that with which*

we also know our body, then we must become united with him even more closely than we are with our body, and be, as it were, released from the body. I say *more closely*, because we have already proved before that without him we can neither be, nor be known; and this is so because we know and must know him, not through something else, as is the case with all other things, but only through himself, as we have already said before. Indeed, we know him better even than we know ourselves, because without him we could not know ourselves at all.

From what we have said so far it is easily gathered which are the chief causes of the passions. For, as regards the Body with its effects, Motion and Rest, these cannot affect the soul otherwise except so as to make themselves known to it as objects; and according to the appearances which they present to it, that is according as they appear good or bad, so also is the soul affected by them, and that [happens] not inasmuch as it is a body (for then the body would be the principal cause of the passions), but inasmuch as it is an object like all other things, which would also act in the same way if they happened to reveal themselves to the soul in the same way. (By this, however, I do not mean to say that the Love, Hatred, and Sorrow which proceed from the contemplation of incorporeal things produce the same effects as those which arise from the contemplation of corporeal things; for, as we shall presently say, these have yet other effects according to the nature of the thing through the apprehension of which Love, Hatred, and Sorrow, etc., are awakened in the soul which contemplates the incorporeal things.) So that, to return to our previous subject, if something else should appear to the soul to be more glorious than the body really is, it is certain that the body would then have no power to produce such effects as it certainly does now. Whence it follows,? not alone that the body is not the principal cause of the passions, but also that even if there were in us something else besides what we have just stated to be capable, in our opinion, of producing the passions, such a thing, even if there were such, could likewise affect the soul neither more nor differently than the body does in fact now. For it could never be anything else than such an object as would once for all be different from the soul,

and would consequently show itself to be such and no other, as we have likewise stated also of the body. So that we may, with truth, conclude that Love, Hatred, Sorrow, and other passions are produced in the soul in various forms according to the kind of knowledge which, from time to time, it happens to have of the thing; and consequently, if once it can come to know the most glorious of all, it should be impossible for any of these passions to succeed in causing it the least perturbation.

CHAPTER XX. Confirmation of the Foregoing



NOW, AS REGARDS what we have said in the preceding chapter, the following difficulties might be raised by way of objection.

First, if motion is not the cause of the passions then why is it possible, nevertheless, to banish sorrow by the aid of certain means, as is often done by means of wine? To this it serves [as an answer] that a distinction must be made between the soul's awareness, when it first becomes aware of the body, and the judgment which it presently comes to form as to whether it is good or bad for it.

Now the soul, being such as just stated, has, as we have already shown before, the power to move the [vital] spirits whithersoever it pleases; but this power may, nevertheless, be taken away from it, as when, owing to other causes [arising out] of the body generally, their form, constituted by certain proportions [of motion and rest], disappears or is changed; and when it becomes aware of this [change] in it, there arises sorrow, which varies with the change which the [vital] spirits undergo. This sorrow results from its love for, and union with, the body.

That this is so may be easily deduced from the fact that this sorrow can be alleviated in one of these two ways; either by restoring the [vital] spirits to their original form that is by relieving him of the pain, or by being persuaded by good reasons to make no ado about this body. The first is temporary, and [the sorrow] is liable to return; but the second is eternal, permanent, and unchangeable.

The second objection may be this: as we see that the soul, although it has nothing in common with the body, can yet bring it about that the [vital] spirits, although they were about to move in one direction, nevertheless move now in the other direction, why should it not also be able to effect that a body which is perfectly still and at rest should begin to move itself? Likewise, why should it not

also be able to move in whatever direction it pleases all other bodies which are already in motion?

But if we recall what we have already said before concerning the thinking thing, it can remove this difficulty for us quite easily. Namely, we then said that although Nature has various attributes, it is, all the same, but one only Being, of which all these attributes are predicated. Besides this we have also said that the thinking thing, too, was but one only thing in Nature, and is expressed in infinite Ideas, in accordance with the infinite things which exist in Nature; for if the body receives such a mode as, for example, the body of Peter, and again another such as is the body of Paul, the result of this is that there are in the thinking thing two different Ideas: namely, one idea of the body of Peter, which constitutes the Soul of Peter, and another of [the body of] Paul, which constitutes the Soul of Paul. Now the thinking thing can well move the body of Peter by means of the Idea of the body of Peter, but not by means of the Idea of the body of Paul; so that the soul of Paul can well move its own body, but by no means that of another, such as that of Peter. And for this reason also it cannot move a stone which rests or lies still: because the stone, again, makes another Idea in the Soul. Hence also it is no less clear that it is impossible that a stone, which is perfectly at rest and still, should be made to move by any mode of thought, for the same reasons as above.

The third objection may be this: We seem to be able to see clearly that we can, nevertheless, produce a certain stillness in the body. For, after we have kept moving our [vital] spirits for a long time, we find that we are tired; which, assuredly, is nothing else than a certain stillness in the [vital] spirits brought about by ourselves. We answer, however, that it is quite true that the soul is a cause of this stillness, but only indirectly; for it puts a stop to the movement not directly, but only through other bodies which it has moved, and which must then necessarily have lost as much as they had imparted to the [vital] spirits. It is therefore clear on all sides that in Nature there is only one and the same kind of motion.

CHAPTER XXI. On Reason



AT PRESENT WE have to inquire why it happens that sometimes, although we see that a certain thing is good or bad, we nevertheless do not find in us the power either to do the good or to abstain from the bad, and sometimes, however, we do indeed [find this power in us]. This we can easily understand if we consider the causes that we assigned to opinions, which we stated to be the causes of all affects. These, we then said, [arise] either from hearsay, or from experience. And since all that we find in ourselves has greater power over us than that which comes to us from outside, it certainly follows that Reason can be the cause of the extinction of opinions which we have got from hearsay only (and this is so because reason has not like these come to us from outside), but by no means of those which we have got from experience. For the power which the thing itself gives us is always greater than that which we obtain by way of consequence through a second thing; we noted this difference when speaking of reasoning and of clear understanding, page 62, and we did so with the rule of three as an illustration. For more power comes to us from the understanding of proportion itself, than from the understanding of the rule of proportion. And it is for this reason that we have said so often that one love may be extinguished by another which is greater, because in saying this we did not, by any means, intend to refer to desire which does not, like love, come from true knowledge, but comes from reasoning.

CHAPTER XXII. On True Knowledge, Regeneration, Etc.



SINCE, THEN, REASON has no power to lead us to the attainment of our well-being, it remains for us to inquire whether we can attain it through the fourth, and last, kind of knowledge. Now we have said that this kind of knowledge does not result from something else, but from a direct revelation of the object itself to the understanding. And if that object is glorious and good, then the soul becomes necessarily united with it, as we have also remarked with reference to our body. Hence it follows incontrovertibly that it is this knowledge which evokes love. So that when we get to know God after this manner then (as he cannot reveal himself, nor become known to us otherwise than as the most glorious and best of all) we must necessarily become united with him. And only in this union, as we have already remarked, does our blessedness consist.

I do not say that we must know him just as he is, or adequately, for it is sufficient for us to know him to some extent, in order to be united with him. For even the knowledge that we have of the body is not such that we know it just as it is, or perfectly; and yet, what a union! What a love!

That this fourth [kind of] knowledge, which is the knowledge of God, is not the consequence of something else, but immediate, is evident from what we have proved before, [namely,] that he is the cause of all knowledge that is acquired through itself alone, and through no other thing; moreover, also from this, that we are so united with him by nature that without him we can neither be, nor be known. And for this reason, since there is such a close union between God and us, it is evident that we cannot know him except directly.

We shall endeavour to explain, next, this union of ours with him through nature and love.

We said before that in Nature there can be nothing of which there should not be an Idea in the soul of that same thing. And according as the thing is either more or less perfect, so also is the union and the influence of the Idea with the thing, or with God himself, less or more perfect. For as the whole of Nature is but one only substance, and one whose essence is infinite, all things are united through Nature, and they are united into one [being], namely, God. And now, as the body is the very first thing of which our soul becomes aware (because as already remarked, nothing can exist in Nature, the Idea of which is not in the thinking thing, this Idea being the soul of that thing) so that thing must necessarily be the first cause of the Idea.

But, as this Idea can by no means find rest in the knowledge of the body without passing on to the knowledge of that without which the body and Idea could neither be, nor be understood, so (after knowing it first) it becomes united with it immediately through love. This union is better understood, and one may gather what it must be like, from its action with the body, in which we see how through knowledge of, and feelings towards corporeal things, there arise in us all the effects which we are constantly becoming aware of in the body, through the movements of the [vital] spirits; and therefore (if once our knowledge and love come to embrace that without which we can neither be, nor be understood, and which is in no way corporeal) how incomparably greater and more glorious will and must be the kind of effects resulting from this union; for these must necessarily be commensurate with the thing with which it is united. And when we become aware of these excellent effects, then we may say with truth, *that we have been born again*. For our first birth took place when we were united with the body, through which the activities and movements of the [vital] spirits have arisen; but this our other or second birth will take place when we become aware in us of entirely different effects of love, commensurate with the knowledge of this incorporeal object, and as different from the first as the corporeal is different from the incorporeal, spirit from flesh. And this may, therefore, all the more justly

and truly be called Regeneration, inasmuch as only from this love and union does Eternal and unchangeable existence ensue, as we shall prove.

CHAPTER XXIII. On the Immortality of the Soul



IF ONLY WE consider attentively what the Soul is, and whence its change and duration originate, then we shall easily see whether it is mortal or immortal.

Now we have said that the Soul is an Idea which is in the thinking thing, arising from the reality of a thing which exists in Nature. Whence it follows that according to the duration and change of the thing, so must also be the duration and change of the Soul. We remarked, at the same time, that the Soul can become united either *with the body* of which it is the Idea, or *with God*, without whom it can neither be, nor be known.

From this, then, it can easily be seen, (1) that, if it is united with the body alone, and that body happens to perish, then it must perish also; for when it is deprived of the body, which is the foundation of its love, it must perish with it. But (2) if it becomes united with some other thing which is and remains unchangeable, then, on the contrary, it must also remain unchangeable and lasting. For, in that case, through what shall it be possible for it to perish? Not through itself; for as little as it could begin to exist through itself when it did not yet exist, so little also can it change or perish through itself, now that it does exist.

Consequently, that thing which alone is the cause of its *existence*, must also (when it is about to perish) be the cause of its *nonexistence*, because it happens to change itself or to perish.

CHAPTER XXIV. On God's Love of Man



THUS FAR WE have shown sufficiently, we think, what our love of God is, also its consequences, namely, our eternal duration. So we do not think it necessary here to say anything about other things, such as joy in God, peace of mind, etc., as from what has been said it may easily be seen what there is to or should be said about them. Thus (as we have, so far, only considered our love of God) it still remains to be seen whether there is also a divine love of us, that is, whether God also loves mankind, namely, when they love him. Now, in the first place, we have said that to God no modes of thought can be ascribed except those which are in his creatures; therefore, it cannot be said that God loves mankind, much less [can it be said] that he should love them because they love him, or hate them because they hate him. For in that case we should have to suppose that people do so of their own free will, and that they do not depend on a first cause; which we have already before proved to be false. Besides, this would necessarily involve nothing less than a great mutability on the part of God, who, though he neither loved nor hated before, would now have to begin to love and to hate, and would be induced or made to do so by something supposed to be outside him; but this is absurdity itself.

Still, when we say that God does not love man, this must not be taken to mean that he (so to say) leaves man to pursue his course all alone, but only that because man together with all that is, are in God in such a way, and God consists of all these in such a way, therefore, properly speaking, there can be in him no love for something else: since all form only one thing, which is God himself.

From this it follows also that God gives no laws to mankind so as to reward them when they fulfil them [and to punish them when they transgress them,] or, to state it more clearly, that God's laws are not of such a nature that they could be

transgressed. For the regulations imposed by God on Nature, according to which all things come into existence and continue to exist, these, if we will call them laws, are such that they can never be transgressed; such, for instance, is [the law] that the weakest must yield to the strongest, that no cause can produce more than it contains in itself, and the like, which are of such a kind that they never change, and never had a beginning, but all things are subjected and subordinated to them. And, to say briefly something about them: all laws that cannot be transgressed, are divine laws; the reason [is this], because whatsoever happens, is not contrary to, but in accordance with, his own decision. All laws that can be transgressed are human laws; the reason [is this], because all that people decide upon for their own wellbeing does not necessarily, on that account, tend also to the well-being of the whole of Nature, but may, on the contrary, tend to the annihilation of many other things.

When the laws of Nature are stronger, the laws of men are made null; the divine laws are the final end for the sake of which they exist, and not subordinate; human [laws] are not. Still, notwithstanding the fact that men make laws for their own well-being, and have no other end in view except to promote their own well-being by them, this end of theirs may yet (insofar as it is subordinate to other ends which another has in view, who is above them, and lets them act thus as parts of Nature) serve that end [which] coincides with the eternal laws established by God from eternity, and so, together with all others, help to accomplish everything. For example, although the Bees, in all their work and the orderly discipline which they maintain among themselves, have no other end in view than to make certain provisions for themselves for the winter, still, man who is above them, has an entirely different end in view when he maintains and tends them, namely, to obtain honey for himself. So also [is it with] man, insofar as he is an individual thing and looks no further than his finite character can reach; but, insofar as he is also a part and tool of the whole of Nature, this end of man cannot be the final end of Nature, because she is infinite, and must make use of him, together also with all other things, as an instrument.

Thus far [we have been speaking] of the law imposed by God; it is now to be remarked also that man is aware of two kinds of law even in himself; I mean such a man who uses his understanding aright, and attains to the knowledge of God; and these [two kinds of law] result from his fellowship with God, and from his fellowship with the modes of Nature. Of these the one is necessary, and the other is not. For, as regards the law which results from his fellowship with God, since he can never be otherwise but must always necessarily be united with him, therefore he has, and always must have before his eyes the laws by which he must live for and with God. But as regards the law which results from his fellowship with the modes, since he can separate himself from men, this is not so necessary.

Now, since we posit such a fellowship between God and men, it might justly be asked, how God can make himself known to men, and whether this happens, or could have happened, by means of spoken words, or directly through himself, without using any other thing to do it with.

We answer, not by means of words, in any case; for in that case man must have known the signification of the words before they were spoken to him. For example, if God had said to the Israelites, I am *Jehovah your God*, then they would have had to know first, apart from these words, that God existed, before they could be assured thereby that it was he [who was speaking to them]. For they already knew quite well then that the voice, thunder and lightning were not God, although the voice proclaimed that it was God. And the same that we say here about words, we also mean to hold good of all external signs.

We consider it, therefore, impossible that God should make himself known to men by means of external signs.

And we consider it to be unnecessary that it should happen through any other thing than the mere essence of God and the understanding of man; for, as the Understanding is that in us which must know God, and as it stands in such immediate union with him that it can neither be, nor be understood without him, it is incontrovertibly evident from this that nothing can ever come into such close touch with the Understanding as God himself can. It is also impossible to get to

know God through something else. 1. Because, in that case, such a thing would have to be better known to us than God himself, which is in open conflict with all that we have hitherto clearly shown, namely, that God is a cause both of our knowledge and of all essence, and that without him all individual things not only cannot exist, but cannot even be understood. 2. Because we can never attain to the knowledge of God through any other thing, the nature of which is necessarily finite, even if it were far better known to us; for how is it possible that we should infer an infinite and limitless thing from a finite and limited thing? For even if we did observe some effects or work in Nature the cause of which was unknown to us, still it would be impossible for us to conclude from this that there must be in Nature an infinite and limitless thing in order to produce this result. For how can we know whether many causes have concurred in order to produce this, or whether there was only one? Who is to tell us?

We therefore conclude, finally, that, in order to make himself known to men, God can and need use neither words, nor miracles, nor any other created thing, but only himself.

CHAPTER XXV. On Devils



WE SHALL NOW briefly say something about devils, whether they exist or do not exist, and it is this:

If the Devil is a thing that is once for all opposed to God, and has absolutely nothing from God, then he is precisely identical with Nothing, which we have already discussed before.

If, with some, we represent him as a thinking thing that absolutely neither wills nor does any good, and so sets himself, once for all, in opposition to God, then surely he is very wretched, and, if prayers could help, then one ought to pray for his conversion.

But let us just see whether such a wretched thing could even exist for a single moment. And, if we do so, we shall immediately find out that it cannot; for whatever duration a thing has results entirely from the perfection of the thing, and the more essence and godliness things possess, the more lasting are they: therefore, as the Devil has not the least perfection in him, how should he then, I think to myself, be able to exist? Add to this, that the persistence or duration of a mode of the thinking thing only results from the union in which such a mode is, through love, joined to God. As the precise opposite of this union is supposed in the case of the Devils, they cannot possibly exist.

As, however, there is no necessity whatever why we should posit the existence of Devils, why then should they be posited? For we need not, like others, posit Devils in order to find [in them] the cause of Hatred, Envy, Wrath, and such-like passions, since we have found this sufficiently, without such fictions.

CHAPTER XXVI. On True Freedom



BY THE ASSERTION of what precedes we not only wanted to make known that there are no Devils, but also, indeed, that the causes (or, to express it better, what we call *Sins*) which hinder us in the attainment of our perfection are in ourselves. We have also shown already, in what precedes, how and in what manner, through reason as also through the fourth kind of knowledge, we must attain to our blessedness, and how the passions which are bad and should be banished must be done away with: not as is commonly urged, namely, that these [passions] must first be subdued before we can attain to the knowledge, and consequently to the love, of God. That would be just like insisting that some one who is ignorant must first forsake his ignorance before he can attain to knowledge. But [the truth is] this, that only knowledge can cause the disappearance thereof — as is evident from all that we have said. Similarly, it may also be clearly gathered from the above that without Virtue, or (to express it better) without the guidance of the Understanding, all tends to ruin, so that we can enjoy no rest, and we live, as it were, outside our element. So that even if from the power of knowledge and divine love there accrued to the understanding not an eternal rest, such as we have shown, but only a temporary one, it is our duty to seek even this, since this also is such that if once we taste it we would exchange it for nothing else in the world.

This being so, we may, with reason, regard as a great absurdity what many, who are otherwise esteemed as great theologians, assert, namely, that if no eternal life resulted from the love of God, then they would seek what is best for themselves: as though they could discover anything better than God! This is just as silly as if a fish (for which, of course, it is impossible to live out of the water) were to say: if no eternal life is to follow this life in the water, then I will leave the water for the land; what else, indeed, can they say to us who do not know God?

Thus we see, therefore, that in order to arrive at the truth of what we assert for sure concerning our happiness and repose, we require no other principles except only this, namely, to take to heart our own interest, which is very natural in all things. And since we find that, when we pursue sensuousness, pleasures, and worldly things, we do not find our happiness in them, but, on the contrary, our ruin, we therefore choose the guidance of our understanding. As, however, this can make no progress, unless it has first attained to the knowledge and love of God, therefore it was highly necessary to seek this (God); and as (after the foregoing reflections and considerations) we have discovered that he is the best good of all that is good, we are compelled to stop and to rest here. For we have seen that, outside him, there is nothing that can give us any happiness. And it is a true freedom to be, and to remain, bound with the loving chains of his love.

Lastly, we see also that reasoning is not the principal thing in us, but only like a staircase by which we can climb up to the desired place, or like a good genius which, without any falsity or deception, brings us tidings of the highest good in order thereby to stimulate us to pursue it, and to become united with it; which union is our supreme happiness and bliss.

So, to bring this work to a conclusion, it remains to indicate briefly what human freedom is, and wherein it consists. For this purpose I shall make use of these following propositions, as things which are certain and demonstrated.

1. The more essence a thing has, so much more has it also of activity, and so much less of passivity. For it is certain that what is active acts through what it has, and that the thing which is passive is affected through what it has not.

2. All passivity that passes from non-being to being, or from being to non-being, must result from some external agent, and not from an inner one: because nothing, considered by itself, contains in itself the conditions that will enable it to annihilate itself when it exists, or to create itself when it does not exist.

3. Whatever is not produced by external causes can have nothing in common with them, and can, consequently, be neither changed nor transformed by them.

And from these last two [propositions] I infer the following fourth proposition:

4. The effect of an immanent or inner cause (which is all one to me) cannot possibly pass away or change so long as this cause of it remains. For such an effect, just as it is not produced by external causes, so also it cannot be changed [by them]; following the third proposition. And since nothing whatever can come to naught except through external causes, it is not possible that this effect should be liable to perish so long as its cause endures; following the second proposition.

5. The freest cause of all, and that which is most appropriate to God, is the immanent: for the effect of this cause depends on it in such a way that it can neither be, nor be understood without it, nor is it subjected to any other cause; it is, moreover, united with it in such a way that together they form one whole.

Now let us just see what we must conclude from the above propositions. In the first place, then:

1. Since the essence of God is infinite, therefore it has an infinite activity, and an infinite negation of passivity, following the first proposition; and, in consequence of this, the more that, through their greater essence, things are united with God, so much the more also do they have of activity, and the less of passivity: and so much the more also are they free from change and corruption.

2. The true Understanding can never perish; for in itself it can have no cause to destroy itself, following the second proposition. And as it did not emanate from external causes, but from God, so it is not susceptible to any change through them, following the third proposition. And since God has produced it immediately and he is only an inner cause, it follows necessarily that it cannot perish so long as this cause of it remains, following the fourth proposition. Now this cause of it is eternal, therefore it is too.

3. All the effects of the true understanding, which are united with it, are the most excellent, and must be valued above all the others; for as they are inner effects, they must be the most excellent; following the fifth proposition; and, besides this, they are also necessarily eternal, because their cause is such.

4. All the effects which we produce outside ourselves are the more perfect, the more they are capable of becoming united with us, so as to constitute one and the

same nature with us; for in this way they come nearest to inner effects. For example, if I teach my neighbours to love pleasure, glory, avarice, then whether I myself also love these or do not love them, whatever the case may be, I deserve to be punished, this is clear. Not so, however, when the only end that I endeavour to attain is, to be able to taste of union with God, and to bring forth true ideas, and to make these things known also to my neighbours; for we can all participate equally in this happiness, as happens when it creates in them the same desire that I have, thus causing their will and mine to be one and the same, constituting one and the same nature, agreeing always in all things.

From all that has been said it may now be very easily conceived what is human freedom, which I define to be this: it is, namely, a firm reality which our understanding acquires through direct union with God, so that it can bring forth ideas in itself, and effects outside itself, in complete harmony with its nature; without, however, its effects being subjected to any external causes, so as to be capable of being changed or transformed by them. Thus it is, at the same time, evident from what has been said, what things there are that are in our power, and are not subjected to any external causes; we have likewise also proved here, and that in a different way from before, the eternal and lasting duration of our understanding; and, lastly, which effects it is that we have to value above all others.

So, to make an end of all this, it only remains for me still to say to my friends to whom I write this: Be not astonished at these novelties; for it is very well known to you that a thing does not therefore cease to be true because it is not accepted by many. And also, as the character of the age in which we live is not unknown to you, I would beg of you most earnestly to be very careful about the communication of these things to others. I do not want to say that you should absolutely keep them to yourselves, but only that if ever you begin to communicate them to anybody, then let no other aim prompt you except only the happiness of your neighbour, being at the same time clearly assured by him that the reward will not disappoint your labour. Lastly, if, on reading this through, you

should meet with some difficulty about what I state as certain, I beseech you that you should not therefore hasten at once to refute it, before you have pondered it long enough and thoughtfully enough, and if you do this I feel sure that you will attain to the enjoyment of the fruits of this tree which you promise yourselves.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I. On God

Axioms



1. SUBSTANCE IS, by its nature, prior to all its modifications.
2. Things which are different are distinguished either *realiter* or *modaliter*.
3. Things which are distinguished *realiter* either have different attributes, such as Thought and Extension, or are referred to different attributes, as in the case of Understanding and Motion; one of which belongs to Thought, and the other to Extension.
4. Things which have different attributes, as also the things which belong to different attributes, do not have anything the one of the other.
5. That which has not in itself something of another thing, can also not be a cause of the existence of such another thing.
6. It is impossible that that which is a cause of itself should have limited itself.
7. That by which the things are sustained is by its nature prior to such things.

PROPOSITION I

To no substance that exists can one and the same attribute be ascribed that is ascribed to another substance; or (which is the same) in Nature there cannot be

two substances, unless they are distinguished *realiter*.

Proof If there are two substances, then they are distinct; and consequently (Axiom 2) they are distinguished either *realiter* or *modaliter*; not *modaliter*, for in that case the modes would by their nature be prior to the substance, which is contrary to the first axiom; therefore, *realiter*; and consequently, what is predicated of the one cannot be predicated of the other, which is what we intended to prove.

PROPOSITION II

One substance cannot be the cause of the existence of another substance.

Proof Such a cause cannot contain in itself anything of such an effect (Prop. 1); because the difference between them is real, and therefore it cannot (Axiom 5) produce it.

PROPOSITION III

Every attribute or substance is by nature infinite, and supremely perfect in its kind.

Proof No substance is produced by another (Prop. 2) and consequently, if it exists, it is either an attribute of God, or it has been its own cause outside God. If the first, then it is necessarily infinite, and supremely perfect in its kind, such as are all other attributes of God. If the second, then it is also necessarily such because (Axiom 6) it could not have limited itself.

PROPOSITION IV

To such an extent does existence pertain by nature to the essence of every substance, that it is impossible to posit in an infinite understanding the Idea of the essence of a substance that does not exist in Nature.

Proof The true essence of an object is something which is *realiter* different from the Idea of the same object; and this something exists (Axiom 3) either *realiter*, or is contained in some other thing which exists *realiter*; from which other thing this essence cannot be distinguished *realiter*, but only *modaliter*; such are all the essences of the things which we see, which before they yet existed were already contained in extension, motion, and rest, and when they do exist are not distinguished from extension *realiter*, but only *modaliter*. Moreover, it would involve self-contradiction to suppose that the essence of a substance is contained thus in some other thing; because in that case it could not be distinguished from this *realiter*, contrary to the first proposition; also, it could in that case be produced by the subject which contains it, contrary to the second proposition; and lastly, it could not by its nature be infinite and supremely perfect in its kind, contrary to the third proposition. Therefore, as its essence is not contained in any other thing, it must be a thing that exists through itself.

Corollary Nature is known through itself, and not through any other thing. It consists of infinite attributes every one of them infinite and perfect in its kind; to its essence pertains existence, so that outside it there is no other essence or existence, and it thus coincides exactly with the essence of God who alone is glorious and blessed.

APPENDIX II. On the Human Soul



AS MAN IS a created finite thing, etc., it necessarily follows that what he has of Thought, and what we call the Soul, is a mode of the attribute which we call Thought, and that nothing else except this mode belongs to his essence: so much so that when this mode comes to naught, the soul perishes also, although the above attribute remains unchanged. Similarly as regards what he has of Extension; what we call Body is nothing else than a mode of the other attribute which we call Extension; when this is destroyed, the human body also ceases to be, although the attribute Extension remains unchanged.

Now in order to understand what this mode is, which we call Soul, and how it derives its origin from the body, and also how its change (only) depends on the body (which to me constitutes the union of soul and body), it must be observed:

1. That the most immediate mode of the attribute which we call thought contains *objective* the formal essence of all things; so much so, that if one could posit a real thing whose essence was not *objective* in the above-named attribute, then this would not be infinite, nor supremely perfect in its kind; contrary to what has already been proved in the third proposition. And since, as a matter of fact, Nature or God is one being of which infinite attributes are predicated, and which contains in itself all the essences of created things, it necessarily follows that of all this there is produced in Thought an infinite Idea, which comprehends *objective* the whole of Nature just as it is *realiter*.

2. It is to be observed that all the remaining modes, such as Love, Desire, Joy, etc., derive their origin from this first immediate mode; and that, too, in such wise, that if it did not precede, then there could be no love, desire, nor joy, etc. Whence it clearly follows that the natural love which prompts everything to preserve its body (I mean the mode) cannot have any other origin than in the Idea

or the “*objective*” essence of such body which is in the thinking attribute. Further, since for the real existence of an Idea (or “objective” essence) no other thing is required than the thinking attribute and the object (or “formal” essence), it is certain, as we have said, that the Idea, or the “objective” essence, is the most immediate mode of the thinking attribute. And, consequently, there can be in the thinking attribute no other mode, that should belong to the essence of the soul of every thing, except only the Idea, which must be in the thinking attribute when its object exists: for such an idea brings with it the remaining modes of Love, Desire, Joy, etc. Now as the Idea comes from the existence of the object, therefore according as the object changes or perishes, so its Idea must change or perish, and such being the case, it is that which is united with the object.

Lastly, if we should want to proceed and ascribe to the essence of the soul that through which it can be real, we shall be able to find nothing else than the attribute [Thought] and the object of which we have just been speaking; and neither of these can belong to the essence of the Soul, as the object has nothing of Thought, and is *realiter* different from the Soul. And with regard to the attribute, we have also proved already that it cannot pertain to the above-mentioned essence, as appears even more clearly from what we said subsequently; for the attribute as attribute is not united with the object, since it neither changes nor perishes, although the object changes or perishes.

Therefore the essence of the soul consists in this alone, namely, in the existence of an Idea or “objective” essence in the thinking attribute, arising from the essence of an object which in fact exists in Nature. I say, *of an object which in fact exists, etc.*, without more particulars, so as to include under this not only the modes of extension, but also the modes of all the infinite attributes, which have also each its soul, just as in the case of extension. And in order that this definition may be somewhat more fully understood, it should be borne in mind what I have already said when speaking about the attributes, which, I said, are not different as regards their existence, for they are themselves the “subjects” of their essences; also that the essence of every one of the modes is contained in the above-named

attributes, and, lastly, that all the attributes are attributes of One infinite Being. Wherefore also, in the ninth chapter of the First Part, I called this Idea *a creation created immediately by God*; since it contains *objective* the “formal” essence of all things, without omission or addition. And this is necessarily but one, considering that all the essences of the attributes, and the essences of the modes comprehended in these attributes, are the essence of one only infinite being. But it has still to be remarked that these modes, now under consideration, [even when] none of them exists, are nevertheless equally comprehended in their attributes; and as there is no inequality whatever in the attributes, nor yet in the essences of the modes, there can be no particularity in the idea when there is none in Nature. But as soon as ever some of these modes take on their particular existence, and thereby become in some way different from their attributes (because then their particular existence, which they have in the attribute, as the “subject” of their essence), then there shows itself a particularity in the essences of the modes, and consequently in the “objective” essences of these which are necessarily comprehended in the Idea. And this is the reason why we said, in the definition, that the Idea *arises from an object, which really exists in Nature*. And with this we think we have sufficiently explained what kind of a thing the soul is in general, understanding by this expression not only the Ideas which arise from the existence of corporeal modes, but also those which arise from the existence of every mode of the remaining attributes.

But, since we have no such knowledge of the remaining attributes as we have of extension, let us just see whether, having regard to the modes of extension, we can discover a more special definition, and one that shall be more appropriate to express the essence of our souls, for this is the real task before us. Now we shall presuppose here, as something already demonstrated, that extension contains no other modes than motion and rest, and that every particular material thing is nothing else than a certain proportion of motion and rest, so much so indeed that, even if extension contained nothing else except motion only or rest only, then no particular thing could be shown or exist in the whole of extension; the human

body, therefore, is nothing else than a certain proportion of motion and rest. Now the “objective essence” of this actual ratio of motion and rest which is in the thinking attribute, this (we say) is the soul of the body; so that whenever one of these two modes changes into more or less (motion or rest) the Idea or the soul also changes accordingly. For example, when the [amount of] rest happens to increase, while the [quantity of] motion is diminished, then there is produced thereby that pain or sorrow which we call *cold*; but if, on the contrary, this [increase] takes place in the [amount of] motion, then there is produced thereby that pain which we call *heat*. And so when it happens that the degrees of motion and rest are not equal in all the parts of our body, but that some have more motion and rest than others, there arises therefrom a difference of feeling (and thence arises the different kind of pain which we feel when we are struck in the eyes or on the hands with a cane). And when it happens that the external causes, which bring about these changes, are different from one another, and have not all the same effect, then there results from this a difference of feeling in one and the same part (and from this results the difference of feeling according as one and the same hand is struck with a piece of wood or of iron). And, again, if the change which occurs in a part restores it to its first proportion of motion and rest, there arises from this that joy which we call repose, pleasurable activity, and cheerfulness. Lastly, now that we have explained what feeling is, we can easily see how this gives rise to an *Idea reflexiva*, or the knowledge of oneself, Experience and Reasoning. And from all this (as also because our soul is united with God, and is a part of the infinite Idea, arising immediately from God) there can also be clearly seen the origin of clear knowledge, and the immortality of the soul. But, for the present, what we have said must be enough.

Treatise on the Emendation of the Intellect



Translated by R. H. M. Elwes

Tractatus de Intellectus Emendatione is an unfinished work, which was published posthumously in 1677, the year of Spinoza's death, by some of his closest friends, along with the *Ethica* and the *Tractatus Politicus*. The treatise is an attempt to formulate a philosophical method, allowing the mind to form the clear and distinct ideas that are necessary for perfection. The text also examines reflection on the various kinds of knowledge, offering an extended treatment of definition and a lengthy analysis of the nature and causes of doubt. Spinoza also addresses the issue of memory and forgetting.

The treatise commences with the intention of examining the problem of knowledge, as epistemological views are almost inseparably connected with ethical views. That is the consequence of his characteristic conception of knowledge. For Spinoza "knowledge" is "life", not in the sense that contemplation is the highest life, but in the sense that knowledge is the means of holding together the threads of life in a systematic unity that can fill its proper place in the cosmic system.

Spinoza upholds that there are two things that must be borne in mind in connection with his conception of knowledge. The first is his insistence on the active character of knowledge. The concepts by which thought construes reality are not like "lifeless pictures on a panel"; instead, they are activities by which reality is apprehended, as they are part of reality and thus reality is activity. Spinoza is eager to stress that knowing should not be separate from willing. Man always acts according to his lights. If a man's endeavours appear to fall short of his knowledge, that is only because his knowledge is not really what it is held to be, but is wanting in some respect. On the one hand, reason is essentially the

“practical reason”. On the other hand, the highest expression of willing is experienced in that striving for consistency and harmony which is so characteristic of reason.

TRACTATUS
De
INTELLECTUS
EMENDATIONE,

Et de viâ , quâ optimè in veram rerum Cogni-
tionem dirigitur.

Postquam me Experientia docuit , omnia , quæ in
communi vitâ frequenter occurrunt , vana , & fu-
tilia esse : cum viderem omnia , à quibus , &
quæ timebam , nihil neque boni , neque , mali in se
habere , nisi quatenus ab iis animus movebatur ;
constitui tandem inquirere , an aliquid daretur ,
quod verum bonum , & sui communicabile esset , & à quo solo ,
rejectis cæteris omnibus , animus afficeretur ; imò an aliquid da-
retur , quo invento , & acquisito , continuâ , ac summâ in æternum.

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Notice to the Reader.



THIS TREATISE ON the Emendation of the Intellect etc., which we give you here, kind reader, in its unfinished [that is, defective] state, was written by the author many years ago now. He always intended to finish it. But hindered by other occupations, and finally snatched away by death, he was unable to bring it to the desired conclusion. But since it contains many excellent and useful things, which — we have no doubt — will be of great benefit to anyone sincerely seeking the truth, we did not wish to deprive you of them. And so that you would be aware of, and find less difficult to excuse, the many things that are still obscure, rough, and unpolished, we wished to warn you of them. Farewell.

This notice to the reader was written by the editors of the Opera Postuma in 1677.

Introduction

On the Improvement of the Understanding



AFTER EXPERIENCE HAD taught me that all the usual surroundings of social life are vain and futile; seeing that none of the objects of my fears contained in themselves anything either good or bad, except in so far as the mind is affected by them, I finally resolved to inquire whether there might be some real good having power to communicate itself, which would affect the mind singly, to the exclusion of all else: whether, in fact, there might be anything of which the discovery and attainment would enable me to enjoy continuous, supreme, and unending happiness.

I say “I finally resolved,” for at first sight it seemed unwise willingly to lose hold on what was sure for the sake of something then uncertain. I could see the benefits which are acquired through fame and riches, and that I should be obliged to abandon the quest of such objects, if I seriously devoted myself to the search for something different and new. I perceived that if true happiness chanced to be placed in the former I should necessarily miss it; while if, on the other hand, it were not so placed, and I gave them my whole attention, I should equally fail.

Of the ordinary objects of men's desires



I THEREFORE DEBATED whether it would not be possible to arrive at the new principle, or at any rate at a certainty concerning its existence, without changing the conduct and usual plan of my life; with this end in view I made many efforts, in vain. For the ordinary surroundings of life which are esteemed by men (as their actions testify) to be the highest good, may be classed under the three heads — Riches, Fame, and the Pleasures of Sense: with these three the mind is so absorbed that it has little power to reflect on any different good.

By sensual pleasure the mind is enthralled to the extent of quiescence, as if the supreme good were actually attained, so that it is quite incapable of thinking of any other object; when such pleasure has been gratified it is followed by extreme melancholy, whereby the mind, though not enthralled, is disturbed and dulled. The pursuit of honors and riches is likewise very absorbing, especially if such objects be sought simply for their own sake, 1 inasmuch as they are then supposed to constitute the highest good.

In the case of fame the mind is still more absorbed, for fame is conceived as always good for its own sake, and as the ultimate end to which all actions are directed. Further, the attainment of riches and fame is not followed as in the case of sensual pleasures by repentance, but, the more we acquire, the greater is our delight, and, consequently, the more are we incited to increase both the one and the other; on the other hand, if our hopes happen to be frustrated we are plunged into the deepest sadness. Fame has the further drawback that it compels its votaries to order their lives according to the opinions of their fellow-men, shunning what they usually shun, and seeking what they usually seek.

When I saw that all these ordinary objects of desire would be obstacles in the way of a search for something different and new — nay, that they were so

opposed thereto, that either they or it would have to be abandoned, I was forced to inquire which would prove the most useful to me: for, as I say, I seemed to be willingly losing hold on a sure good for the sake of something uncertain. However, after I had reflected on the matter, I came in the first place to the conclusion that by abandoning the ordinary objects of pursuit, and betaking myself to a new quest, I should be leaving a good, uncertain by reason of its own nature, as may be gathered from what has been said, for the sake of a good not uncertain in its nature (for I sought for a fixed good), but only in the possibility of its attainment.

Further reflection convinced me that if I could really get to the root of the matter I should be leaving certain evils for a certain good. I thus perceived that I was in a state of great peril, and I compelled myself to seek with all my strength for a remedy, however uncertain it might be; as a sick man struggling with a deadly disease, when he sees that death will surely be upon him unless a remedy be found, is compelled to seek a remedy with all his strength, inasmuch as his whole hope lies therein. All the objects pursued by the multitude not only bring no remedy that tends to preserve our being, but even act as hindrances, causing the death not seldom of those who possess them ² and always of those who are possessed by them.

There are many examples of men who have suffered persecution even to death for the sake of their riches, and of men who in pursuit of wealth have exposed themselves to so many dangers, that they have paid away their life as a penalty for their folly. Examples are no less numerous of men, who have endured the utmost wretchedness for the sake of gaining or preserving their reputation. Lastly, are innumerable cases of men, who have hastened their death through over-indulgence in sensual pleasure.

All these evils seem to have arisen from the fact, that happiness or unhappiness is made wholly dependent on the quality of the object which we love. When a thing is not loved, no quarrels will arise concerning it — no sadness be felt if it

hatred, in short no disturbances of the mind. All these arise from the love of what is perishable, such as the objects already mentioned.

But love towards a thing eternal and infinite feeds the mind wholly with joy, and is itself unmingled with any sadness, wherefore it is greatly to be desired and sought for with all our strength. Yet it was not at random that I used the words, “If I could go to the root of the matter,” for, though what I have urged was perfectly clear to my mind, I could not forthwith lay aside all love of riches, sensual enjoyment, and fame.

One thing was evident, namely, that while my mind was employed with these thoughts it turned away from its former objects of desire, and seriously considered the search for a new principle; this state of things was a great comfort to me, for I perceived that the evils were not such as to resist all remedies. Although these intervals were at first rare, and of very short duration, yet afterwards, as the true good became more and more discernible to me, they became more frequent and more lasting; especially after I had recognized that the acquisition of wealth, sensual pleasure, or fame, is only a hindrance, so long as they are sought as ends not as means; if they be sought as means, they will be under restraint, and, far from being hindrances, will further not a little the end for which they are sought, as I will show in due time.

¹ This might be explained more at large and more clearly: I mean by distinguishing riches according as they are pursued for their own sake, in or furtherance of fame, or sensual pleasure, or the advancement of science and art. But this subject is reserved to its own place, for it is not here proper to investigate the matter more accurately.

² These considerations should be set forth more precisely.

Of the true and final good



I WILL HERE only briefly state what I mean by true good, and also what is the nature of the highest good. In order that this may be rightly understood, we must bear in mind that the terms good and evil are only applied relatively, so that the same thing may be called both good and bad according to the relations in view, in the same way as it may be called perfect or imperfect. Nothing regarded in its own nature can be called perfect or imperfect; especially when we are aware that all things which come to pass, come to pass according to the eternal order and fixed laws of nature.

However, human weakness cannot attain to this order in its own thoughts, but meanwhile man conceives a human character much more stable than his own, and sees that there is no reason why he should not himself acquire such a character. Thus he is led to seek for means which will bring him to this pitch of perfection, and calls everything which will serve as such means a true good. The chief good is that he should arrive, together with other individuals if possible, at the possession of the aforesaid character. What that character is we shall show in due time, namely, that it is the knowledge of the union existing being the mind and the whole of nature. [3](#)

This, then, is the end for which I strive, to attain to such a character myself, and to endeavor that many should attain to it with me. In other words, it is part of my happiness to lend a helping hand, that many others may understand even as I do, so that their understanding and desire may entirely agree with my own. In order to bring this about, it is necessary to understand as much of nature as will enable us to attain to the aforesaid character, and also to form a social order such as is most conducive to the attainment of this character by the greatest number with the least difficulty and danger.

We must seek the assistance of Moral Philosophy ⁴ and the Theory of Education; further, as health is no insignificant means for attaining our end, we must also include the whole science of Medicine, and, as many difficult things are by contrivance rendered easy, and we can in this way gain much time and convenience, the science of Mechanics must in no way be despised.

But before all things, a means must be devised for improving the understanding and purifying it, as far as may be at the outset, so that it may apprehend things without error, and in the best possible way. Thus it is apparent to everyone that I wish to direct all science to one end ⁵ and aim, so that we may attain to the supreme human perfection which we have named; and, therefore, whatsoever in the sciences does not serve to promote our object will have to be rejected as useless. To sum up the matter in a word, all our actions and thoughts must be directed to this one end.

³ These matters are explained more at length elsewhere.

⁴ N.B. I do no more here than enumerate the sciences necessary for our purpose; I lay no stress on their order.

⁵ There is for the sciences but one end, to which they should all be directed.

Certain rules of life



YET, AS IT is necessary that while we are endeavoring to attain our purpose, and bring the understanding into the right path we should carry on our life, we are compelled first of all to lay down certain rules of life as provisionally good, to wit the following: —

I. To speak in a manner intelligible to the multitude, and to comply with every general custom that does not hinder the attainment of our purpose. For we can gain from the multitude no small advantages, provided that we strive to accommodate ourselves to its understanding as far as possible: moreover, we shall in this way gain a friendly audience for the reception of the truth.

II. To indulge ourselves with pleasures only in so far as they are necessary for preserving health.

III. Lastly, to endeavor to obtain only sufficient money or other commodities to enable us to preserve our life and health, and to follow such general customs as are consistent with our purpose.

Having laid down these preliminary rules, I will betake myself to the first and most important task, namely, the amendment of the understanding, and the rendering it capable of understanding things in the manner necessary for attaining our end. In order to bring this about, the natural order demands that I should here recapitulate all the modes of perception, which I have hitherto employed for affirming or denying anything with certainty, so that I may choose the best, and at the same time begin to know my own powers and the nature which I wish to perfect.

Of the four modes of perception



REFLECTION SHOWS THAT all modes of perception or knowledge may be reduced to four: —

I. Perception arising from hearsay or from some sign which everyone may name as he please.

II. Perception arising from mere experience — that is, from experience not yet classified by the intellect, and only so called because the given event has happened to take place, and we have no contradictory fact to set against it, so that it therefore remains unassailed in our minds.

III. Perception arising when the essence of one thing is inferred from another thing, but not adequately; this comes when 6 from some effect we gather its cause, or when it is inferred from some general proposition that some property is always present.

IV. Lastly, there is the perception arising when a thing is perceived solely through its essence, or through the knowledge of its proximate cause.

All these kinds of perception I will illustrate by examples. By hearsay I know the day of my birth, my parentage, and other matters about which I have never felt any doubt. By mere experience I know that I shall die, for this I can affirm from having seen that others like myself have died, though all did not live for the same period, or die by the same disease. I know by mere experience that oil has the property of feeding fire, and water of extinguishing it. In the same way I know that a dog is a barking animal, man a rational animal, and in fact nearly all the practical knowledge of life.

We deduce one thing from another as follows: when we clearly perceive that we feel a certain body and no other, we thence clearly infer that the mind is united 7 to the body, and that their union is the cause of the given sensation; but we

cannot thence absolutely understand 8 the nature of the sensation and the union. Or, after I have become acquainted with the nature of vision, and know that it has the property of making one and the same thing appear smaller when far off than when near, I can infer that the sun is larger than it appears, and can draw other conclusions of the same kind.

Lastly, a thing may be perceived solely through its essence; when, from the fact of knowing something, I know what it is to know that thing, or when, from knowing the essence of the mind, I know that it is united to the body. By the same kind of knowledge we know that two and three make five, or that two lines each parallel to a third, are parallel to one another, &c. The things which I have been able to know by this kind of knowledge are as yet very few.

In order that the whole matter may be put in a clearer light, I will make use of a single illustration as follows. Three numbers are given — it is required to find a fourth, which shall be to the third as the second is to the first. Tradesmen will at once tell us that they know what is required to find the fourth number, for they have not yet forgotten the rule which was given to them arbitrarily without proof by their masters; others construct a universal axiom from their experience with simple numbers, where the fourth number is self-evident, as in the case of 2, 4, 3, 6; here it is evident that if the second number be multiplied by the third, and the product divided by the first, the quotient is 6; when they see that by this process the number is produced which they knew beforehand to be the proportional, they infer that the process always holds good for finding a fourth number proportional.

Mathematicians, however, know by the proof of the nineteenth proposition of the seventh book of Euclid, what numbers are proportionals, namely, from the nature and property of proportion it follows that the product of the first and fourth will be equal to the product of the second and third: still they do not see the adequate proportionality of the given numbers, or, if they do see it, they see it not by virtue of Euclid's proposition, but intuitively, without going through any process.

6 In this case we do not understand anything of the cause from the consideration of it in the effect. This is sufficiently evident from the fact that the cause is only spoken of in very general terms, such as — there exists then something; there exists then some power, &c.; or from the that we only express it in a negative manner — it is not or that, &c. In the second case something is ascribed to the cause because of the effect, as we shall show in an example, but only a property, never an essence.

7 From this example may be clearly seen what I have just drawn attention to. For through this union we understand nothing beyond the sensation, the effect, to wit, from which we inferred the cause of which we understand nothing.

8 A conclusion of this sort, though it be certain, is yet not to be relied on without great caution; for unless we are exceedingly careful we shall forthwith fall into error. When things are conceived thus abstractedly, and not through their true essence, they are apt to be confused by the imagination. For that which is in itself one, men imagine to be multiplex. To those things which are conceived abstractedly, apart, and confusedly, terms are applied which are apt to become wrested from their strict meaning, and bestowed on things more familiar; whence it results that these latter are imagined in the same way as the former to which the terms were originally given.

Of the best mode of perception



IN ORDER THAT from these modes of perception the best may be selected, it is well that we should briefly enumerate the means necessary for attaining our end.

I. To have an exact knowledge of our nature which we desire to perfect, and to know as much as is needful of nature in general. II. To collect in this way the differences, the agreements, and the oppositions of things. III. To learn thus exactly how far they can or cannot be modified. IV. To compare this result with the nature and power of man. We shall thus discern the highest degree of perfection to which man is capable of attaining.

We shall then be in a position to see which mode of perception we ought to choose. As to the first mode, it is evident that from hearsay our knowledge must always be uncertain, and, moreover, can give us no insight into the essence of a thing, as is manifest in our illustration; now one can only arrive at knowledge of a thing through knowledge of its essence, as will hereafter appear. We may, therefore clearly conclude that the certainty arising from hearsay cannot be scientific in its character. For simple hearsay cannot affect anyone whose understanding does not, so to speak, meet it half way.

The second mode of perception ⁹ cannot be said to give us the idea of the proportion of which we are in search. Moreover its results are very uncertain and indefinite, for we shall never discover anything in natural phenomena by its means, except accidental properties, which are never clearly understood, unless the essence of the things in question be known first. Wherefore this mode also must be rejected.

Of the third mode of perception we may say in a manner that it gives us the idea of the thing sought, and that it us to draw conclusions without risk of error; yet it is not by itself sufficient to put us in possession of the perfection we aim at.

The fourth mode alone apprehends the adequate essence of a thing without danger of error. This mode, therefore, must be the one which we chiefly employ. How, then, should we avail ourselves of it so as to gain the fourth kind of knowledge with the least delay concerning things previously unknown? I will proceed to explain.

Now that we know what kind of knowledge is necessary for us, we must indicate the way and the method whereby we may gain the said knowledge concerning the things needful to be known. In order to accomplish this, we must first take care not to commit ourselves to a search, going back to infinity — that is, in order to discover the best method of finding truth, there is no need of another method to discover such method; nor of a third method for discovering the second, and so on to infinity. By such proceedings, we should never arrive at the knowledge of the truth, or, indeed, at any knowledge at all. The matter stands on the same footing as the making of material tools, which might be argued about in a similar way. For, in order to work iron, a hammer is needed, and the hammer cannot be forthcoming unless it has been made; but, in order to make it, there was need of another hammer and other tools, and so on to infinity. We might thus vainly endeavor to prove that men have no power of working iron.

But as men at first made use of the instruments supplied by nature to accomplish very easy pieces of workmanship, laboriously and imperfectly, and then, when these were finished, wrought other things more difficult with less labour and greater perfection; and so gradually mounted from the simplest operations to the making of tools, and from the making of tools to the making of more complex tools, and fresh feats of workmanship, till they arrived at making, complicated mechanisms which they now possess. So, in like manner, the intellect, by its native strength [10](#), makes for itself intellectual instruments, whereby it acquires strength for performing other intellectual operations [11](#), and from these operations again fresh instruments, or the power of pushing its investigations further, and thus gradually proceeds till it reaches the summit of wisdom.

That this is the path pursued by the understanding may be readily seen, when we understand the nature of the method for finding out the truth, and of the natural instruments so necessary complex instruments, and for the progress of investigation. I thus proceed with my demonstration.

9 I shall here treat a little more in detail of experience, and shall examine the method adopted by the Empirics, and by recent philosophers.

10 By native strength, I mean that not bestowed on us by external causes, as I shall afterwards explain in my philosophy.

11 Here I term them operations: I shall explain their nature in my philosophy.

Of the instruments of the intellect, or true ideas



A TRUE IDEA ¹², (for we possess a true idea) is something different from its correlate (ideatum); thus a circle is different from the idea of a circle. The idea of a circle is not something having a circumference and a center, as a circle has; nor is the idea of a body that body itself. Now, as it is something different from its correlate, it is capable of being understood through itself; in other words, the idea, in so far as its actual essence (*essentia formalis*) is concerned, may be the subject of another subjective essence (*essentia objectiva*). ^{12a} And, again, this second subjective essence will, regarded in itself, be something real, capable of being understood; and so on, indefinitely.

For instance, the man Peter is something real; the true idea of Peter is the reality of Peter represented subjectively, and is in itself something real, and quite distinct from the actual Peter. Now, as this true idea of Peter is in itself something real, and has its own individual existence, it will also be capable of being understood — that is, of being the subject of another idea, which will contain by representation (objective) all that the idea of Peter contains actually (*formaliter*). And, again, this idea of the idea of Peter has its own individuality, which may become the subject of yet another idea; and so on, indefinitely. This everyone may make trial of for himself, by reflecting that he knows what Peter is, and also knows that he knows, and further knows that he knows that he knows, &c. Hence it is plain that, in order to understand the actual Peter, it is not necessary first to understand the idea of Peter, and still less the idea of the idea of Peter. This is the same as saying that, in order to know, there is no need to know that we know, much less to know that we know that we know. This is no more necessary than to know the nature of a circle before knowing the nature of a triangle. ¹³ But, with

these ideas, the contrary is the case: for, in order to know that I know, I must first know.

Hence it is clear that certainty is nothing else than the subjective essence of a thing: in other words, the mode in which we perceive an actual reality is certainty. Further, it is also evident that, for the certitude of truth, no further sign is necessary beyond the possession of a true idea: for, as I have shown, it is not necessary to know that we know that we know. Hence, again, it is clear that no one can know the nature of the highest certainty, unless he possesses an adequate idea, or the subjective essence of a thing: certainty is identical with such subjective essence.

Thus, as the truth needs no sign — it being to possess the subjective essence of things, or, in other words, the ideas of them, in order that all doubts may be removed — it follows that the true method does not consist in seeking for the signs of truth after the acquisition of the idea, but that the true method teaches us the order in which we should seek for truth itself [14](#) or the subjective essences of things, or ideas, for all these expressions are synonymous.

Again, method must necessarily be concerned with reasoning or understanding — I mean, method is not identical with reasoning in the search for causes, still less is it the comprehension of the causes of things: it is the discernment of a true idea, by distinguishing it from other perceptions, and by investigating its nature, in order that we may so train our mind that it may, by a given standard, comprehend whatsoever is intelligible, by laying down certain rules as aids, and by avoiding useless mental exertion.

Whence we may gather that method is nothing else than reflective knowledge, or the idea of an idea; and that as there can be no idea of an idea — unless an idea exists previously, — there can be no method without a pre-existent idea. Therefore, that will be a good method which shows us how the mind should be directed, according to the standard of the given true idea. Again, seeing that the ratio existing between two ideas is the same as the ratio between the actual realities corresponding to those ideas, it follows that the reflective knowledge

which has for its object the most perfect being is more excellent than reflective knowledge concerning other objects — in other words, that method will be most perfect which affords the standard of the given idea of the most perfect being whereby we may direct our mind.

We thus easily understand how, in proportion as it acquires new ideas, the mind simultaneously acquires fresh instruments for pursuing its inquiries further. For we may gather from what has been said, that a true idea must necessarily first of all exist in us as a natural instrument; and that when this idea is apprehended by the mind, it enables us to understand the difference existing between itself and all other perceptions. In this, one part of the method consists. Now it is clear that the mind apprehends itself better in proportion as it understands a greater number of natural objects; it follows, therefore, that this portion of the method will be more perfect in proportion as the mind attains to the comprehension of a greater number of objects, and that it will be absolutely perfect when the mind gains a knowledge of the absolutely perfect being, or becomes conscious thereof.

Again, the more things the mind knows, the better does it understand its own strength and the order of nature; by increased self-knowledge, it can direct itself more easily, and lay down rules for its own guidance; and, by increased knowledge of nature, it can more easily avoid what is useless. And this is the sum total of method, as we have already stated.

We may add that the idea in the world of thought is in the same case as its correlate in the world of reality. If, therefore, there be anything in nature which is without connection with any other thing, and if we assign to it a subjective essence, which would in every way correspond to the objective reality, the subjective essence would have no connection ¹⁵ with any other ideas — in other words, we could not draw any conclusions with regard to it. On the other hand, those things which are connected with others — as all things that exist in nature — will be understood by the mind, and their subjective essences will maintain the same mutual relations as their objective realities — that is to say, we shall infer from these ideas other ideas, which will in turn be connected with others, and thus

our instruments for proceeding with our investigation will increase. This is what we were endeavoring to prove.

Further, from what has just been said — namely, that an idea must, in all respects, correspond to its correlate in the world of reality, — it is evident that, in order to reproduce in every respect the faithful image of nature, our mind must deduce all its ideas from the idea which represents the origin and source of the whole of nature, so that it may itself become the source of other ideas.

12 I shall take care not only to demonstrate what I have just advanced, but also that we have hitherto proceeded rightly, and other things needful to be known.

^{12a} In modern language, “the idea may become the subject of another presentation.” Objectivus generally corresponds to the modern “subjective,” formalis to the modern “objective.” [Trans. — Note 1]

13 Observe that we are not here inquiring how the first subjective essence is innate in us. This belongs to an investigation into nature, where all these matters are amply explained, and it is shown that without ideas neither affirmation, nor negation, nor volition are possible.

14 The nature of mental search is explained in my philosophy.

15 To be connected with other things is to be produced by them, or to produce them.

Answers to objections



IT MAY, PERHAPS, provoke astonishment that, after having said that the good method is that which teaches us to direct our mind according to the standard of the given true idea, we should prove our point by reasoning, which would seem to indicate that it is not self-evident. We may, therefore, be questioned as to the validity of our reasoning. If our reasoning be sound, we must take as a starting-point a true idea. Now, to be certain that our starting-point is really a true idea, we need proof. This first course of reasoning must be supported by a second, the second by a third, and so on to infinity.

To this I make answer that, if by some happy chance anyone had adopted this method in his investigations of nature — that is, if he had acquired new ideas in the proper order, according to the standard of the original true idea, he would never have doubted ¹⁶ of the truth of his knowledge, inasmuch as truth, as we have shown, makes itself manifest, and all things would flow, as it were, spontaneously towards him. But as this never, or rarely, happens, I have been forced so to arrange my proceedings, that we may acquire by reflection and forethought what we cannot acquire by chance, and that it may at the same time appear that, for proving the truth, and for valid reasoning, we need no other means than the truth and valid reasoning themselves: for by valid reasoning I have established valid reasoning, and, in like measure, I seek still to establish it.

Moreover, this is the order of thinking adopted by men in their inward meditations. The reasons for its rare employment in investigations of nature are to be found in current misconceptions, whereof we shall examine the causes hereafter in our philosophy. Moreover, it demands, as we shall show, a keen and accurate discernment. Lastly, it is hindered by the conditions of human life, which

are, as we have already pointed out, extremely changeable. There are also other obstacles, which we will not here inquire into.

If anyone asks why I have not at the starting-point set forth all the truths of nature in their due order, inasmuch as truth is self-evident, I reply by warning him not to reject as false any paradoxes he may find here, but to take the trouble to reflect on the chain of reasoning by which they are supported; he will then be no longer in doubt that we have attained to the truth. This is why I have as above.

If there yet remains some sceptic, who doubts of our primary truth, and of all deductions we make, taking such truth as our standard, he must either be arguing in bad faith, or we must confess that there are men in complete mental blindness either innate or due to misconceptions — that is, to some external influence. Such persons are not conscious of themselves. If they affirm or doubt anything, they know not that they affirm or doubt: they say that they know nothing, and they say that they are ignorant of the very fact of their knowing nothing. Even this they do not affirm absolutely, they are afraid of confessing that they exist, so long as they know nothing; in fact, they ought to remain dumb, for fear of haply supposing which should smack of truth.

Lastly, with such persons, one should not speak of sciences: for, in what relates to life and conduct, they are compelled by necessity to suppose that they exist, and seek their own advantage, and often affirm and deny, even with an oath. If they deny, grant, or gainsay, they know not that they deny, grant, or gainsay, so that they ought to be regarded as automata, utterly devoid of intelligence.

Let us now return to our proposition. Up to the present, we have, first, defined the end to which we desire to direct all our thoughts; secondly, we have determined the mode of perception best adapted to aid us in attaining our perfection; thirdly, we have discovered the way which our mind should take, in order to make a good beginning — namely, that it should use every true idea as a standard in pursuing its inquiries according to fixed rules. Now, in order that it may thus proceed, our method must furnish us, first, with a means of distinguishing a true idea from all other perceptions, and enabling the mind to

avoid the latter; secondly, with rules for perceiving unknown things according to the standard of the true idea; thirdly, with an order which enables us to avoid useless labor. When we became acquainted with this method, we saw that, fourthly, it would be perfect when we had attained to the idea of the absolutely perfect Being. This is an observation which should be made at the outset, in order that we may arrive at the knowledge of such a being more quickly.

16 In the same way as we have here no doubt of the truth of our knowledge.

First part of method

Distinction of true ideas from fictitious ideas



LET US THEN make a beginning with the first part of the method, which is, as we have said, to distinguish and separate the true idea from other perceptions, and to keep the mind from confusing with true ideas those which are false, fictitious, and doubtful. I intend to dwell on this point at length, partly to keep a distinction so necessary before the reader's mind, and also because there are some who doubt of true ideas, through not having attended to the distinction between a true perception and all others. Such persons are like men who, while they are awake, doubt not that they are awake, but afterwards in a dream, as often happens, thinking that they are surely awake, and then finding that they were in error, become doubtful even of being awake. This state of mind arises through neglect of the distinction between sleeping and waking.

Meanwhile, I give warning that I shall not here give essence of every perception, and explain it through its proximate cause. Such work lies in the province of philosophy. I shall confine myself to what concerns method — that is, to the character of fictitious, false and doubtful perceptions, and the means of freeing ourselves therefrom. Let us then first inquire into the nature of a fictitious idea.

Every perception has for its object either a thing considered as existing, or solely the essence of a thing. Now “fiction” is chiefly occupied with things considered as existing. I will, therefore, consider these first — I mean cases where only the existence of an object is feigned, and the thing thus feigned is understood, or assumed to be understood. For instance, I feign that Peter, whom I know to have gone home, is gone to see me [17](#) or something of that kind. With what is such an idea concerned? It is concerned with things possible, and not with things necessary or impossible.

I call a thing impossible when its existence would imply a contradiction; necessary, when its non-existence would imply a contradiction; possible, when neither its existence nor its non-existence imply a contradiction, but when the necessity or impossibility of its nature depends on causes unknown to us, while we feign that it exists. If the necessity or impossibility of its existence depending on external causes were known to us, we could not form any fictitious hypotheses about it;

Whence it follows that if there be a God, or omniscient Being, such an one cannot form fictitious hypotheses. For, as regards ourselves, when I know that I exist ¹⁸ I cannot hypothesize that I exist or do not exist, any more than I can hypothesize an elephant that can go through the eye of a needle; nor when I know the nature of God, can I hypothesize that He or does not exist. ¹⁹ The same thing must be said of the Chimaera, whereof the nature implies a contradiction. From these considerations, it is plain, as I have already stated, that fiction cannot be concerned with eternal truths. ²⁰

But before proceeding further, I must remark, in passing, that the difference between the essence of one thing and the essence of another thing is the same as that which exists between the reality or existence of one thing and the reality or existence of another; therefore, if we wished to conceive the existence, for example, of Adam, simply by means of existence in general, it would be the same as if, in order to conceive his existence, we went back to the nature of being, so as to define Adam as a being. Thus, the more existence is conceived generally, the more is it conceived confusedly and the more easily can it be ascribed to a given object. Contrariwise, the more it is conceived particularly, the more is it understood clearly, and the less liable is it to be ascribed, through negligence of Nature's order, to anything save its proper object. This is worthy of remark.

We now proceed to consider those cases which are commonly called fictions, though we clearly understood that the thing is not as we imagine it. For instance, I know that the earth is round, but nothing prevents my telling people that it is a hemisphere, and that it is like a half apple carved in relief on a dish; or, that the

sun moves round the earth, and so on. However, examination will show us that there is nothing here inconsistent with what has been said, provided we first admit that we may have made mistakes, and be now conscious of them; and, further, that we can hypothesize, or at least suppose, that others are under the same mistake as ourselves, or can, like us, fall under it. We can, I repeat, thus hypothesize so long as we see no impossibility. Thus, when I tell anyone that the earth is not round, &c., I merely recall the error which I perhaps made myself, or which I might have fallen into, and afterwards I hypothesize that the person to whom I tell it, is still, or may still fall under the same mistake. This I say, I can feign so long as I do not perceive any impossibility or necessity; if I truly understood either one or the other I should not be able to feign, and I should be reduced to saying that I had made the attempt.

It remains for us to consider hypotheses made in problems, which sometimes involve impossibilities. For instance, when we say — let us assume that this burning candle is not burning, or, let us assume that it burns in some imaginary space, or where there are no physical objects. Such assumptions are freely made, though the last is clearly seen to be impossible. But, though this be so, there is no fiction in the case. For, in the first case, I have merely recalled to memory [21](#) another candle not burning, or conceived the candle before me as without a flame, and then I understand as applying to the latter, leaving its flame out of the question, all that I think of the former. In the second case, I have merely to abstract my thoughts from the objects surrounding the candle, for the mind to devote itself to the contemplation of the candle singly looked at in itself only; I can then draw the conclusion that the candle contains in itself no causes for its own destruction, so that if there were no physical objects the candle, and even the flame, would remain unchangeable, and so on. Thus there is here no fiction, but [22](#) true and bare assertions.

Let us now pass on to the fictions concerned with essences only, or with some reality or existence simultaneously. Of these we must specially observe that in proportion as the mind's understanding is smaller, and its experience multiplex, so

will its power of coining fictions be larger, whereas as its understanding increases, its capacity for entertaining fictitious ideas becomes less. For instance, in the same way as we are unable, while we are thinking, to feign that we are thinking or not thinking, so, also, when we know the nature of body we cannot imagine an infinite fly; or, when we know the nature of the soul ²³ we cannot imagine it as square, though anything may be expressed verbally. But, as we said above, the less men know of nature the more easily can they coin fictitious ideas, such as trees speaking, men instantly changed into stones, or into fountains, ghosts appearing in mirrors, something issuing from nothing, even gods changed into beasts and men and infinite other absurdities of the same kind.

Some persons think, perhaps, that fiction is limited by fiction, and not by understanding; in other words, after I have formed some fictitious idea, and have affirmed of my own free will that it exists under a certain form in nature, I am thereby precluded from thinking of it under any other form. For instance, when I have feigned (to repeat their argument) that the nature of body is of a certain kind, and have of my own free will desired to convince myself that it actually exists under this form, I am no longer able to hypothesize that a fly, for example, is infinite; so, when I have hypothesized the essence of the soul, I am not able to think of it as square, &c.

But these arguments demand further inquiry. First, their upholders must either grant or deny that we can understand anything. If they grant it, then necessarily the same must be said of understanding, as is said of fiction. If they deny it, let us, who know that we do know something, see what they mean. They assert that the soul can be conscious of, and perceive in a variety of ways, not itself nor things which exist, but only things which are neither in itself nor anywhere else, in other words, that the soul can, by its unaided power, create sensations or ideas unconnected with things. In fact, they regard the soul as a sort of god. Further, they assert that we or our soul have such freedom that we can constrain ourselves, or our soul, or even our soul's freedom. For, after it has formed a fictitious idea, and has given its assent thereto, it cannot think or feign it in any other manner, but

is constrained by the first fictitious idea to keep all its other thoughts in harmony therewith. Our opponents are thus driven to admit, in support of their fiction, the absurdities which I have just enumerated; and which are not worthy of rational refutation.

While leaving such persons in their error, we will take care to derive from our argument with them a truth serviceable for our purpose, namely [24](#) that the mind, in paying attention to a thing hypothetical or false, so as to meditate upon it and understand it, and derive the proper conclusions in due order therefrom, will readily discover its falsity; and if the thing hypothetical be in its nature true, and the mind pays attention to it, so as to understand it, and deduce the truths which are derivable from it, the mind will proceed with an uninterrupted series of apt conclusions; in the same way as it would at once discover (as we showed just now) the absurdity of a false hypothesis, and of the conclusions drawn from it.

We need, therefore, be in no fear of forming hypotheses, so long as we have a clear and distinct perception of what is involved. For, if we were to assert, haply, that men are suddenly turned into beasts, the statement would be extremely general, so general that there would be no conception, that is, no idea or connection of subject and predicate, in our mind. If there were such a conception we should at the same time be aware of the means and the causes whereby the event took place. Moreover, we pay no attention to the nature of the subject and the predicate.

Now, if the first idea be not fictitious, and if all the other ideas be deduced therefrom, our hurry to form fictitious ideas will gradually subside. Further, as a fictitious idea cannot be clear and distinct, but is necessarily confused, and as all confusion arises from the fact that the mind has only partial knowledge of a thing either simple or complex, and does not distinguish between the known and the unknown, and, again, that it directs its attention promiscuously to all parts of an object at once without making distinctions, it follows, first, that if the idea be of something very simple, it must necessarily be clear and distinct. For a very simple object cannot be known in part, it must either be known altogether or not at all.

17 See below the note on hypotheses, whereof we have a clear understanding; the fiction consists in saying that such hypotheses exist in heavenly bodies.

18 As a thing, when once it is understood, manifests itself, we have need only of an example without further proof. In the same way the contrary has only to be presented to our minds to be recognized as false, as will forthwith appear when we come to discuss fiction concerning essences.

19 Observe, that although many assert that they doubt whether God exists, they have nought but his name in their minds, or else some fiction which they call God: this fiction is not in harmony with God's real nature, as we will duly show.

20 I shall presently show that no fiction can concern eternal truths. By an eternal truth, I mean that which being positive could never become negative. Thus it is a primary and eternal truth that God exists, but it is not an eternal truth that Adam thinks. That the Chimaera does not exist is an eternal truth, that Adam does not think is not so.

21 Afterwards, when we come to speak of fiction that is concerned with essences, it will be evident that fiction never creates or furnishes the mind with anything new; only such things as are already in the brain or imagination are recalled to the memory, when the attention is directed to them confusedly and all at once. For instance, we have remembrance of spoken words and of a tree; when the mind directs itself to them confusedly, it forms the notion of a tree speaking. The same may be said of existence, especially when it is conceived quite generally as an entity; it is then readily applied to all things together in the memory. This is specially worthy of remark.

22 We must understand as much in the case of hypotheses put forward to explain certain movements accompanying celestial phenomena; but from these, when applied to the celestial motions, we any draw conclusions as to the nature of the heavens, whereas this last may be quite different, especially as many other causes are conceivable which would account for such motions.

23 It often happens that a man recalls to mind this word soul, and forms at the same time some corporeal image: as the two representations are simultaneous, he easily thinks that he imagines and feigns a corporeal soul: thus confusing the name with the thing itself. I here beg that my readers will not be in a hurry to refute

this proposition; they will, I hope, have no mind to do so, if they pay close attention to the examples given and to what follows.

24 Though I seem to deduce this from experience, some may deny its cogency because I have given no formal proof. I therefore append the following for those who may desire it. As there can be nothing in nature contrary to nature's laws, since all things come to pass by fixed laws, so that each thing must irrefragably produce its own proper effect, it follows that the soul, as soon as it possesses the true conception of a thing, proceeds to reproduce in thought that thing's effects. See below, where I speak of the false idea.

And from false ideas



SECONDLY, IT FOLLOWS that if a complex object be divided by thought into a number of simple component parts, and if each be regarded separately, all confusion will disappear. Thirdly, it follows that fiction cannot be simple, but is made up of the blending of several confused ideas of diverse objects or actions existent in nature, or rather is composed of attention directed to all such ideas at once ²⁵ and unaccompanied by any mental assent. Now a fiction that was simple would be clear and distinct, and therefore true, also a fiction composed only of distinct ideas would be clear and distinct, and therefore true. For instance, when we know the nature of the circle and the square, it is impossible for us to blend together these two figures, and to hypothesize a square circle, any more than a square soul, or things of that kind.

Let us shortly come to our conclusion, and again repeat that we need have no fear of confusing with true ideas that which is only a fiction. As for the first sort of fiction of which we have already spoken, when a thing is clearly conceived, we saw that if the existence of a that thing is in itself an eternal truth fiction can have no part in it; but if the existence of the conceived be not an eternal truth, we have only to be careful such existence be compared to the thing's essence, and to consider the order of nature. As for the second sort of fiction, which we stated to be the result of simultaneously directing the attention, without the assent of the intellect, to different confused ideas representing different things and actions existing in nature, we have seen that an absolutely simple thing cannot be feigned, but must be understood, and that a complex thing is in the same case if we regard separately the simple parts whereof it is composed; we shall not even be able to hypothesize any untrue action concerning such objects, for we shall be obliged to consider at the same time the causes and manner of such action.

These matters being thus understood, let us pass on to consider the false idea, observing the objects with which it is concerned, and the means of guarding ourselves from falling into false perceptions. Neither of these tasks will present much difficulty, after our inquiry concerning fictitious ideas. The false idea only differs from the fictitious idea in the fact of implying a mental assent — that is, as we have already remarked, while the representations are occurring, there are no causes present to us, wherefrom, as in fiction, we can conclude that such representations do not arise from external objects: in fact, it is much the same as dreaming with our eyes open, or while awake. Thus, a false idea is concerned with, or (to speak more correctly) is attributable to, the existence of a thing whereof the essence is known, or the essence itself, in the same way as a fictitious idea.

If attributable to the existence of the thing, it is corrected in the same way as a fictitious idea under similar circumstances. If attributable to the essence, it is likewise corrected in the same way as a fictitious idea. For if the nature of the thing known implies necessary existence, we cannot possibly be in error with regard to its existence; but if the nature of the thing be not an eternal truth, like its essence, but contrariwise the necessity or impossibility of its existence depends on external causes, then we must follow the same course as we adopted in the case of fiction, for it is corrected in the same manner.

As for false ideas concerned with essences, or even with actions, such perceptions are necessarily always confused, being compounded of different confused perceptions of things existing in nature, as, for instance, when men are persuaded that deities are present in woods, in statues, in brute beasts, and the like; that there are bodies which, by their composition alone, give rise to intellect; that corpses reason, walk about, and speak; that God is deceived, and so on. But ideas which are clear and distinct can never be false: for ideas of things clearly and distinctly conceived are either very simple themselves, or are compounded from very simple ideas, that is, are deduced therefrom. The impossibility of a very

simple idea being false is evident to everyone who understands the nature of truth or understanding and of falsehood.

As regards that which constitutes the reality of truth, it is certain that a true idea is distinguished from a false one, not so much by its extrinsic object as by its intrinsic nature. If an architect conceives a building properly constructed, though such a building may never have existed, and any never exist, nevertheless the idea is true; and the idea remains the same, whether it be put into execution or not. On the other hand, if anyone asserts, for instance, that Peter exists, without knowing whether Peter really exists or not, the assertion, as far as its asserter is concerned, is false, or not true, even though Peter actually does exist. The assertion that Peter exists is true only with regard to him who knows for certain that Peter does exist.

Whence it follows that there is in ideas something real, whereby the true are distinguished from the false. This reality must be inquired into, if we are to find the best standard of truth (we have said that we ought to determine our thoughts by the given standard of a true idea, and that method is reflective knowledge), and to know the properties of our understanding. Neither must we say that the difference between true and false arises from the fact, that true knowledge consists in knowing things through their primary causes, wherein it is totally different from false knowledge, as I have just explained it: for thought is said to be true, if it involves subjectively the essence of any principle which has no cause, and is known through itself and in itself.

Wherefore the reality (forma) of true thought must exist in the thought itself, without reference to other thoughts; it does not acknowledge the object as its cause, but must depend on the actual power and nature of the understanding. For, if we suppose that the understanding has perceived some new entity which has never existed, as some conceive the understanding of God before He created thing (a perception which certainly could not arise any object), and has legitimately deduced other thoughts from said perception, all such thoughts would be true, without being determined by any external object; they would depend solely on the

power and nature of the understanding. Thus, that which constitutes the reality of a true thought must be sought in the thought itself, and deduced from the nature of the understanding.

In order to pursue our investigation, let us confront ourselves with some true idea, whose object we know for certain to be dependent on our power of thinking, and to have nothing corresponding to it in nature. With an idea of this kind before us, we shall, as appears from what has just been said, be more easily able to carry on the research we have in view. For instance, in order to form the conception of a sphere, I invent a cause at my pleasure — namely, a semicircle revolving round its center, and thus producing a sphere. This is indisputably a true idea; and, although we know that no sphere in nature has ever actually been so formed, the perception remains true, and is the easiest manner of conceiving a sphere. We must observe that this perception asserts the rotation of a semicircle — which assertion would be false, if it were not associated with the conception of a sphere, or of a cause determining a motion of the kind, or absolutely, if the assertion were isolated. The mind would then only tend to the affirmation of the sole motion of a semicircle, which is not contained in the conception of a semicircle, and does not arise from the conception of any cause capable of producing such motion. Thus falsity consists only in this, that something is affirmed of a thing, which is not contained in the conception we have formed of that thing, as motion or rest of a semicircle. Whence it follows that simple ideas cannot be other than true — e.g., the simple idea of a semicircle, of motion, of rest, of quantity, &c. Whatsoever affirmation such ideas contain is equal to the concept formed, and does not extend further. Wherefore we form as many simple ideas as we please, without any fear of error.

It only remains for us to inquire by what power our mind can form true ideas, and how far such power extends. It is certain that such power cannot extend itself infinitely. For when we affirm somewhat of a thing, which is not contained in the concept we have formed of that thing, such an affirmation shows a defect of our perception, or that we have formed fragmentary or mutilated ideas. Thus we have

seen that the notion of a semicircle is false when it is isolated in the mind, but true when it is associated with the concept of a sphere, or of some cause determining such a motion. But if it be the nature of a thinking being, as seems, *prima facie*, to be the case, to form true or adequate thoughts, it is plain that inadequate ideas arise in us only because we are parts of a thinking being, whose thoughts — some in their entirety, others in fragments only — constitute our mind.

But there is another point to be considered, which was not worth raising in the case of fiction, but which give rise to complete deception — namely, that certain things presented to the imagination also exist in the understanding — in other words, are conceived clearly and distinctly. Hence, so long as we do not separate that which is distinct from that which is confused, certainty, or the true idea, becomes mixed with indistinct ideas. For instance, certain Stoics heard, perhaps, the term “soul,” and also that the soul is immortal, yet imagined it only confusedly; they imaged, also, and understood that very subtle bodies penetrate all others, and are penetrated by none. By combining these ideas, and being at the same time certain of the truth of the axiom, they forthwith became convinced that the mind consists of very subtle bodies; that these very subtle bodies cannot be divided &c.

But we are freed from mistakes of this kind, so long as we endeavor to examine all our perceptions by the standard of the given true idea. We must take care, as has been said, to separate such perceptions from all those which arise from hearsay or unclassified experience. Moreover, such mistakes arise from things being conceived too much in the abstract; for it is sufficiently self-evident that what I conceive as in its true object I cannot apply to anything else. Lastly, they arise from a want of understanding of the primary elements of nature as a whole; whence we proceed without due order, and confound nature with abstract rules, which, although they be true enough in their sphere, yet, when misapplied, confound themselves, and pervert the order of nature. However, if we proceed with as little abstraction as possible, and begin from primary elements — that is,

from the source and origin of nature, as far back as we can reach, — we need not fear any deceptions of this kind.

As far as the knowledge of the origin of nature is concerned, there is no danger of our confounding it with abstractions. For when a thing is conceived in the abstract, as are all universal notions, the said universal notions are always more extensive in the mind than the number of individuals forming their contents really existing in nature. Again, there are many things in nature, the difference between which is so slight as to be hardly perceptible to the understanding; so that it may readily happen that such things are confounded together, if they be conceived abstractedly. But since the first principle of nature cannot (as we shall see hereafter) be conceived abstractedly or universally, and cannot extend further in the understanding than it does in reality, and has no likeness to mutable things, no confusion need be feared in respect to the idea of it, provided (as before shown) that we possess a standard of truth. This is, in fact, a being single and infinite ²⁶; in other words, it is the sum total of being, beyond which there is no being found. ²⁷

²⁵ Observe that fiction regarded in itself, only differs from dreams in that in the latter we do not perceive the external causes which we perceive through the senses while awake. It has hence been inferred that representations occurring in sleep have no connection with objects external to us. We shall presently see that error is the dreaming of a waking man: if it reaches a certain pitch it becomes delirium.

²⁶ These are not attributes of God displaying His essence, as I will show in my philosophy.

²⁷ This has been shown already. For if such a being did not exist it would never be produced; therefore the mind would be able to understand more than nature could furnish; and this has been shown above to be false.

Of doubt



THUS FAR WE have treated of the false idea. We have now to investigate the doubtful idea — that is, to inquire what can cause us to doubt, and how doubt may be removed. I speak of real doubt existing in the mind, not of such doubt as we see exemplified when a man says that he doubts, though his mind does not really hesitate. The cure of the latter does not fall within the province of method, it belongs rather to inquiries concerning obstinacy and its cure.

Real doubt is never produced in the mind by the thing doubted of. In other words, if there were only one idea in the mind, whether that idea were true or false, there would be no doubt or certainty present, only a certain sensation. For an idea is in itself nothing else than a certain sensation. But doubt will arise through another idea, not clear and distinct enough for us to be able to draw any certain conclusions with regard to the matter under consideration; that is, the idea which causes us to doubt is not clear and distinct. To take an example. Supposing that a man has never reflected, taught by experience or by any other means, that our senses sometimes deceive us, he will never doubt whether the sun be greater or less than it appears. Thus rustics are generally astonished when they hear that the sun is much larger than the earth. But from reflection on the deceitfulness of the senses [28](#) doubt arises, and if, after doubting, we acquire a true knowledge of the senses, and how things at a distance are represented through their instrumentality, doubt is again removed.

Hence we cannot cast doubt on true ideas by the supposition that there is a deceitful Deity, who leads us astray even in what is most certain. We can only hold such an hypothesis so long as we have no clear and distinct idea — in other words, until we reflect the knowledge which we have of the first principle of all things, and find that which teaches us that God is not a deceiver, and until we

know this with the same certainty as we know from reflecting on the are equal to two right angles. But if we have a knowledge of God equal to that which we have of a triangle, all doubt is removed. In the same way as we can arrive at the said knowledge of a triangle, though not absolutely sure that there is not some arch-deceiver leading us astray, so can we come to a like knowledge of God under the like condition, and when we have attained to it, it is sufficient, as I said before, to remove every doubt which we can possess concerning clear and distinct ideas.

Thus, if a man proceeded with our investigations in due order, inquiring first into those things which should first be inquired into, never passing over a link in the chain of association, and with knowledge how to define his questions before seeking to answer them, he will never have any ideas save such as are very certain, or, in other words, clear and distinct; for doubt is only a suspension of the spirit concerning some affirmation or negation which it would pronounce upon unhesitatingly if it were not in ignorance of something, without which the knowledge of the matter in hand must needs be imperfect. We may, therefore, conclude that doubt always proceeds from want of due order in investigation.

²⁸ That is, it is known that the senses sometimes deceive us. But it is only known confusedly, for it is not known how they deceive us.

Of memory and forgetfulness



THESE ARE THE points I promised to discuss in the first part of my treatise on method. However, in order not to omit anything which can conduce to the knowledge of the understanding and its faculties, I will add a few words on the subject of memory and forgetfulness. The point most worthy of attention is, that memory is strengthened both with and without the aid of the understanding. For the more intelligible a thing is, the more easily is it remembered, and the less intelligible it is, the more easily do we forget it. For instance, a number of unconnected words is much more difficult to remember than the same number in the form of a narration.

The memory is also strengthened without the aid of the understanding by means of the power wherewith the imagination or the sense called common, is affected by some particular physical object. I say particular, for the imagination is only affected by particular objects. If we read, for instance, a single romantic comedy, we shall remember it very well, so long as we do not read many others of the same kind, for it will reign alone in the memory. If, however, we read several others of the same kind, we shall think of them altogether, and easily confuse one with another. I say also, physical. For the imagination is only affected by physical objects. As, then, the memory is strengthened both with and without the aid of the understanding, we may conclude that it is different from the understanding, and that in the latter considered in itself there is neither memory nor forgetfulness.

What, then, is memory? It is nothing else than the actual sensation of impressions on the brain, accompanied with the thought of a definite duration [29](#) of the sensation. This is also shown by reminiscence. For then we think of the sensation, but without the notion of continuous duration; thus the idea of that sensation is not the actual duration of the sensation or actual memory. Whether

ideas are or are not subject to corruption will be seen in philosophy. If this seems too absurd to anyone, it will be sufficient for our purpose, if he reflect on the fact that a thing is more easily remembered in proportion to its singularity, as appears from the example of the comedy just cited. Further, a thing is remembered more easily in proportion to its intelligibility; therefore we cannot help remember that which is extremely singular and sufficiently intelligible. Thus, then, we have distinguished between a true idea and other perceptions, and shown that ideas fictitious, false, and the rest, originate in the imagination — that is, in certain sensations fortuitous (so to speak) and disconnected, arising not from the power of the mind, but from external causes, according as the body, sleeping or waking, receives various motions. But one may take any view one likes of the imagination so long as one acknowledges that it is different from the understanding, and that the soul is passive with regard to it. The view taken is immaterial, if we know that the imagination is something indefinite, with regard to which the soul is passive, and that we can by some means or other free ourselves therefrom with the help of the understanding. Let no one then be astonished that before proving the existence of body, and other necessary things, I speak of imagination of body, and of its composition. The view taken is, I repeat, immaterial, so long as we know that imagination is something indefinite, &c.

As regards as a true idea, we have shown that it is simple or compounded of simple ideas; that it shows how and why something is or has been made; and that its subjective effects in the soul correspond to the actual reality of its object. This conclusion is identical with the saying of the ancients, that true proceeds from cause to effect; though the ancients, so far as I know, never formed the conception put forward here that the soul acts according to fixed laws, and is as it were an immaterial automaton.

²⁹ If the duration be indefinite, the recollection is imperfect; this everyone seems to have learnt from nature. For we often ask, to strengthen our belief in something we hear of, when and where it happened; though ideas themselves have their own duration in the mind, yet, as we are wont to determine duration by the aid of

some measure of motion which, again, takes place by aid of imagination, we preserve no memory connected with pure intellect.

Mental hindrances from words — and from the popular confusion of ready imagination with distinct understanding.



HENCE, AS FAR as is possible at the outset, we have acquired a knowledge of our understanding, and such a standard of a true idea that we need no longer fear confounding truth with falsehood and fiction. Neither shall we wonder why we understand some things which in nowise fall within the scope of the imagination, while other things are in the imagination but wholly opposed to the understanding, or others, again, which agree therewith. We now know that the operations, whereby the effects of imagination are produced, take place under other laws quite different from the laws of the understanding, and that the mind is entirely passive with regard to them.

Whence we may also see how easily men may fall into grave errors through not distinguishing accurately between the imagination and the understanding; such as believing that extension must be localized, that it must be finite, that its parts are really distinct one from the other, that it is the primary and single foundation of all things, that it occupies more space at one time than at another and other similar doctrines, all entirely opposed to truth, as we shall duly show.

Again, since words are a part of the imagination — that is, since we form many conceptions in accordance with confused arrangements of words in the memory, dependent on particular bodily conditions, — there is no doubt that words may, equally with the imagination, be the cause of many and great errors, unless we strictly on our guard.

Moreover, words are formed according to popular fancy and intelligence, and are, therefore, signs of things as existing in the imagination, not as existing in the understanding. This is evident from the fact that to all such things as exist only in the understanding, not in the imagination, negative names are often given, such as

incorporeal, infinite, &c. So, also, many conceptions really affirmative are expressed negatively, and vice versa, such as uncreate, independent, infinite, immortal, &c., inasmuch as their contraries are much more easily imagined, and, therefore, occurred first to men, and usurped positive names. Many things we affirm and deny, because the nature of words allows us to do so, though the nature of things does not. While we remain unaware of this fact, we may easily mistake falsehood for truth.

Let us also beware of another great cause of confusion, which prevents the understanding from reflecting on itself. Sometimes, while making no distinction between the imagination and the intellect, we think that what we more readily imagine is clearer to us; and also we think that what we imagine we understand. Thus, we put first that which should be last: the true order of progression is reversed, and no legitimate conclusion is drawn.

Second part of method. [30](#)

Its object, the acquisition of clear and distinct ideas



NOW, IN ORDER at length to pass on to the second part of this method, I shall first set forth the object aimed at, and next the means for its attainment. The object aimed at is the acquisition of clear and distinct ideas, such as are produced by the pure intellect, and not by chance physical motions. In order that all ideas may be reduced to unity, we shall endeavor so to associate and arrange them that our mind may, as far as possible, reflect subjectively the reality of nature, both as a whole and as parts.

As for the first point, it is necessary (as we have said) for our purpose that everything should be conceived, either solely through its essence, or through its proximate cause. If the thing be self-existent, or, as is commonly said, the cause of itself, it must be understood through its essence only; if it be not self-existent, but requires a cause for its existence, it must be understood through its proximate cause. For, in reality, the knowledge [31](#) of an effect is nothing else than the acquisition of more perfect knowledge of its cause.

Therefore, we may never, while we are concerned with inquiries into actual things, draw any conclusion from abstractions; we shall be extremely careful not to confound that which is only in the understanding with that which is in the thing itself. The best basis for drawing a conclusion will be either some particular affirmative essence, or a true and legitimate definition. For the understanding cannot descend from universal axioms by themselves to particular things, since axioms are of infinite extent, and do not determine the understanding to contemplate one particular thing more than another.

[30](#) The chief rule of this part is, as appears from the first part, to review all the ideas coming to us through pure intellect, so as to distinguish them from such as we imagine: the distinction will be shown through the

properties of each, namely, of the imagination and of the understanding.

31 Observe that it is thereby manifest that we cannot understand anything of nature without at the same time increasing our knowledge of the first cause, or God.

Its means, good definitions Conditions of definition



THUS THE TRUE method of discovery is to form thoughts from some given definition. This process will be the more fruitful and easy in proportion as the thing given be better defined. Wherefore, the cardinal point of all this second part of method consists in the knowledge of the conditions of good definition, and the means of finding them. I will first treat of the conditions of definition.

A definition, if it is to be called perfect, must explain the inmost essence of a thing, and must take care not to substitute for this any of its properties. In order to illustrate my meaning, without taking an example which would seem to show a desire to expose other people's errors, I will choose the case of something abstract, the definition of which is of little moment. Such is a circle. If a circle be defined as a figure, such that all straight lines drawn from the center to the circumference are equal, every one can see that such a definition does not in the least explain the essence of a circle, but solely one of its properties. Though, as I have said, this is of no importance in the case of figures and other abstractions, it is of great importance in the case of physical beings and realities: for the properties of things are not understood so long as their essences are unknown. If the latter be passed over, there is necessarily a perversion of the succession of ideas which should reflect the succession of nature, and we go far astray from our object.

In order to be free from this fault, the following rules should be observed in definition: —

I. If the thing in question be created, the definition must (as we have said) comprehend the proximate cause. For instance, a circle should, according to this rule, be defined as follows: the figure described by any line whereof one end is fixed and the other free. This definition clearly comprehends the proximate cause.

II. A conception or definition of a thing should be such that all the properties of that thing, in so far as it is considered by itself, and not in conjunction with other things, can be deduced from it, as may be seen in the definition given of a circle: for from that it clearly follows that all straight lines drawn from the center to the circumference are equal. That this is a necessary characteristic of a definition is so clear to anyone, who reflects on the matter, that there is no need to spend time in proving it, or in showing that, owing to this second condition, every definition should be affirmative. I speak of intellectual affirmation, giving little thought to verbal affirmations which, owing to the poverty of language, must sometimes, perhaps, be expressed negatively, though the idea contained is affirmative.

The rules for the definition of an uncreated thing are as follows: —

I. The exclusion of all idea of cause — that is, the thing must not need explanation by Anything outside itself.

II. When the definition of the thing has been given, there must be no room for doubt as to whether the thing exists or not.

III. It must contain, as far as the mind is concerned, no substantives which could be put into an adjectival form; in other words, the object defined must not be explained through abstractions.

IV. Lastly, though this is not absolutely necessary, it should be possible to deduce from the definition all the properties of the thing defined.

All these rules become obvious to anyone giving strict attention to the matter.

I have also stated that the best basis for drawing a conclusion is a particular affirmative essence. The more specialized the idea is, the more it is distinct, and therefore clear. Wherefore a knowledge of particular things should be sought for as diligently as possible.

As regards the order of our perceptions, and the manner in which they should be arranged and united, it is necessary that, as soon as is possible and rational, we should inquire whether there be any being (and, if so, what being), that is the cause of all things, so that its essence, represented in thought, may be the cause of all our ideas, and then our mind will to the utmost possible extent reflect nature.

For it will possess, subjectively, nature's essence, order, and union. Thus we can see that it is before all things necessary for us to deduce all our ideas from physical things — that is, from real entities, proceeding, as far as may be, according to the series of causes, from one real entity to another real entity, never passing to universals and abstractions, either for the purpose of deducing some real entity from them, or deducing them from some real entity. Either of these processes interrupts the true progress of the understanding.

But it must be observed that, by the series of causes and real entities, I do not here mean the series of particular and mutable things, but only the series of fixed and eternal things. It would be impossible for human infirmity to follow up the series of particular mutable things, both on account their multitude, surpassing all calculation, and on account of the infinitely diverse circumstances surrounding one and the same thing, any one of which may be the cause of its existence or non-existence. Indeed, their existence has no connection with their essence, or (as we have said already) is not an eternal truth.

Neither is there any need that we should understand their series, for the essences of particular mutable things are not to be gathered from their series or order of existence, which would furnish us with nothing beyond their extrinsic denominations, their relations, or, at most, their circumstances, all of which are very different from their inmost essence. This inmost essence must be sought solely from fixed and eternal things, and from the laws, inscribed (so to speak) in those things as in their true codes, according to which all particular things take place and are arranged; nay, these mutable particular things depend so intimately and essentially (so to phrase it) upon the fixed things, that they cannot either be conceived without them.

But, though this be so, there seems to be no small difficulty in arriving at the knowledge of these particular things, for to conceive them all at once would far surpass the powers of the human understanding. The arrangement whereby one thing is understood, before another, as we have stated, should not be sought from their series of existence, nor from eternal things. For the latter are all by nature

simultaneous. Other aids are therefore needed besides those employed for understanding eternal things and their laws. However, this is not the place to recount such aids, nor is there any need to do so, until we have acquired a sufficient knowledge of eternal things and their infallible laws, and until the nature of our senses has become plain to us.

Before betaking ourselves to seek knowledge of particular things, it will be seasonable to speak of such aids, as all tend to teach us the mode of employing our senses, and to make certain experiments under fixed rules and arrangements which may suffice to determine the object of our inquiry, so that we may therefrom infer what laws of eternal things it has been produced under, and may gain an insight into its inmost nature, as I will duly show. Here, to return to my purpose, I will only endeavor to set forth what seems necessary for enabling us to attain to knowledge of eternal things, and to define them under the conditions laid down above.

With this end, we must bear in mind what has already been stated, namely, that when the mind devotes itself to any thought, so as to examine it, and to deduce therefrom in due order all the legitimate conclusions possible, any falsehood which may lurk in the thought will be detected; but if the thought be true, the mind will readily proceed without interruption to deduce truths from it. This, I say, is necessary for our purpose, for our thoughts may be brought to a close by the absence of a foundation.

If, therefore, we wish to investigate the first thing of all, it will be necessary to supply some foundation which may direct our thoughts thither. Further, since method is reflective knowledge, the foundation which must direct our thoughts can be nothing else than the knowledge of that which constitutes the reality of truth, and the knowledge of the understanding, its properties, and powers. When this has been acquired we shall possess a foundation wherefrom we can deduce our thoughts, and a path whereby the intellect, according to its capacity, may attain the knowledge of eternal things, allowance being made for the extent of the intellectual powers.

If, as I stated in the first part, it belongs to the nature of thought to form true ideas, we must here inquire what is meant by the faculties and power of the understanding. The chief part of our method is to understand as well as possible the powers of the intellect, and its nature; we are, therefore, compelled (by the considerations advanced in the second part of the method) necessarily to draw these conclusions from the definition itself of thought and understanding.

How to define understanding



BUT, SO FAR as we have not got any rules for finding definitions, and, as we cannot set forth such rules without a previous knowledge of nature, that is without a definition of the understanding and its power, it follows either that the definition of the understanding must be clear in itself, or that we can understand nothing. Nevertheless this definition is not absolutely clear in itself; however, since its properties, like all things that we possess through the understanding, cannot be known clearly and distinctly, unless its nature be known previously, understanding makes itself manifest, if we pay attention to its properties, which we know clearly and distinctly. Let us, then, enumerate here the properties of the understanding, let us examine them, and begin by discussing the instruments for research which we find innate in us. See [para. 31]

The properties of the understanding which I have chiefly remarked, and which I clearly understand, are the following: —

I. It involves certainty — in other words, it knows that a thing exists in reality as it is reflected subjectively.

II. That it perceives certain things, or forms some ideas absolutely, some ideas from others. Thus it forms the idea of quantity absolutely, without reference to any other thoughts; but ideas of motion it only forms after taking into consideration the idea of quantity.

III. Those ideas which the understanding forms absolutely express infinity; determinate ideas are derived from other ideas. Thus in the idea of quantity, perceived by means of a cause, the quantity is determined, as when a body is perceived to be formed by the motion of a plane, a plane by the motion of a line, or, again, a line by the motion of a point. All these are perceptions which do not serve towards understanding quantity, but only towards determining it. This is

proved by the fact that we conceive them as formed as it were by motion, yet this motion is not perceived unless the quantity be perceived also; we can even prolong the motion to form an infinite line, which we certainly could not do unless we had an idea of infinite quantity.

IV. The understanding forms positive ideas before forming negative ideas.

V. It perceives things not so much under the condition of duration as under a certain form of eternity, and in an infinite number; or rather in perceiving things it does not consider either their number or duration, whereas, in imagining them, it perceives them in a determinate number, duration, and quantity.

VI. The ideas which we form as clear and distinct, seem to follow from the sole necessity of our nature, that they appear to depend absolutely on our sole power; with confused ideas the contrary is the case. They are often formed against our will.

VII. The mind can determine in many ways the ideas of things, which the understanding forms from other ideas: thus, for instance, in order to define the plane of an ellipse, it supposes a point adhering to a cord to be moved around two centers, or, again, it conceives an infinity of points, always in the same fixed relation to a given straight line, angle of the vertex of the cone, or in an infinity of other ways.

VIII. The more ideas express perfection of any object, the more perfect are they themselves; for we do not admire the architect who has planned a chapel so much as the architect who has planned a splendid temple.

I do not stop to consider the rest of what is referred to thought, such as love, joy, &c. They are nothing to our present purpose, and cannot even be conceived unless the understanding be perceived previously. When perception is removed, all these go with it.

False and fictitious ideas have nothing positive about them (as we have abundantly shown), which causes them to be called false or fictitious; they are only considered as such through the defectiveness of knowledge. Therefore, false and fictitious ideas as such can teach us nothing concerning the essence of

thought; this must be sought from the positive properties just enumerated; in other words, we must lay down some common basis from which these properties necessarily follow, so that when this is given, the properties are necessarily given also, and when it is removed, they too vanish with it.

The rest of the treatise is wanting.

The Original Latin Text

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I. De bonis quae homines plerumque appetunt.



1. POSTQUAM ME experientia docuit, omnia, quae in communi vita frequenter occurrunt, vana et futilia esse ; cum viderem omnia, a quibus et quae timebam, nihil neque boni neque mali in se habere, nisi quatenus ab iis animus movebatur ; constitui tandem inquirere, an aliquid daretur, quod verum bonum et sui communicabile esset, et a quo solo reiectis ceteris omnibus animus afficeretur ; imo an aliquid daretur, quo invento et acquisito continua ac summa in aeternum fruerer laetitia.

2. Dico me tandem constitui. Primo enim intuitu inconsultum videbatur, propter rem tunc incertam certam amittere velle. Videbam nimirum commoda, quae ex honore ac divitiis acquiruntur, et quod ab iis quaerendis cogebar abstinere, si seriam rei alii novae operam dare vellem, et si forte summa felicitas in iis esset sita, perspiciebam me ea debere carere ; si vero in iis non esset sita eisque tantum darem operam, tum etiam summa carerem felicitate.

3. Volvebam igitur animo, an forte esset possibile ad novum institutum, aut saltem ad ipsius certitudinem pervenire, licet ordo et commune vitae meae institutum non mutaretur, quod saepe frustra tentavi. Nam quae plerumque in vita occurrunt, et apud homines, ut ex eorum operibus colligere licet, tamquam summum bonum aestimantur, ad haec tria rediguntur : divitias scilicet, honorem atque libidinem. His tribus adeo distrahitur mens, ut minime possit de alio aliquo bono cogitare.

4. Nam quod ad libidinem attinet, ea adeo suspenditur animus, ac si in aliquo bono quiesceret ; quo maxime impeditur, ne de alio cogitet. Sed post illius fruitionem summa sequitur tristitia, quae si non suspendit mentem, tamen perturbat et hebetat. Honores ac divitias proseguendo non parum etiam distrahitur

mens, praesertim ubi hae non nisi propter se quaeruntur , quia tum supponuntur summum esse bonum.

5. Honore vero multo adhuc magis mens distrahitur ; supponitur enim semper bonum esse per se et tamquam finis ultimus, ad quem omnia diriguntur. Deinde in his non datur, sicut in libidine, poenitentia, sed quo plus utriusque possidetur, eo magis augetur laetitia, et consequenter magis ac magis incitatur ad utrumque augendum ; si autem spe in aliquo casu frustremur, tum summa oritur tristitia. Est denique honor magno impedimento eo, quod, ut ipsum assequamur, vita necessario ad captum hominum est dirigenda, fugiendo scilicet quod vulgo fugiunt, et quaerendo quod vulgo quaerunt homines.

6. Cum itaque viderem, haec omnia adeo obstare, quominus operam novo alicui instituto darem, imo adeo esse opposita, ut ab uno aut altero necessario esset abstinendum, cogebar inquirere, quid mihi esset utilius ; nempe, ut dixi, videbar bonum certum pro incerto amittere velle. Sed postquam aliquantulum huic rei incubueram, inveni primo, si hisce omissis ad novum institutum accingerer, me bonum sua natura incertum, ut clare ex dictis possumus colligere, omissurum pro incerto, non quidem sua natura (fixum enim bonum quaerebam), sed tantum quoad ipsius consecutionem.

7. Assidua autem meditatione eo perveni, ut viderem, quod tum, modo possem penitus deliberare, mala certa pro bono certo omitterem. Videbam enim me in summo versari periculo, et me cogi, remedium, quamvis incertum, summis viribus quaerere ; veluti aeger letali morbo laborans, qui ubi mortem certam praevidet, ni adhibeatur remedium, illud ipsum, quamvis incertum, summis viribus cogitur quaerere ; nempe in eo tota eius spes est sita ; illa autem omnia, quae vulgus sequitur, non tantum nullum conferunt remedium ad nostrum esse conservandum, sed etiam id impediunt, et frequenter sunt causa interitus eorum, qui ea possident, et semper causa interitus eorum, qui ab iis possidentur .

8. Permulta enim exstant exempla eorum, qui persecutionem ad necem usque passi sunt propter ipsorum divitias, et etiam eorum, qui, ut opes compararent, tot periculis sese exposuerunt, ut tandem vita poenam luerent suae stultitiae. Neque

eorum pauciora sunt exempla, qui, ut honorem assequerentur aut defenderent, miserrime passi sunt. Innumeranda denique exstant exempla eorum, qui prae nimia libidine mortem sibi acceleraverunt.

9. Videbantur porro ex eo haec orta esse mala, quod tota felicitas aut infelicitas in hoc solo sita est ; videlicet in qualitate obiecti, cui adhaeremus amore. Nam propter illud, quod non amatur, nunquam orientur lites, nulla erit tristitia, si pereat, nulla invidia, si ab alio possideatur, nullus timor, nullum odium, et, ut verbo dicam, nullae commotiones animi ; quae quidem omnia contingunt in amore eorum, quae perire possunt, uti haec omnia, de quibus modo locuti sumus.

10. Sed amor erga rem aeternam et infinitam sola laetitia pascit animum, ipsaque omnis tristitiae est expers ; quod valde est desiderandum totisque viribus quaerendum. Verum non absque ratione usus sum his verbis : modo possem serio deliberare. Nam quamvis haec mente adeo clare perciperem, non poteram tamen ideo omnem avaritiam, libidinem, atque gloriam deponere.

II. De bono vero et summo.



11. HOC UNUM videbam, quod, quamdiu mens circa has cogitationes versabatur, tamdiu illa aversabatur, et serio de novo cogitabat instituto ; quod magno mihi fuit solatio. Nam videbam illa mala non esse talis conditionis, ut remediis nollent cedere. Et quamvis in initio haec intervalla essent rara et per admodum exiguum temporis spatium durarent, postquam tamen verum bonum magis ac magis mihi innotuit, intervalla ista frequentiora et longiora fuerunt ; praesertim postquam vidi nummorum acquisitionem aut libidinem et gloriam tamdiu obesse, quamdiu propter se, et non tamquam media ad alia quaeruntur. Si vero tamquam media quaeruntur, modum tunc habebunt, et minime oberunt, sed contra ad finem, propter quem quaeruntur, multum conducent, ut suo loco ostendemus.

12. Hic tantum breviter dicam, quid per verum bonum intelligam, et simul quid sit summum bonum. Quod ut recte intelligatur, notandum est, quod bonum et malum non nisi respective dicantur ; adeo ut una, eademque res possit dici bona et mala secundum diversos respectus, eodem modo ac perfectum, et imperfectum. Nihil enim in sua natura spectatum perfectum dicetur vel imperfectum ; praesertim postquam noverimus, omnia, quae fiunt, secundum aeternum ordinem et secundum certas naturae leges fieri.

13. Cum autem humana imbecillitas illum ordinem cogitatione sua non assequatur, et interim homo concipiat naturam aliquam humanam sua multo firmiorem, et simul nihil obstare videat, quominus talem naturam acquirat, incitatur ad media quaerendum, quae ipsum ad talem ducant perfectionem : et omne illud, quod potest esse medium, ut eo perveniat, vocatur verum bonum. Summum autem bonum est eo pervenire, ut ille cum aliis individuis, si fieri potest, tali natura fruatur. Quatenus autem illa sit natura, ostendemus suo loco, nimirum esse cognitionem unionis, quam mens cum tota natura habet .

14. Hic est itaque finis, ad quem tendo, talem scilicet naturam acquirere, et ut multi mecum eam acquirant conari, hoc est, de mea felicitate etiam est operam dare, ut alii multi idem atque ego intelligant, ut eorum intellectus et cupiditas prorsus cum meo intellectu et cupiditate conveniant ; utque hoc fiat, necesse est tantum de natura intelligere, quantum sufficit ad talem naturam acquirendam ; deinde formare talem societatem, qualis est desideranda, ut quamplurimi quam facillime, et secure eo perveniant.

15. Porro danda est opera morali philosophiae, ut et doctrinae de puerorum educatione ; et quia valetudo non parvum est medium ad hunc finem assequendum, concinnanda est integra medicina ; et quia arte multa, quae difficilia sunt, facilia redduntur, multumque temporis et commoditatis in vita ea lucrari possumus, ideo mechanica nullo modo est contemnenda.

16. Sed ante omnia excogitandus est modus medendi intellectus, ipsumque, quantum initio licet, expurgandi, ut feliciter res absque errore, et quam optime intelligat. Unde quisque iam poterit videre, me omnes scientias ad unum finem et scopum velle dirigere, scilicet ut ad summam humanam, quam diximus, perfectionem perveniatur ; et sic omne illud, quod in scientiis nihil ad finem nostrum nos promovet, tamquam inutile erit reiiciendum, hoc est, ut uno verbo dicam, omnes nostrae operationes simul et cogitationes ad hunc sunt dirigendae finem.

III. Quaedam vivendi regulae.



17. SED QUIA, dum curamus eum consequi, et operam damus, ut intellectum in rectam viam redigamus, necesse est vivere, propterea ante omnia cogimur quasdam vivendi regulas, tanquam bonas, supponere, has scilicet.

I. Ad captum vulgi loqui, et illa omnia operari, quae nihil impedimenti adferunt, quominus nostrum scopum attingamus. Nam non parum emolumenti ab eo possumus acquirere, modo ipsius captui, quantum fieri potest, concedamus ; adde, quod tali modo amicas praebebunt aures ad veritatem audiendam.

II. Deliciis in tantum frui, in quantum ad tuendam valetudinem sufficit.

III. Denique tantum nummorum, aut cuiuscumque alterius rei quaerere, quantum sufficit ad vitam, et valetudinem sustentandam, et ad mores civitatis, qui nostrum scopum non oppugnant, imitandos.

IV. De diversis percipiendi modis.



18. HISCE SIC positis, ad primum, quod ante omnia faciendum est, me accingam, ad emendandum scilicet intellectum, eumque aptum reddendum ad res tali modo intelligendas, quo opus est, ut nostrum finem assequamur. Quod ut fiat, exigit ordo, quem naturaliter habemus, ut hic resumam omnes modos percipiendi, quos hucusque habui ad aliquid indubie affirmandum vel negandum, quo omnium optimum eligam, et simul meas vires et naturam, quam perficere cupio, noscere incipiam.

19. Si accurate attendo, possunt omnes ad quatuor potissimum reduci.

I. Est perceptio, quam ex auditu aut ex aliquo signo, quod vocant ad placitum, habemus.

II. Est perceptio, quam habemus ab experientia vaga, hoc est, ab experientia, quae non determinatur ab intellectu, sed tantum ita dicitur, quia casu sic occurrit, et nullum aliud habemus experimentum, quod hoc oppugnat, et ideo tanquam inconcussum apud nos manet.

III. Est perceptio, ubi essentia rei ex alia re concluditur, sed non adaequate ; quod fit, cum vel ab aliquo effectum causam colligimus, vel cum concluditur ab aliquo universali, quod semper aliqua proprietas concomitatur .

IV. Denique perceptio est, ubi res percipitur per solam suam essentiam, vel per cognitionem suae proximae causae.

20. Quae omnia exemplis illustrabo. Ex auditu tantum scio meum natalem diem, et quod tales parentes habui, et similia ; de quibus nunquam dubitavi. Per experientiam vagam scio me moriturum ; hoc enim ideo affirmo, quia vidi alios mei similes obiisse mortem, quamvis neque omnes per idem temporis spatium vixerint, neque ex eodem morbo obierint. Deinde per experientiam vagam etiam scio, quod oleum sit aptum alimentum ad nutriendam flammam, quodque aqua ad

eam extinguendam apta sit ; scio etiam, quod canis sit animal latrans, et homo animal rationale, et sic fere omnia novi, quae ad usum vitae faciunt.

21. Ex alia vero re hoc modo concludimus : postquam clare percipimus, nos tale corpus sentire et nullum aliud, inde, inquam, clare concludimus animam unitam esse corpori, quae unio est causa talis sensationis ; sed quatenam sit illa sensatio et unio, non absolute inde possumus intelligere . Vel postquam novi naturam visus, et simul, eum habere talem proprietatem, ut unam eandemque rem ad magnam distantiam minorem videamus, quam si eam cominus intueamur ; inde concludimus solem maiorem esse, quam apparet, et alia his similia.

22. Per solam denique rei essentiam res percipitur, quando ex eo, quod aliquid novi, scio, quid hoc sit aliquid nosse, vel ex eo, quod novi essentiam animae, scio eam corpori esse unitam. Eadem cognitione novimus duo et tria esse quinque, et si dentur duae lineae uni tertiae parallelae, eas etiam inter sese parallelas etc. Ea tamen, quae hucusque tali cognitione potui intelligere, perpauca fuerunt.

23. Ut autem haec omnia melius intelligantur, unico tantum utar exemplo, hoc scilicet. Dantur tres numeri ; quaerit quis quartum, qui sit ad tertium, ut secundus ad primum. Dicunt hic passim mercatores, se scire, quid sit agendum, ut quartus inveniatur, quia nempe eam operationem nondum oblivioni tradiderunt, quam nudam sine demonstratione a suis magistris audiverunt. Alii vero ab experientia simplicium faciunt axioma universale, scilicet ubi quartus numerus per se patet, ut in his 2, 4, 3, 6, ubi experiuntur, quod ducto secundo in tertium, et producto deinde per primum diviso fiat quotiens 6 ; et cum vident eundem numerum produci, quem sine hac operatione noverant esse proportionalem, inde concludunt operationem esse bonam ad quartum numerum proportionalem semper inveniendum.

24. Sed mathematici vi demonstrationis pro. lib. 7. element. Euclidis sciunt, quales numeri inter se sint proportionales, scilicet ex natura proportionis eiusque proprietate, quod nempe numerus, qui fit ex primo et quarto aequalis sit numero, qui fit ex secundo et tertio. Attamen adaequatam proportionalitatem datorum

numerorum non vident ; et si videant, non vident eam vi illius propositionis, sed intuitive, nullam operationem facientes.

V. De optimo modo percipiendi.



25. UT AUTEM ex his optimus eligatur modus percipiendi, requiritur, ut breviter enumeremus, quae sint necessaria media, ut nostrum finem assequamur ; haec scilicet :

I. Nostram naturam, quam cupimus perficere, exacte nosse, et simul tantum de rerum natura, quantum sit necesse.

II. Ut inde rerum differentias, convenientias et oppugnantias recte colligamus.

III. Ut recte concipiatur, quid possint pati, quid non.

IV. Ut hoc conferatur cum natura et potentia hominis. Et ex istis facile apparebit summa, ad quam homo potest pervenire, perfectio.

26. His sic consideratis videamus, quis modus percipiendi nobis sit eligendus.

Quod ad primum attinet, per se patet, quod ex auditu, praeterquam quod sit res admodum incerta, nullam percipiamus essentiam rei, sicuti ex nostro exemplo apparet ; et cum singularis existentia alicuius rei non noscatur nisi cognita essentia (uti postea videbitur), hinc clare concludimus omnem certitudinem, quam ex auditu habemus, a scientiis esse secludendam. Nam a simplici auditu, ubi non praecessit proprius intellectus, nunquam quis poterit affici.

27. Quoad secundum ; nullus etiam dicendus est, quod habeat ideam illius proportionis, quam quaerit . Praeterquam quod sit res admodum incerta et sine fine, nihil tamen unquam tali modo quis in rebus naturalibus percipiet praeter accidentia, quae nunquam clare intelliguntur, nisi praecognitis essentiis. Unde etiam et ille secludendus est.

28. De tertio autem aliquo modo dicendum, quod habeamus ideam rei, deinde quod etiam absque periculo erroris concludamus ; sed tamen per se non erit medium, ut nostram perfectionem acquiramus.

29. Solus quartus modus comprehendit essentiam rei adaequatam, et absque erroris periculo ; ideoque maxime erit usurpandus. Quomodo ergo sit adhibendus, ut res incognitae tali cognitione a nobis intelligantur, simulque ut hoc quam compendiose fiat, curabimus explicare.

VI. De intellectus instrumentis, ideis veris.



30. POSTQUAM NOVIMUS, quatenus cognitio nobis sit necessaria, tradenda est via et methodus, qua res, quae sunt cognoscendae, tali cognitione cognoscamus. Quod ut fiat, venit prius considerandum, quod hic non dabitur inquisitio in infinitum ; scilicet ut inveniatur optima methodus verum investigandi, non opus est alia methodo, ut methodus veri investigandi investigetur ; et ut secunda methodus investigetur, non opus est alia tertia, et sic in infinitum. Tali enim modo nunquam ad veri cognitionem, imo ad nullam cognitionem perveniretur. Hoc vero eodem modo se habet, ac se habent instrumenta corporea, ubi eodem modo liceret argumentari. Nam ut ferrum cudatur, malleo opus est, et ut malleus habeatur, eum fieri necessum est ; ad quod alio malleo, aliisque instrumentis opus est, quae etiam ut habeantur, aliis opus erit instrumentis, et sic in infinitum ; et hoc modo frustra aliquis probare conaretur, homines nullam habere potestatem ferrum cudendi.

31. Sed quemadmodum homines initio innatis instrumentis quaedam facillima, quamvis laboriose et imperfecte, facere quiverunt, iisque confectis alia difficiliora minori labore, et perfectius confecerunt, et sic gradatim ab operibus simplicissimis ad instrumenta, et ab instrumentis ad alia opera, et instrumenta pergendo eo pervenerunt, ut tot et tam difficilia parvo labore perficiant, sic etiam intellectus vi sua nativa facit sibi instrumenta intellectualia, quibus alias vires acquirit ad alia opera intellectualia, et ex iis operibus alia instrumenta seu potestatem ulterius investigandi ; et sic gradatim pergit, donec sapientiae culmen attingat.

32. Quod autem intellectus ita sese habeat, facile erit videre, modo intelligatur, quid sit methodus verum investigandi, et quatenus sint illa innata instrumenta,

quibus tantum eget ad alia ex iis instrumenta conficienda, ut ulterius procedat. Ad quod ostendendum sic procedo .

33. Idea vera (habemus enim ideam veram) est diversum quid a suo ideato. Nam aliud est circulus, aliud idea circuli ; idea enim circuli non est aliquid, habens peripheriam et centrum, uti circulus, nec idea corporis est ipsum corpus. Et cum sit quid diversum a suo ideato, erit etiam per se aliquid intelligibile, hoc est, idea quoad suam essentiam formalem potest esse obiectum alterius essentiae obiectivae, et rursus haec altera essentia obiectiva erit etiam in se spectata quid reale et intelligibile, et sic indefinite.

34. Petrus ex. gr. est quid reale ; vera autem idea Petri est essentia Petri obiectiva, et in se quid reale, et omnino diversum ab ipso Petro. Cum itaque idea Petri sit quid reale habens suam essentiam peculiarem, erit etiam quid intelligibile, id est, obiectum alterius ideae, quae idea habebit in se obiective omne id, quod idea Petri habet formaliter, et rursus idea, quae est ideae Petri, habet iterum suam essentiam, quae etiam potest esse obiectum alterius ideae, et sic indefinite. Quod quisque potest experiri, dum videt se scire, quid sit Petrus, et etiam scire se scire, et rursus scit se scire, quod scit etc. Unde constat, quod, ut intelligatur essentia Petri, non sit necesse, ipsam ideam Petri intelligere, et multo minus ideam ideae Petri ; quod idem est, ac si dicerem, non esse opus, ut sciam, quod sciam me scire, et multo minus esse opus scire, quod sciam me scire ; non magis, quam ad intelligendam essentiam trianguli opus sit essentiam circuli intelligere . Sed contrarium datur in his ideis. Nam ut sciam me scire, necessario debeo prius scire.

35. Hinc patet, quod certitudo nihil sit praeter ipsam essentiam obiectivam ; id est, modus, quo sentimus essentiam formalem, est ipsa certitudo. Unde iterum patet, quod ad certitudinem veritatis nullo alio signo sit opus, quam veram habere ideam ; nam, uti ostendimus, non opus est, ut sciam, quod sciam me scire. Ex quibus rursum patet, neminem posse scire, quid sit summa certitudo, nisi qui habet adaequatam ideam aut essentiam obiectivam alicuius rei ; nimirum, quia idem est certitudo et essentia obiectiva.

VII. De recta methodo cognoscendi.



36. CUM ITAQUE veritas nullo egeat signo, sed sufficiat habere essentias rerum obiectivas, aut, quod idem est, ideas, ut omne tollatur dubium ; hinc sequitur, quod vera non est methodus signum veritatis quaerere post acquisitionem idearum, sed quod vera methodus est via, ut ipsa veritas, aut essentiae obiectivae rerum aut ideae (omnia illa idem significant) debito ordine quaerantur .

37. Rursus methodus necessario debet loqui de ratiocinatione aut de intellectione ; id est, methodus non est ipsum ratiocinari ad intelligendum causas rerum, et multo minus est ~~to~~ intelligere causas rerum ; sed est intelligere, quid sit vera idea, eam a ceteris perceptionibus distinguendo eiusque naturam investigando, ut inde nostram intelligendi potentiam noscamus, et mentem ita cohibeamus, ut ad illam normam omnia intelligat, quae sunt intelligenda, tradendo tamquam auxilia certas regulas, et etiam faciendo, ne mens inutilibus defatigetur.

38. Unde colligitur, methodum nihil aliud esse, nisi cognitionem reflexivam aut ideam ideae ; et quia non datur idea ideae, nisi prius detur idea, ergo methodus non dabitur, nisi prius detur idea. Unde illa bona erit methodus, quae ostendit, quomodo mens dirigenda sit ad datae verae ideae normam. Porro cum ratio, quae est inter duas ideas, sit eadem cum ratione, quae est inter essentias formales idearum illarum, inde sequitur, quod cognitio reflexiva, quae est ideae entis perfectissimi, praestantior erit cognitione reflexiva ceterarum idearum ; hoc est, perfectissima ea erit methodus, quae ad datae ideae entis perfectissimi normam ostendit, quomodo mens sit dirigenda.

39. Ex his facile intelligitur, quomodo mens plura intelligendo alia simul acquirat instrumenta, quibus facilius pergat intelligere. Nam, ut ex dictis licet colligere, debet ante omnia in nobis existere vera idea tamquam innatum

instrumentum, qua intellecta intelligatur simul differentia, quae est inter talem perceptionem, et ceteras omnes. Qua in re consistit una methodi pars. Et cum per se clarum sit, mentem eo melius se intelligere, quo plura de natura intelligit, inde constat, hanc methodi partem eo perfectiorem fore, quo mens plura intelligit, et tum fore perfectissimam, cum mens ad cognitionem entis perfectissimi attendit sive reflectit.

40. Deinde, quo plura mens novit, eo melius et suas vires et ordinem naturae intelligit : quo autem melius suas vires intelligit, eo facilius potest se ipsam dirigere et regulas sibi proponere ; et quo melius ordinem naturae intelligit, eo facilius potest se ab inutilibus cohibere ; in quibus tota consistit methodus, uti diximus.

41. Adde quod idea eodem modo se habet obiective, ac ipsius ideatum se habet realiter. Si ergo daretur aliquid in natura, nihil commercii habens cum aliis rebus, eius etiam si daretur essentia obiectiva, quae convenire omnino deberet cum formali, nihil etiam commercii haberet cum aliis ideis , id est, nihil de ipsa poterimus concludere ; et contra, quae habent commercium cum aliis rebus, uti sunt omnia quae in natura existunt, intelligentur et ipsorum etiam essentiae obiectivae idem habebunt commercium, id est, aliae ideae ex eis deducuntur, quae iterum habebunt commercium cum aliis, et sic instrumenta ad procedendum ulterius crescent. Quod conabamur demonstrare.

42. Porro ex hoc ultimo, quod diximus, scilicet quod idea omnino cum sua essentia formali debeat convenire, patet iterum quod, ut mens nostra omnino referat naturae exemplar, debeat omnes suas ideas producere ab ea, quae refert originem et fontem totius naturae, ut ipsa etiam sit fons ceterarum idearum.

43. Hic forte aliquis mirabitur, quod nos, ubi diximus, bonam methodum eam esse, quae ostendit, quomodo mens sit dirigenda ad datae verae ideae normam, hoc ratiocinando probemus ; id quod ostendere videtur, hoc per se non esse notum ; atque adeo quaeri potest, utrum nos bene ratiocinemur. Si bene ratiocinamur, debemus incipere a data idea, et cum incipere a data idea egeat demonstratione,

deberemus iterum nostrum ratiocinium probare, et tum iterum illud alterum, et sic in infinitum.

44. Sed ad hoc respondeo : quod si quis fato quodam sic processisset naturam investigando, scilicet ad datae verae ideae normam alias acquirendo ideas debito ordine, nunquam de sua veritate dubitasset , eo quod veritas, uti ostendimus, se ipsam patefacit, et etiam sponte omnia ipsi affluxissent. Sed quia hoc nunquam aut raro contingit, ideo coactus fui illa sic ponere, ut illud, quod non possumus fato, praemeditato tamen consilio acquiramus, et simul ut appareret, ad probandam veritatem et bonum ratiocinium nullis nos egere instrumentis, nisi ipsa veritate et bono ratiocinio. Nam bonum ratiocinium bene ratiocinando comprobavi, et adhuc probare conor.

45. Adde, quod etiam hoc modo homines assuefiant meditationibus suis internis. Ratio autem, cur in naturae inquisitione raro contingat, ut debito ordine ea investigetur, est propter praeiudicia, quorum causas postea in nostra philosophia explicabimus ; deinde quia opus est magna et accurata distinctione, sicut postea ostendemus (id quod valde est laboriosum) ; denique propter statum rerum humanarum, qui, ut iam ostensum est, prorsus est mutabilis. Sunt adhuc aliae rationes, quas non inquirimus.

46. Si quis forte quaerat, cur ipse statim ante omnia veritates naturae isto ordine ostenderim (nam veritas se ipsam patefacit), ei respondeo simulque moneo, ne propter paradoxa, quae forte passim occurrent, ea velit tamquam falsa reiicere, sed prius dignetur ordinem considerare, quo ea probemus, et tum certus evadet, nos verum assequutos fuisse. Et haec fuit causa, cur haec praemiserim.

47. Si postea forte quis scepticus et de ipsa prima veritate et de omnibus, quas ad normam primae deducemus, dubius adhuc maneret, ille profecto aut contra conscientiam loquetur, aut nos fatebimur, dari homines penitus etiam animo obcaecatos a nativitate aut a praeiudiciorum causa, id est, aliquo externo casu. Nam neque se ipsos sentiunt. Si aliquid affirmant, vel dubitant, nesciunt se dubitare aut affirmare ; dicunt se nihil scire, et hoc ipsum, quod nihil sciunt, dicunt se ignorare ; neque hoc absolute dicunt ; nam metuunt fateri, se existere,

quamdiu nihil sciunt, adeo ut tandem debeant obmutescere, ne forte aliquid supponant, quod veritatem redoleat.

48. Denique cum ipsis non est loquendum de scientiis ; nam quod ad vitae et societatis usum attinet, necessitas eos coegit, ut supponerent se esse, et ut suum utile quaererent, et iureiurando multa affirmarent et negarent. Nam, si aliquid ipsis probetur, nesciunt, an probet aut deficiat argumentatio. Si negant, concedunt aut opponunt, nesciunt se negare, concedere aut opponere ; adeoque habendi sunt tanquam automata, quae mente omnino carent.

49. Resumamus iam nostrum propositum. Habuimus hucusque primo finem, ad quem omnes nostras cogitationes dirigere studemus. Cognovimus secundo, quaenam sit optima perceptio, cuius ope ad nostram perfectionem pervenire possimus. Cognovimus tertio, quaenam sit prima via, cui mens insistere debeat, ut bene incipiat ; quae est, ut ad normam datae cuiuscumque verae ideae pergat certis legibus inquirere. Quod ut recte fiat, haec debet methodus praestare : primo veram ideam a ceteris omnibus perceptionibus distinguere, et mentem a ceteris perceptionibus cohibere ; secundo tradere regulas, ut res incognitae ad talem normam percipiantur ; tertio ordinem constituere, ne inutilibus defatigemur. Postquam hanc methodum novimus, vidimus quarto hanc methodum perfectissimam futuram, ubi habuerimus ideam entis perfectissimi. Unde initio illud erit maxime observandum, ut quanto ocius ad cognitionem talis entis perveniamus.

VIII. Methodi pars prima. De idea ficta.



50. INCIPIAMUS ITAQUE a prima parte methodi, quae est, uti diximus, distinguere et separare ideam veram a ceteris perceptionibus, et cohibere mentem, ne falsas, fictas et dubias cum veris confundat. Quod utcumque fuse hic explicare animus est, ut lectores detineam in cogitatione rei adeo necessariae, et etiam quia multi sunt, qui vel de veris dubitant ex eo, quod non attenderunt ad distinctionem, quae est inter veram perceptionem et alias omnes ; adeo ut sint veluti homines, qui cum vigilarent, non dubitabant se vigilare ; sed postquam semel in somniis, ut saepe fit, putarunt se certo vigilare, quod postea falsum esse reperiabant, etiam de suis vigiliis dubitarunt ; quod contingit, quia nunquam distinxerunt inter somnum et vigiliam.

51. Interim moneo, me hic essentiam uniuscuiusque perceptionis, eamque per proximam suam causam non explicaturum, quia hoc ad philosophiam pertinet ; sed tantum traditurum id, quod methodus postulat, id est, circa quae perceptio ficta, falsa et dubia versetur, et quomodo ab unaquaque liberabimur. Sit itaque prima inquisitio circa ideam fictam.

52. Cum omnis perceptio sit vel rei tamquam existentis consideratae, vel solius essentiae, et frequentiores fictiones contingant circa res tamquam existentes consideratas, ideo prius de hac loquar ; scilicet ubi sola existentia fingitur, et res, quae in tali actu fingitur, intelligitur sive supponitur intelligi. Ex. gr. fingo Petrum, quem novi ire domum, eum me invisere, et similia . Hic quaero, circa quae talis idea versetur ? Video eam tantum versari circa possibilia, non vero circa necessaria, neque circa impossibilia.

53. Rem impossibilem voco, cuius natura in existendo implicat contradictionem, ut ea existat ; necessariam, cuius natura implicat contradictionem, ut ea non existat ; possibilem, cuius quidem existentia ipsa sua

natura non implicat contradictionem, ut existat aut non existat, sed cuius existentiae necessitas aut impossibilitas pendet a causis nobis ignotis, quamdiu ipsius existentiam fingimus ; ideoque si ipsius necessitas aut impossibilitas, quae a causis externis pendet, nobis esset nota, nihil etiam de ea potuissemus fingere.

54. Unde sequitur, si detur aliquis Deus aut omniscium quid, nihil prorsus eum posse fingere. Nam quod ad nos attinet, postquam novi me existere, non possum fingere me existere aut non existere ; nec etiam possum fingere elephantem, qui transeat per acus foramen ; nec possum, postquam naturam Dei novi, fingere eum existentem aut non existentem . Idem intelligendum est de chimaera, cuius natura existere implicat. Ex quibus patet id, quod dixi, scilicet quod fictio, de qua hic loquimur, non contingit circa aeternas veritates .

55. Sed antequam ulterius pergam, hic obiter notandum est, quod illa differentia, quae est inter essentiam unius rei et essentiam alterius, ea ipsa sit inter actualitatem aut existentiam eiusdem rei, et inter actualitatem aut existentiam alterius rei ; adeo ut si existentiam ex. gr. Adami tantum per generalem existentiam concipere velimus, idem futurum sit, ac si ad concipiendam ipsius essentiam, ad naturam entis attendamus, ut tandem definiamus, Adamum esse ens. Itaque quo existentia generalius concipitur, eo etiam confusius concipitur faciliusque unicuique rei potest affingi ; e contra, ubi particularius concipitur, clarius tum intelligitur, et difficilius alicui, nisi rei ipsi, ubi non attendimus ad naturae ordinem, affingitur. Quod notatu dignum est.

56. Veniunt iam hic ea considerata, quae vulgo dicuntur fingi, quamvis clare intelligamus, rem ita sese non habere, uti eam fingimus. Ex. gr. quamvis sciam terram esse rotundam, nihil tamen vetat, quominus alicui dicam terram medium globum esse et tamquam medium pomum auriacum in scutella, aut solem circum terram moveri, et similia. Ad haec si attendamus, nihil videbimus, quod non cohaereat cum iam dictis, modo prius advertamus, nos aliquando potuisse errare, et iam errorum nostrorum esse conscios ; deinde quod possumus fingere, aut ad minimum putare, alios homines in eodem esse errore, aut in eum, ut nos antehac, posse incidere. Hoc, inquam, fingere possumus, quamdiu nullam videmus

impossibilitatem nullamque necessitatem. Quando itaque alicui dico, terram non esse rotundam etc., nihil aliud ago, quam in memoriam revoco errorem, quem forte habui aut in quem labi potui, et postea fingo aut puto eum, cui hoc dico, adhuc esse aut posse labi in eundem errorem. Quod, ut dixi, fingo, quamdiu nullam video impossibilitatem nullamque necessitatem ; hanc vero si intellexissem, nihil prorsus fingere potuissem, et tantum dicendum fuisset, me aliquid operatum esse.

57. Superest iam, ut ea etiam notemus, quae in quaestionibus supponuntur ; id quod passim etiam contingit circa impossibilia. Ex. gr. cum dicimus : supponamus hanc candelam ardentem iam non ardere, aut supponamus eam ardere in aliquo spatio imaginario, sive ubi nulla dantur corpora. Quorum similia passim supponuntur, quamvis hoc ultimum clare intelligatur impossibile esse. Sed quando hoc fit, nil prorsus fingitur. Nam primo nihil aliud egi, quam quod in memoriam revocavi aliam candelam non ardentem (aut hanc eandem concepì sine flamma), et quod cogito de ea candela, id ipsum de hac intelligo, quamdiu ad flammam non attendo. In secundo nihil aliud fit, quam abstrahere cogitationes a corporibus circumiacentibus, ut mens se convertat ad solam candelae in se sola spectatae contemplationem ; ut postea concludat candelam nullam habere causam ad sui ipsius destructionem, adeo ut si nulla essent corpora circumiacentia, candela haec ac etiam flamma manerent immutabiles, aut similia. Nulla igitur datur hic fictio, sed verae ac merae assertiones .

58. Transeamus iam ad fictiones, quae versantur circa essentias solas, vel cum aliqua actualitate sive existentia simul. Circa quas hoc maxime venit considerandum, quod, quo mens minus intelligit, et tamen plura percipit, eo maiorem habeat potentiam fingendi, et quo plura intelligit, eo magis illa potentia diminuatur. Eodem ex. gr. modo, quo supra vidimus, nos non posse fingere, quamdiu cogitamus, nos cogitare et non cogitare, sic etiam, postquam novimus naturam corporis, non possumus fingere muscam infinitam ; sive postquam novimus naturam animae , non possumus fingere eam esse quadratam, quamvis omnia verbis possimus effari. Sed, uti diximus, quominus homines norunt

naturam, eo facilius multa possunt fingere ; veluti, arbores loqui, homines in momento mutari in lapides, in fontes, apparere in speculis spectra, nihil fieri aliquid, etiam deos in bestias et homines mutari, ac infinita eius generis alia.

59. Aliquis forte putabit, quod fictio fictionem terminat, sed non intellectio ; hoc est, postquam finxi aliquid, et quadam libertate volui assentiri, id sic in rerum natura existere, hoc efficit, ut postea non possimus id alio modo cogitare. Ex. gr. postquam finxi (ut cum iis loquar) naturam corporis talem, mihique ex mea libertate persuadere volui, eam sic realiter existere, non amplius licet muscam v. g. infinitam fingere ; et postquam finxi essentiam animae, eam quadrare non possum etc.

60. Sed hoc examinandum. Primo vel negant vel concedunt nos aliquid posse intelligere. Si concedunt, necessario id ipsum, quod de fictione dicunt, etiam de intellectione dicendum erit. Si vero hoc negant, videamus nos, qui scimus, nos aliquid scire, quid dicant. Hoc scilicet dicunt, animam posse sentire et multis modis percipere non se ipsam, neque res quae existunt, sed tantum ea, quae nec in se, nec ullibi sunt, hoc est, animam posse sola sua vi creare sensationes aut ideas, quae non sunt rerum ; adeo ut ex parte eam tamquam Deum considerent. Porro dicunt, nos aut animam nostram talem habere libertatem, ut nosmet, aut se, imo suam ipsam libertatem cogat. Nam postquam ea aliquid finxit, et assensum ei praebeuit, non potest id alio modo cogitare aut fingere, et etiam ea fictione cogitur, ut etiam alia tali modo cogitentur, ut prima fictio non oppugnetur ; sicut hic etiam coguntur absurda, quae hic recenseo, admittere propter suam fictionem ; ad quae explodenda non defatigabimur ullis demonstrationibus .

61. Sed eos in suis deliriis linquendo, curabimus, ut ex verbis, quae cum ipsis fecimus, aliquid veri ad nostram rem hauriamus, nempe hoc. Mens cum ad rem fictam et sua natura falsam attendit, ut eam pensitet et ntelligat, bonoque ordine ex ea deducat quae sunt deducenda, facile falsitatem patefaciet ; et si res ficta sua natura sit vera, cum mens ad eam attendit, ut eam intelligat, et ex ea bono ordine incipit deducere, quae inde sequuntur, feliciter perget sine ulla interruptione, sicut

vidimus, quod ex falsa fictione modo allata statim ad ostendendam eius absurditatem et alias inde deductas praebuit se intellectus.

62. Nullo ergo modo timendum erit, nos aliquid fingere, si modo clare et distincte rem percipiamus. Nam si forte dicamus, homines in momento mutari in bestias, id valde generaliter dicitur, adeo ut nullus detur conceptus, id est, idea sive cohaerentia subiecti et praedicati in mente ; si enim daretur, simul videret medium et causas, quo et cur tale quid factum sit. Deinde nec ad naturam subiecti et praedicati attenditur.

63. Porro, modo prima idea non sit ficta et ex ea ceterae omnes ideae deducantur, paulatim praecipitantia fingendi evanescet. Deinde cum idea ficta non possit esse clara et distincta, sed solummodo confusa, et omnis confusio inde procedat, quod mens rem integram aut ex multis compositam tantum ex parte noscat, et notum ab ignoto non distinguat ; praeterea quod ad multa, quae continentur in unaquaque re, simul attendat sine ulla distinctione ; inde sequitur primo, quod si idea sit alicuius rei simplicissimae, ea non nisi clara et distincta poterit esse. Nam res illa non ex parte, sed tota aut nihil eius innotescere debebit.

64. Sequitur secundo, quod si res, quae componitur ex multis, in partes omnes simplicissimas cogitatione dividatur, et ad unamquamque seorsim attendatur, omnis tum confusio evanescet. Sequitur tertio, quod fictio non possit esse simplex, sed quod fiat ex compositione diversarum idearum confusarum, quae sunt diversarum rerum atque actionum in natura existentium, vel melius ex attentione simul sine assensu ad tales diversas ideas . Nam si esset simplex, esset clara et distincta, et per consequens vera. Si ex compositione idearum distinctarum, esset etiam earum compositio clara et distincta, ac proinde vera. Ex. gr. postquam novimus naturam circuli ac etiam naturam quadrati, iam non possumus ea duo componere, et circulum facere quadratum, aut animam quadratam, et similia.

65. Concludamus iterum breviter, et videamus, quomodo fictio nullo modo sit timenda, ut ea cum veris ideis confundatur. Nam quoad primam, de qua prius locuti sumus, ubi scilicet res clare concipitur, vidimus, quod si ea res, quae clare

concipitur, et etiam ipsius existentia sit per se aeterna veritas, nihil circa talem rem poterimus fingere ; sed si existentia rei conceptae non sit aeterna veritas, tantum est curandum, ut existentia rei cum eius essentia conferatur, et simul ad ordinem naturae attendatur. Quoad secundam fictionem, quam diximus esse simul attentionem sine assensu ad diversas ideas confusas, quae sunt diversarum rerum atque actionum in natura existentium, vidimus etiam rem simplicissimam non posse fingi, sed intelligi, et etiam rem compositam, modo ad partes simplicissimas, ex quibus componitur, attendamus ; imo nec ex ipsis ullas actiones, quae verae non sunt, nos posse fingere. Nam simul cogemur contemplari, quomodo et cur tale quid fiat.

IX. De idea falsa.



66. HIS SIC intellectis, transeamus iam ad inquisitionem ideae falsae, ut videamus, circa quae versetur, et quomodo nobis possimus cavere, ne in falsas perceptiones incidamus. Quod utrumque non erit nobis iam difficile post inquisitionem ideae fictae. Nam inter ipsas nulla alia datur differentia, nisi quod haec supponat assensum, hoc est (uti iam notavimus) quod nullae offeruntur causae, dum repraesentamina ipsi offeruntur, quibus, sicut fingens, possit colligere, ea non oriri a rebus extra se, et quod fere nihil aliud sit, quam oculis apertis, sive dum vigilamus, somniare. Versatur itaque idea falsa, vel (ut melius loquar) refertur ad existentiam rei, cuius essentia cognoscitur, sive circa essentiam eodem modo ac idea ficta.

67. Quae ad existentiam refertur, emendatur eodem modo ac fictio. Nam si natura rei notae supponat existentiam necessariam, impossibile est, ut circa existentiam illius rei fallamur ; sed si existentia rei non sit aeterna veritas, uti est eius essentia, sed quod necessitas aut impossibilitas existendi pendeat a causis externis, tum cape omnia eodem modo, quo diximus, cum de fictione sermo esset ; nam eodem modo emendatur.

68. Quod attinet ad alteram, quae ad essentias refertur, vel etiam ad actiones, tales perceptiones necessario semper sunt confusae, compositae ex diversis confusis perceptionibus rerum in natura existentium, ut cum hominibus persuadetur, in silvis, in imaginibus, in brutis et ceteris adesse numina ; dari corpora, ex quorum sola compositione fiat intellectus ; cadavera ratiocinari, ambulare, loqui ; Deum decipi, et similia. Sed ideae, quae sunt clarae et distinctae, nunquam possunt esse falsae : Nam ideae rerum, quae clare et distincte concipiuntur, sunt vel simplicissimae, vel compositae ex ideis simplicissimis, id est, a simplicissimis ideis deductae. Quod vero idea simplicissima non queat esse

falsa, poterit unusquisque videre, modo sciat, quid sit verum sive intellectus, et simul quid falsum.

69. Nam quod id spectat, quod formam veri constituit, certum est, cogitationem veram a falsa non tantum per denominationem extrinsecam, sed maxime per intrinsecam distingui. Nam si quis faber ordine concepit fabricam aliquam, quamvis talis fabrica nunquam exstiterit, nec etiam unquam exstitura sit, eius nihilominus cogitatio vera est, et cogitatio eadem est, sive fabrica existat, sive minus ; et contra si aliquis dicit, Petrum ex. gr. existere, nec tamen scit, Petrum existere, illa cogitatio respectu illius falsa est, vel si mavis, non est vera ; quamvis Petrus revera existat. Nec haec enunciatio, Petrus existit, vera est, nisi respectu illius, qui certo scit, Petrum existere.

70. Unde sequitur in ideis dari aliquid reale, per quod verae a falsis distinguuntur ; quod quidem iam investigandum erit, ut optimam veritatis normam habeamus (ex data enim verae ideae norma nos nostras cogitationes debere determinare diximus, methodumque cognitionem esse reflexivam), et proprietates intellectus noscamus ; nec dicendum hanc differentiam ex eo oriri, quod cogitatio vera est res cognoscere per primas suas causas, in quo quidem a falsa valde differret, prout eandem supra explicui. Cogitatio enim vera etiam dicitur, quae essentiam alicuius principii obiective involvit, quod causam non habet, et per se et in se cognoscitur.

71. Quare forma verae cogitationis in eadem ipsa cogitatione sine relatione ad alias debet esse sita ; nec obiectum tamquam causam agnoscit, sed ab ipsa intellectus potentia, et natura pendere debet. Nam si supponamus, intellectum ens aliquod novum percepisse, quod nunquam exstitit, sicut aliqui Dei intellectum concipiunt, antequam res crearet (quae sane perceptio a nullo obiecto oriri potuit), et ex tali perceptione alias legitime deduceret, omnes illae cogitationes verae essent, et a nullo obiecto externo determinatae, sed a sola intellectus potentia et natura dependerent. Quare id, quod formam verae cogitationis constituit, in ipsa eadem cogitatione est quaerendum, et ab intellectus natura deducendum.

72. Hoc igitur ut investigetur, ideam aliquam veram ob oculos ponamus, cuius obiectum maxime certo scimus a vi nostra cogitandi pendere, nec obiectum aliquod in natura habere ; in tali enim idea, ut ex iam dictis patet, facilius id, quod volumus, investigare poterimus. Ex. gr. ad formandum conceptum globi fingo ad libitum causam, nempe semicirculum circa centrum rotari, et ex rotatione globum quasi oriri. Haec sane idea vera est, et quamvis sciamus nullum in natura globum sic unquam ortum fuisse, est haec tamen vera perceptio et facillimus modus formandi globi conceptum. Iam notandum hanc perceptionem affirmare semicirculum rotari, quae affirmatio falsa esset, si non esset iuncta conceptui globi vel causae talem motum determinantis, sive absolute, si haec affirmatio nuda esset. Nam tum mens tantum tenderet ad affirmandum solum semicirculi motum, qui nec in semicirculi conceptu continetur, nec ex conceptu causae motum determinantis oritur. Quare falsitas in hoc solo consistit, quod aliquid de aliqua re affirmetur, quod in ipsius quem formavimus conceptu non continetur ; ut motus vel quies de semicirculo. Unde sequitur simplices cogitationes non posse non esse veras, ut simplex semicirculi, motus, quantitatis etc. idea. Quicquid hae affirmationis continent, earum adaequat conceptum, nec ultra se extendit. Quare nobis licet ad libitum sine ullo erroris scrupulo ideas simplices formare.

73. Superest igitur tantum quaerere, qua potentia mens nostra eas formare possit, et quousque ea potentia se extendat ; hoc enim invento facile videbimus summam, ad quam possumus pervenire, cognitionem. Certum enim est, hanc eius potentiam se non extendere in infinitum : Nam cum aliquid de aliqua re affirmamus, quod in conceptu, quem de ea formamus, non continetur, id defectum nostrae perceptionis indicat, sive quod mutilatas quasi et truncatas habemus cogitationes sive ideas. Motum enim semicirculi falsum esse vidimus, ubi nudus in mente est, eum ipsum autem verum, si conceptui globi iungatur, vel conceptui alicuius causae talem motum determinantis. Quod si de natura entis cogitantis sit, uti prima fronte videtur, cogitationes veras sive adaequatas formare, certum est, ideas inadaequatas ex eo tantum in nobis oriri, quod pars sumus alicuius entis

cogitantis, cuius quaedam cogitationes ex toto, quaedam ex parte tantum nostram mentem constituunt.

74. Sed quod adhuc venit considerandum, et quod circa fictionem non fuit operae pretium notare, et ubi maxima datur deceptio, est, quando contingit, ut quaedam, quae in imaginatione offeruntur, sint etiam in intellectu, hoc est, quod clare et distincte concipiantur, quod tum, quamdiu distinctum a confuso non distinguitur, certitudo, hoc est, idea vera cum non distinctis commiscetur. Ex. gr. quidam Stoicorum forte audiverunt nomen animae, et etiam quod sit immortalis, quae tantum confuse imaginabantur ; imaginabantur etiam, et simul intelligebant corpora subtilissima cetera omnia penetrare, et a nullis penetrari. Cum haec omnia simul imaginabantur, concomitante certitudine huius axiomatis, statim certi reddebantur, mentem esse subtilissima illa corpora, et subtilissima illa corpora non dividi etc.

75. Sed ab hoc etiam liberamur, dum conamur ad normam datae verae ideae omnes nostras perceptiones examinare cavendo, uti initio diximus, ab iis, quas ex auditu aut ab experientia vaga habemus. Adde quod talis deceptio ex eo oritur, quod res nimis abstracte concipiunt ; nam per se satis clarum est, me illud, quod in suo vero obiecto concipio, alteri non posse applicare. Oritur denique etiam ex eo, quod prima elementa totius naturae non intelligunt ; unde sine ordine procedendo, et naturam cum abstractis, quamvis sint vera axiomata, confundendo, se ipsos confundunt ordinemque naturae pervertunt. Nobis autem, si quam minime abstracte procedamus, et a primis elementis, hoc est, a fonte et origine naturae, quam primum fieri potest, incipiamus, nullo modo talis deceptio erit metuenda.

76. Quod autem attinet ad cognitionem originis naturae, minime est timendum, ne eam cum abstractis confundamus. Nam cum aliquid abstracte concipitur, uti sunt omnia universalia, semper latius comprehenduntur in intellectu, quam revera in natura existere possunt eorum particularia. Deinde cum in natura dentur multa, quorum differentia adeo est exigua, ut fere intellectum effugiat, tum facile (si abstracte concipiantur) potest contingere, ut confundantur. At cum origo naturae,

ut postea videbimus, nec abstracte sive universaliter concipi possit, nec latius possit extendi in intellectu, quam revera est, nec ullam habeat similitudinem cum mutabilibus, nulla circa eius ideam metuenda est confusio, modo normam veritatis (quam iam ostendimus) habeamus. Est nimirum hoc ens unicum, infinitum, hoc est, est omne esse, et praeter quod nullum datur esse.

X. De idea dubia.



77. HUCUSQUE DE idea falsa. Superest, ut de idea dubia inquiramus, hoc est, ut inquiramus, quaenam sint ea, quae nos possunt in dubium pertrahere, et simul quomodo dubitatio tollatur. Loquor de vera dubitatione in mente, et non de ea, quam passim videmus contingere, ubi scilicet verbis, quamvis animus non dubitet, dicit quis se dubitare. Non est enim methodi hoc emendare, sed potius pertinet ad inquisitionem pertinaciae et eius emendationem.

78. Dubitatio itaque in anima nulla datur per rem ipsam, de qua dubitatur, hoc est, si tantum unica sit idea in anima, sive ea sit vera sive falsa, nulla dabitur dubitatio, neque etiam certitudo, sed tantum talis sensatio. Est enim in se nihil aliud nisi talis sensatio ; sed dabitur per aliam ideam, quae non adeo clara ac distincta est, ut possimus ex ea aliquid certi circa rem, de qua dubitatur, concludere, hoc est, idea, quae nos in dubium coniicit, non est clara et distincta. Ex. gr. si quis nunquam cogitaverit de sensuum fallacia, sive experientia sive quomodocumque sit, nunquam dubitabit, an sol maior aut minor sit, quam apparet. Inde rustici passim mirantur, cum audiunt solem multo maiorem esse, quam globum terrae. Sed cogitando de fallacia sensuum oritur dubitatio , et si quis post dubitationem acquisiverit veram cognitionem sensuum, et quomodo per eorum instrumenta res ad distantiam repraesententur, tum dubitatio iterum tollitur.

79. Unde sequitur, nos non posse veras ideas in dubium vocare ex eo, quod forte aliquis Deus deceptor existat, qui vel in maxime certis nos fallit, nisi quamdiu nullam habemus claram et distinctam Dei ideam, hoc est, si attendamus ad cognitionem, quam de origine omnium rerum habemus, et nihil inveniamus, quod nos doceat, eum non esse deceptorem eadem illa cognitione, qua, cum attendimus ad naturam trianguli, invenimus eius tres angulos aequales esse duobus rectis. Sed si talem cognitionem Dei habemus, qualem habemus trianguli,

tum omnis dubitatio tollitur. Et eodem modo, quo possumus pervenire ad talem cognitionem trianguli, quamvis non certo sciamus, an aliquis summus deceptor nos fallat, eodem etiam modo possumus pervenire ad talem Dei cognitionem, quamvis non certo sciamus, an detur quis summus deceptor, et, modo eam habeamus, sufficet ad tollendam, uti dixi, omnem dubitationem, quam de ideis claris et distinctis habere possumus.

80. Porro si quis recte procedat investigando quae prius sunt investiganda, nulla interrupta concatenatione rerum, et sciat, quomodo quaestiones sint determinandae, antequam ad earum cognitionem accingamur, nunquam nisi certissimas ideas, id est, claras et distinctas habebit. Nam dubitatio nihil aliud est, quam suspensio animi circa aliquam affirmationem aut negationem, quam affirmaret aut negaret, nisi occurreret aliquid, quo ignoto cognitio eius rei debet esse imperfecta. Unde colligitur, quod dubitatio semper oritur ex eo, quod res absque ordine investigentur.

XI. De memoria et oblivione. Conclusio.



81. HAEC SUNT, quae promisi tradere in hac prima parte methodi. Sed ut nihil omittam eorum, quae ad cognitionem intellectus et eius vires possunt conducere, tradam etiam pauca de memoria et oblivione ; ubi hoc maxime venit considerandum, quod memoria corroboretur ope intellectus, et etiam absque ope intellectus. Nam quoad primum, quo res magis est intelligibilis, eo facilius retinetur, et contra, quo minus, eo facilius eam obliviscimur. Ex. gr. si tradam alicui copiam verborum solutorum, ea multo difficilius retinebit, quam si eadem verba in forma narrationis tradam.

82. Corroboratur etiam absque ope intellectus, scilicet a vi, qua imaginatio aut sensus, quem vocant communem, afficitur ab aliqua re singulari corporea. Dico singularem ; imaginatio enim tantum a singularibus afficitur. Nam si quis legerit ex. gr. unam tantum Fabulam amatoriam, eam optime retinebit, quamdiu non legerit plures alias eius generis, quia tum sola viget in imaginatione. Sed si plures sint eiusdem generis, simul omnes imaginamur, et facile confunduntur. Dico etiam corpoream ; nam a solis corporibus afficitur imaginatio. Cum itaque memoria ab intellectu corroboretur, et etiam sine intellectu, inde concluditur, eam quid diversum esse ab intellectu, et circa intellectum in se spectatum nullam dari memoriam, neque oblivionem.

83. Quid ergo erit memoria ? Nihil aliud, quam sensatio impressionum cerebri simul cum cogitatione ad determinatam durationem sensationis ; quod etiam ostendit reminiscentia. Nam ibi anima cogitat de illa sensatione ; sed non sub continua duratione ; et sic idea istius sensationis non est ipsa duratio sensationis, id est, ipsa memoria. An vero ideae ipsae aliquam patiantur corruptionem, videbimus in philosophia. Et si hoc alicui valde absurdum videatur, sufficiet ad nostrum propositum, ut cogitet, quod, quo res est singularior, eo facilius

retineatur, sicut ex exemplo comoediae modo allato patet. Porro quo res intelligibilior, eo etiam facilius retinetur. Unde maxime singularem et tantummodo intelligibilem non poterimus non retinere.

84. Sic itaque distinximus inter ideam veram et ceteras perceptiones, ostendimusque, quod ideae fictae, falsae et ceterae habeant suam originem ab imaginatione, hoc est, a quibusdam sensationibus fortuitis (ut sic loquar) atque solutis, quae non oriuntur ab ipsa mentis potentia, sed a causis externis, prout corpus sive somniando sive vigilando varios accipit motus. Vel si placet, hic per imaginationem quicquid velis cape, modo sit quid diversum ab intellectu, et unde anima habeat rationem patientis. Perinde enim est quicquid capias, postquam novimus eandem quid vagum esse, et a quo anima patitur, et simul etiam novimus, quomodo ope intellectus ab eadem liberamur. Quare etiam nemo miretur, me hic nondum probare, dari corpus et alia necessaria, et tamen loqui de imaginatione, de corpore et eius constitutione. Nempe, ut dixi, est perinde quid capiam, postquam novi, esse quid vagum etc.

85. At ideam veram simplicem esse ostendimus aut ex simplicibus compositam, et quae ostendit, quomodo et cur aliquid sit aut factum sit, et quod ipsius effectus obiectivi in anima procedunt ad rationem formalitatis ipsius obiecti ; id quod idem est, quod veteres dixerunt, nempe veram scientiam procedere a causa ad effectus ; nisi quod nunquam, quod sciam, conceperunt, uti nos hic, animam secundum certas leges agentem et quasi aliquod automatum spirituale.

86. Unde, quantum in initio licuit, acquisivimus notitiam nostri intellectus, et talem normam verae ideae, ut iam non vereamur, ne vera cum falsis aut fictis confundamus ; nec etiam mirabimur, cur quaedam intelligamus, quae nullo modo sub imaginationem cadunt, et alia sint in imaginatione, quae prorsus oppugnant intellectum ; alia denique cum intellectu convenient. Quandoquidem novimus operationes illas, a quibus imaginationes producuntur, fieri secundum alias leges prorsus diversas a legibus intellectus, et animam circa imaginationem tantum habere rationem patientis.

87. Ex quo etiam constat, quam facile ii in magnos errores possunt delabi, qui non accurate distinxerunt inter imaginationem et intellectionem. In hos ex. gr. quod extensio debeat esse in loco, debeat esse finita, cuius partes ab invicem distinguuntur realiter, quod sit primum et unicum fundamentum omnium rerum, et uno tempore maius spatium occupet, quam alio, multaque eiusmodi alia, quae omnia prorsus oppugnant veritatem, ut suo loco ostendemus.

88. Deinde cum verba sint pars imaginationis, hoc est, quod, prout vage ex aliqua dispositione corporis componuntur in memoria, multos conceptus fingamus, ideo non dubitandum, quin etiam verba, aequae ac imaginatio, possint esse causa multorum magnorumque errorum, nisi magnopere ab ipsis caveamus.

89. Adde quod sint constituta ad libitum et ad captum vulgi, adeo ut non sint nisi signa rerum, prout sunt in imaginatione, non autem prout sunt in intellectu ; quod clare patet ex eo, quod omnibus iis, quae tantum sunt in intellectu, et non in imaginatione, nomina imposuerunt saepe negativa, uti sunt, incorporeum, infinitum etc. ; et etiam multa, quae sunt revera affirmativa, negative exprimunt, et contra, uti sunt increatum, independens, infinitum, immortale etc., quia nimirum horum contraria multo facilius imaginamur ; ideoque prius primis hominibus occurrerunt et nomina positiva usurparunt. Multa affirmamus et negamus, quia natura verborum id affirmare et negare patitur, non vero rerum natura ; adeoque hac ignorata facile aliquid falsum pro vero sumeremus.

90. Vitamus praeterea aliam magnam causam confusionis, et quae facit, quominus intellectus ad se reflectat. Nempe cum non distinguimus inter imaginationem et intellectionem, putamus ea, quae facilius imaginamur, nobis esse clariora, et id, quod imaginamur, putamus intelligere. Unde quae sunt postponenda, anteponimus, et sic verus ordo progrediendi pervertitur, nec aliquid legitime concluditur.

XII. Methodi pars secunda. De duplici perceptione.



91. PORRO, UT tandem ad secundam partem huius methodi perveniamus, proponam primo nostrum scopum in hac methodo, ac deinde media, ut eum attingamus. Scopus itaque est claras et distinctas habere ideas, tales videlicet, quae ex pura mente, et non ex fortuitis motibus corporis factae sint. Deinde omnes ideae ad unam ut redigantur, conabimur eas tali modo concatenare et ordinare, ut mens nostra, quoad eius fieri potest, referat obiective formalitatem naturae, quoad totam et quoad eius partes.

92. Quoad primum, ut iam tradidimus, requiritur ad nostrum ultimum finem, ut res concipiatur vel per solam suam essentiam vel per proximam suam causam. Scilicet si res sit in se, sive, ut vulgo dicitur, causa sui, tum per solam suam essentiam debebit intelligi ; si vero res non sit in se, sed requirat causam, ut existat, tum per proximam suam causam debet intelligi. Nam revera cognitio effectus nihil aliud est, quam perfectiorem causae cognitionem acquirere .

93. Unde nunquam nobis licebit, quamdiu de inquisitione rerum agimus, ex abstractis aliquid concludere, et magnopere cavebimus, ne misceamus ea, quae tantum sunt in intellectu, cum iis, quae sunt in re. Sed optima conclusio erit depromenda ab essentia aliqua particulari affirmativa, sive a vera et legitima definitione. Nam ab axiomatibus solis universalibus non potest intellectus ad singularia descendere, quandoquidem axiomata ad infinita se extendunt, nec intellectum magis ad unum, quam ad aliud singulare contemplandum, determinant.

94. Quare recta inveniendi via est ex data aliqua definitione cogitationes formare : quod eo felicius et facilius procedet, quo rem aliquam melius definiverimus. Quare cardo totius huius secundae Methodi partis in hoc solo

versatur, nempe in conditionibus bonae definitionis cognoscendis, et deinde in modo eas inveniendi. Primo itaque de conditionibus definitionis agam.

XIII. De conditionibus definitionis.



95. DEFINITIO UT dicatur perfecta, debet intimam essentiam rei explicare, et cavere, ne eius loco propria quaedam usurpemus. Ad quod explicandum, ut alia exempla omittam, ne videar aliorum errores velle detegere, adferam tantum exemplum alicuius rei abstractae, quae perinde est, quomodocumque definiatur, circuli scilicet ; quod si definiatur, esse figuram aliquam, cuius lineae, a centro ad circumferentiam ductae, sunt aequales, nemo non videt talem definitionem minime explicare essentiam circuli, sed tantum eius aliquam proprietatem. Et quamvis, ut dixi, circa figuras et cetera entia rationis hoc parum referat, multum tamen refert circa entia physica et realia ; nimirum, quia proprietates rerum non intelliguntur, quamdiu earum essentiae ignorantur ; si autem has praetermittimus, necessario concatenationem intellectus, quae naturae concatenationem referre debet, pervertemus, et a nostro scopo prorsus aberrabimus.

96. Ut itaque hoc vitio liberemur, erunt haec observanda in definitione.

I. Si res sit creata, definitio debet, uti diximus, comprehendere causam proximam. Ex. gr. circulus secundum hanc legem sic esset definiendus : eum esse figuram, quae describitur a linea quacunque, cuius alia extremitas est fixa, alia mobilis, quae definitio clare comprehendit causam proximam.

II. Talis requiritur conceptus rei sive definitio, ut omnes proprietates rei, dum sola, non autem cum aliis coniuncta, spectatur, ex ea concludi possint, uti in hac definitione circuli videre est. Nam ex ea clare concluditur omnes lineas a centro ad circumferentiam ductas aequales esse ; quodque hoc sit necessarium requisitum definitionis, adeo per se est attendenti manifestum, ut non videatur operae pretium in ipsius demonstratione morari, nec etiam ostendere ex hoc secundo requisito omnem definitionem debere esse affirmativam. Loquor de affirmatione intellectiva, parum curando verbalem, quae propter verborum

penuriam poterit fortasse aliquando negative exprimi, quamvis affirmative intelligatur.

97. Definitionis vero rei increatae haec sunt requisita.

I. Ut omnem causam secludat, hoc est, obiectum nullo alio praeter suum esse egeat ad sui explicationem.

II. Ut data eius rei definitione nullus maneat locus quaestioni, an sit.

III. Ut nulla quoad mentem habeat substantiva, quae possint adiectivari, hoc est, ne per aliqua abstracta explicetur.

IV. Et ultimo (quamvis hoc notare non sit valde necessarium) requiritur, ut ab eius definitione omnes eius proprietates concludantur. Quae etiam omnia attendenti accurate fiunt manifesta.

98. Dixi etiam, quod optima conclusio erit depromenda ab essentia aliqua particulari affirmativa. Quo enim specialior est idea, eo distinctior, ac proinde clarior est. Unde cognitio particularium quam maxime nobis quaerenda est.

XIV. De mediis quibus res aeternas cognoscuntur.



99. QUOAD ORDINEM vero, et ut omnes nostrae perceptiones ordinentur, et uniantur, requiritur, ut, quamprimum fieri potest et ratio postulat, inquiramus, an detur quoddam ens, et simul quale, quod sit omnium rerum causa, ut eius essentia obiectiva sit etiam causa omnium nostrarum idearum, et tum mens nostra, uti diximus, quam maxime referet naturam. Nam et ipsius essentiam et ordinem et unionem habebit obiective. Unde possumus videre, apprime nobis esse necessarium, ut semper a rebus physicis sive ab entibus realibus omnes nostras ideas deducamus, progrediendo, quoad eius fieri potest, secundum seriem causarum ab uno ente reali ad aliud ens reale, et ita quidem, ut ad abstracta et universalia non transeamus, sive ut ab iis aliquid reale non concludamus, sive ut ea ab aliquo reali non concludantur. Utrumque enim verum progressum intellectus interrumpit.

100. Sed notandum, me hic per seriem causarum et realium entium non intelligere seriem rerum singularium mutabilium, sed tantummodo seriem rerum fixarum aeternarumque. Seriem enim rerum singularium mutabilium impossibile foret humanae imbecillitati assequi, cum propter earum omnem numerum superantem multitudinem, tum propter infinitas circumstantias in una et eadem re, quarum unaquaeque potest esse causa, ut res existat, aut non existat. Quandoquidem earum existentia nullam habet connexionem cum earundem essentia, sive (ut iam diximus) non est aeterna veritas.

101. Verumenimvero neque etiam opus est, ut earum seriem intelligamus ; siquidem rerum singularium mutabilium essentiae non sunt depromendae ab earum serie sive ordine existendim, cum hic nihil aliud nobis praebeat praeter denominationes extrinsecas, relationes, aut ad summum circumstantias ; quae omnia longe absunt ab intima essentia rerum. Haec vero tantum est petenda a fixis

atque aeternis rebus, et simul a legibus in iis rebus, tamquam in suis veris codicibus inscriptis, secundum quas omnia singularia et fiunt et ordinantur ; imo haec mutabilia singularia adeo intime atque essentialiter (ut sic dicam) ab iis fixis pendent, ut sine iis nec esse, nec concipi possint. Unde haec fixa et aeterna, quamvis sint singularia, tamen ob eorum ubique praesentiam ac latissimam potentiam erunt nobis tamquam universalialia sive genera definitionum rerum singularium mutabilium, et causae proximae omnium rerum.

102. Sed cum hoc ita sit, non parum difficultatis videtur subesse, ut ad horum singularium cognitionem pervenire possimus ; nam omnia simul concipere res est longe supra humani intellectus vires. Ordo autem, ut unum ante aliud intelligatur, uti diximus, non est petendus ab eorum existendi serie, neque etiam a rebus aeternis. Ibi enim omnia haec sunt simul natura. Unde alia auxilia necessario sunt quaerenda praeter illa, quibus utimur ad res aeternas earumque leges intelligendum ; attamen non est huius loci ea tradere, neque etiam opus est, nisi postquam rerum aeternarum earumque infallibilium legum sufficientem acquisiverimus cognitionem, sensuumque nostrorum natura nobis innotuerit.

103. Antequam ad rerum singularium cognitionem accingamur, tempus erit, ut ea auxilia tradamus, quae omnia eo tendent, ut nostris sensibus sciamus uti, et experimenta certis legibus et ordine facere, quae sufficient ad rem, quae inquiritur, determinandam, ut tandem ex iis concludamus, secundum quasnam rerum aeternarum leges facta sit, et intima eius natura nobis innotescat, ut suo loco ostendam. Hic, ut ad propositum revertar, tantum enitar tradere, quae videntur necessaria, ut ad cognitionem rerum aeternarum pervenire possimus, earumque definitiones formemus conditionibus supra traditis.

104. Quod ut fiat, revocandum in memoriam id, quod supra diximus, nempe quod, ubi mens ad aliquam cogitationem attendit, ut ipsam perpendat, bonoque ordine ex ea deducat quae legitime sunt deducenda, si ea falsa fuerit, falsitatem detegit ; sin autem vera, tum feliciter perget sine ulla interruptione res veras inde deducere ; hoc, inquam, ad nostram rem requiritur. Nam ex nullo alio fundamento cogitationes nostrae determinari queunt.

105. Si igitur rem omnium primam investigare velimus, necesse est dari aliquod fundamentum, quod nostras cogitationes eo dirigat. Deinde quia methodus est ipsa cognitio reflexiva, hoc fundamentum, quod nostras cogitationes dirigere debet, nullum aliud potest esse, quam cognitio eius, quod formam veritatis constituit, et cognitio intellectus eiusque proprietatum et virium. Hac enim acquisita fundamentum habebimus, a quo nostras cogitationes deducemus, et viam, qua intellectus, prout eius fert capacitas, pervenire poterit ad rerum aeternarum cognitionem, habita nimirum ratione virium intellectus.

XV. De viribus intellectus eiusque proprietatibus.



106. QUOD SI vero ad naturam cogitationis pertineat veras formare ideas, ut in prima parte ostensum, hic iam inquirendum, quid per vires et potentiam intellectus intelligamus. Quoniam vero praecipua nostrae methodi pars est, vires intellectus eiusque naturam optime intelligere, cogimur necessario (per ea, quae in hac secunda parte methodi tradidi), haec deducere ex ipsa cogitationis, et intellectus definitione.

107. Sed hucusque nullas regulas inveniendi definitiones habuimus, et quia eas tradere non possumus, nisi cognita natura sive definitione intellectus eiusque potentia, hinc sequitur, quod vel definitio intellectus per se debet esse clara, vel nihil intelligere possumus. Illa tamen per se absolute clara non est. Attamen quia eius proprietates, ut omnia, quae ex intellectu habemus, clare et distincte percipi nequeunt, nisi cognita earum natura ; ergo definitio intellectus per se innotescet, si ad eius proprietates, quas clare et distincte intelligimus, attendamus. Intellectus igitur proprietates hic enumeremus easque perpendamus, deque nostris innatis instrumentis agere incipiamus.

108. Intellectus proprietates, quas praecipue notavi et clare intelligo, hae sunt.

I. Quod certitudinem involvat, hoc est, quod sciat res ita esse formaliter, ut in ipso obiective continentur.

II. Quod quaedam percipiat, sive quasdam format ideas absolute, quasdam ex aliis. Nempe quantitatis ideam format absolute, nec ad alias attendit cogitationes ; motus vero ideas non, nisi attendendo ad ideam quantitatis.

III. Quas absolute format, infinitatem exprimunt ; at determinatas ex aliis format. Ideam enim quantitatis, si eam per causam percipit, tum per quantitatem determinat, ut cum ex motu alicuius plani corpus, ex motu lineae vero planum, ex motu denique puncti lineam oriri percipit ; quae quidem perceptiones non

inserviunt ad intelligendam, sed tantum ad determinandam quantitatem. Quod inde apparet, quia eas quasi ex motu oriri concipimus, cum tamen motus non percipiatur nisi percepta quantitate, et motum etiam ad formandam lineam in infinitum continuare possumus, quod minime possemus facere, si non haberemus ideam infinitae quantitatis.

IV. Ideas positivas prius format, quam negativas.

V. Res non tam sub duratione, quam sub quadam specie aeternitatis percipit et numero infinito ; vel potius ad res percipiendas, nec ad numerum, nec ad durationem attendit. Cum autem res imaginatur, eas sub certo numero, determinata duratione et quantitate percipit.

VI. Ideae, quas claras et distinctas formamus, ita ex sola necessitate nostrae naturae sequi videntur, ut absolute a sola nostra potentia pendere videantur ; confusae autem contra. Nobis enim invitis saepe formantur.

VII. Ideas rerum, quas intellectus ex aliis format, multis modis mens determinare potest ; ut ad determinandum ex. gr. planum ellipseos, fingit stylum chordae adhaerentem circa duo centra moveri, vel concipit infinita puncta eandem semper et certam rationem ad datam aliquam rectam lineam habentia, vel conum plano aliquo obliquo sectum, ita ut angulus inclinationis maior sit angulo verticis coni, vel aliis infinitis modis.

VIII. Ideae quo plus perfectionis alicuius obiecti exprimunt, eo perfectiores sunt. Nam fabrum, qui fanum aliquod excogitavit, non ita admiramur, ac illum, qui templum aliquod insigne excogitavit.

109. Reliqua, quae ad cogitationem referuntur, ut amor, laetitia etc. nihil moror ; nam nec ad nostrum institutum praesens faciunt, nec etiam possunt concipi, nisi percepto intellectu. Nam perceptione omnino sublata ea omnia tolluntur.

110. Ideae falsae et fictae nihil positivum habent (ut abunde ostendimus), per quod falsae aut fictae dicuntur ; sed ex solo defectu cognitionis ut tales considerantur. Ideae ergo falsae et fictae, quatenus tales, nihil nos de essentia cogitationis docere possunt ; sed haec petenda ex modo recensitis proprietatibus positivis, hoc est, iam aliquid commune statuendum est, ex quo hae proprietates

necessario sequantur, sive quo dato haec necessario dentur, et quo sublato haec omnia tollantur.

Reliqua desiderantur.

Theological-Political Treatise



Translated by R. H. M. Elwes

This controversial treatise was published anonymously in 1670 by Jan Rieuwerts in Amsterdam. In order to protect Spinoza and his publisher from political retribution, the title page identified the city of publication as Hamburg and the publisher as Henricus Kunraht. *Theological-Political Treatise* was written in New Latin rather than in the vernacular Dutch in an attempt to avoid censorship by the secular Dutch authorities. The work sets out the philosopher's systematic critique of Judaism and all 'organised religion' in general. Spinoza argues that theology and philosophy must be kept separate, particularly in the reading of scripture. He suggests that although the goal of theology is obedience, philosophy should aim at understanding rational truth. Scripture, therefore, does not teach philosophy and so cannot be made to conform to it, or else the meaning of scripture will be distorted. If reason becomes subservient to scripture, Spinoza argues, "the prejudices of a common people of long ago... will gain a hold on his understanding and darken it."

Spinoza goes on to argue that supernatural occurrences, such as prophecies and miracles, have in fact natural explanations. God acts solely by the laws of his own nature and Spinoza rejects the view that God acts for a particular purpose or *telos*. For Spinoza, those that believe that God acts for a particular end are delusional and projecting their hopes and fears onto the workings of nature.

For many, Spinoza embodies the real father of modern metaphysics and moral and political philosophy. The philosopher was particularly attuned to the idea of interpretation, since he felt that all organised religion was simply the institutionalised defence of particular interpretations. He entirely rejects the view that Moses composed the first five books of the Bible, called the Pentateuch by

Christians or Torah by Jews. Spinoza offers an analysis of the structure of the Bible that demonstrates that it is essentially a compiled text with many different authors and diverse origins.

Tractatus Theologico-Politicus undertakes to prove that Scriptures properly understood provide no authority for the militant intolerance of the clergy that sought to stifle all dissent by the use of force. To achieve his object, Spinoza reveals what is meant by a proper understanding of the Bible, including criticism of the book. The treatise also rejects the Jewish notion of “chosenness”. To the author, all peoples are equal to each other, as God has not elevated one over the other. Spinoza provides a sociological explanation as to how the Jewish people had managed to survive for so long, despite facing relentless persecution. In his view, the Jews had been preserved due to a combination of Gentile hatred and Jewish separatism.

It is unlikely that this work ever had political support of any kind, with attempts being made to suppress it even before the Dutch magistrate Johan de Witt’s murder in 1672. In 1673, the book was publicly condemned by the Synod of Dordrecht and banned officially the following year. Harsh criticism of the text emerged almost as soon as it was published. One of the first, and most notorious, critiques was by Leipzig professor Jakob Thomasius in 1670.

TRACTATUS
THEOLOGICO-
POLITICUS

Continens

Differtationes aliquot,

Quibus ostenditur Libertatem Philosophandi non tantum
salva Pietate, & Reipublicæ Pace posse concedi: sed
eandem nisi cum Pace Reipublicæ, ipsaque
Pietate tolli non posse.

Authoꝛ Benedictus de Spinoza.

Johann: Epist: I. Cap: IV. vers: XIII.

*Per hoc cognoscimus quod in Deo manemus, & Deus manet
in nobis, quod de Spiritu suo dedit nobis.*



HAMBURGI,
Apud Henricum Künrath. cło 10 cłxx.

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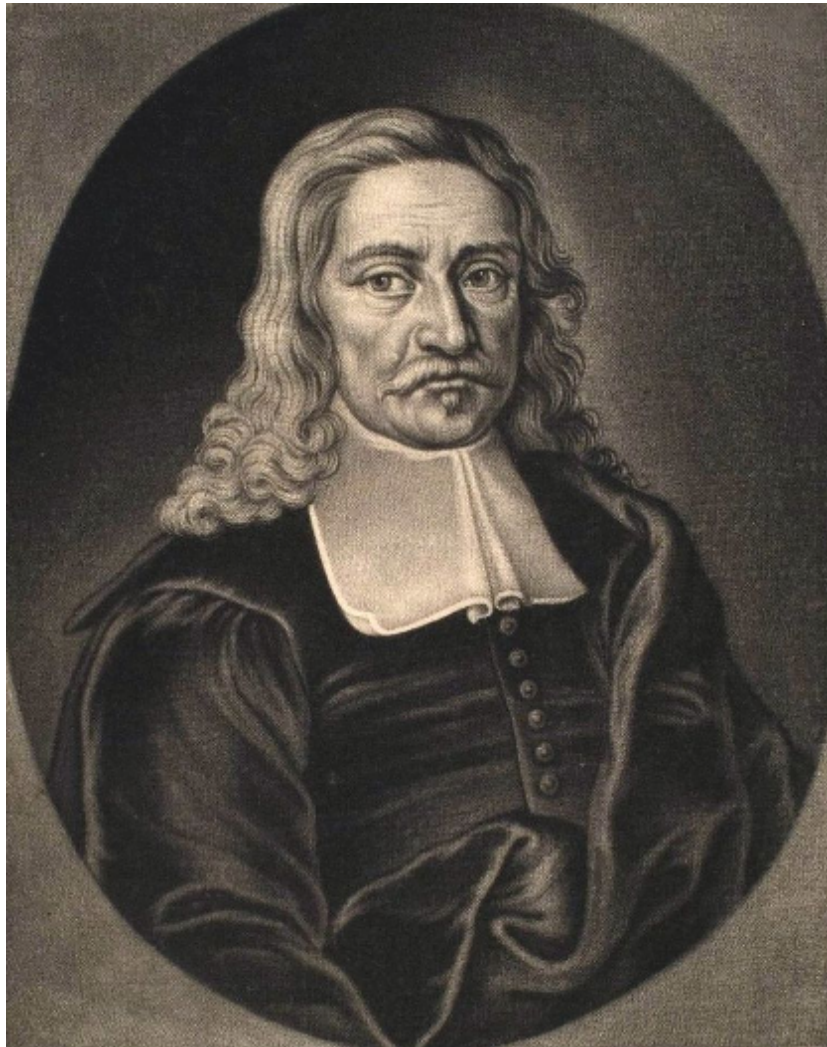
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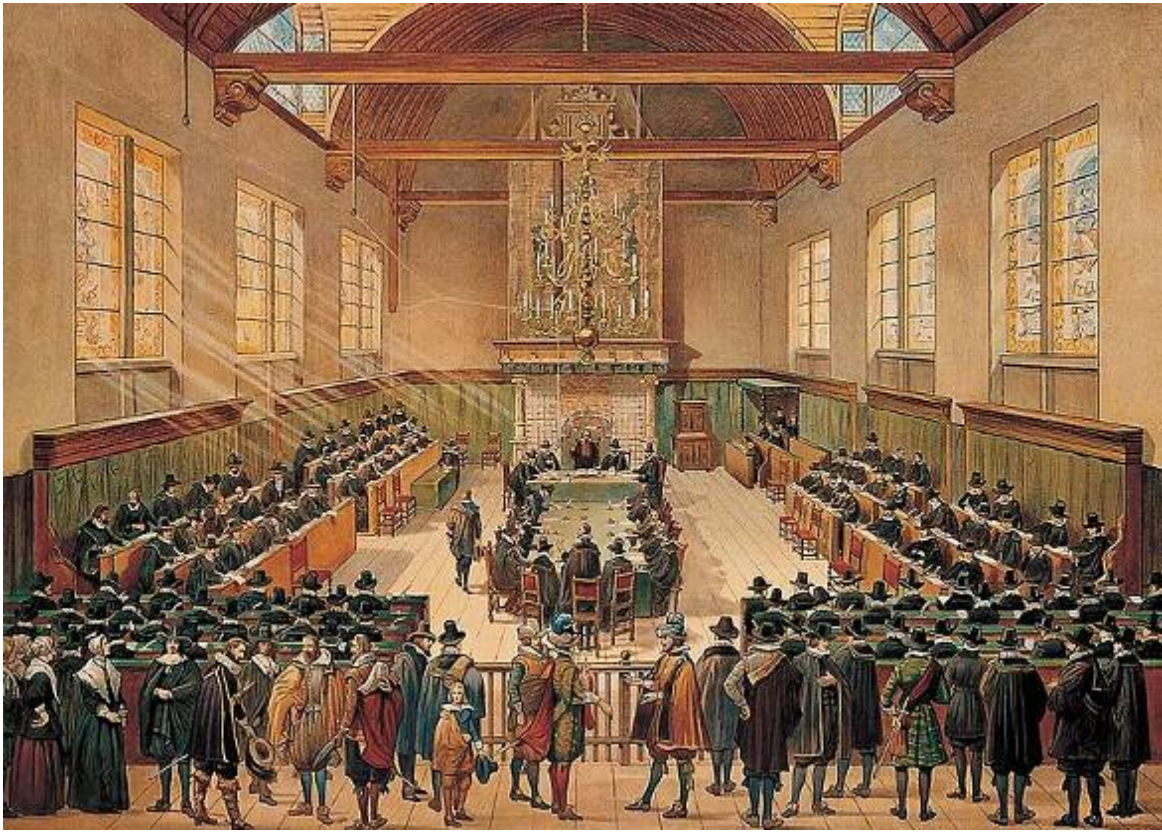
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Jakob Thomasius (1622-1684) was a German academic philosopher and jurist. He is now regarded as an important founding figure in the scholarly study of the history of philosophy. He was a fierce opponent of Spinoza's 'Tractatus Theologico-Politicus'.



The Synod of Dort, c. 1630

PREFACE.



MEN WOULD NEVER be superstitious, if they could govern all their circumstances by set rules, or if they were always favoured by fortune: but being frequently driven into straits where rules are useless, and being often kept fluctuating pitiably between hope and fear by the uncertainty of fortune's greedily coveted favours, they are consequently, for the most part, very prone to credulity. The human mind is readily swayed this way or that in times of doubt, especially when hope and fear are struggling for the mastery, though usually it is boastful, over — confident, and vain.

This as a general fact I suppose everyone knows, though few, I believe, know their own nature; no one can have lived in the world without observing that most people, when in prosperity, are so over-brimming with wisdom (however inexperienced they may be), that they take every offer of advice as a personal insult, whereas in adversity they know not where to turn, but beg and pray for counsel from every passer-by. No plan is then too futile, too absurd, or too fatuous for their adoption; the most frivolous causes will raise them to hope, or plunge them into despair — if anything happens during their fright which reminds them of some past good or ill, they think it portends a happy or unhappy issue, and therefore (though it may have proved abortive a hundred times before) style it a lucky or unlucky omen. Anything which excites their astonishment they believe to be a portent signifying the anger of the gods or of the Supreme Being, and, mistaking superstition for religion, account it impious not to avert the evil with prayer and sacrifice. Signs and wonders of this sort they conjure up perpetually, till one might think Nature as mad as themselves, they interpret her so fantastically.

Thus it is brought prominently before us, that superstition's chief victims are those persons who greedily covet temporal advantages; they it is, who (especially when they are in danger, and cannot help themselves) are wont with Prayers and womanish tears to implore help from God: upbraiding Reason as blind, because she cannot show a sure path to the shadows they pursue, and rejecting human wisdom as vain; but believing the phantoms of imagination, dreams, and other childish absurdities, to be the very oracles of Heaven. As though God had turned away from the wise, and written His decrees, not in the mind of man but in the entrails of beasts, or left them to be proclaimed by the inspiration and instinct of fools, madmen, and birds. Such is the unreason to which terror can drive mankind!

Superstition, then, is engendered, preserved, and fostered by fear. If anyone desire an example, let him take Alexander, who only began superstitiously to seek guidance from seers, when he first learnt to fear fortune in the passes of Sysis (Curtius, v. 4); whereas after he had conquered Darius he consulted prophets no more, till a second time frightened by reverses. When the Scythians were provoking a battle, the Bactrians had deserted, and he himself was lying sick of his wounds, "he once more turned to superstition, the mockery of human wisdom, and bade Aristander, to whom he confided his credulity, inquire the issue of affairs with sacrificed victims." Very numerous examples of a like nature might be cited, clearly showing the fact, that only while under the dominion of fear do men fall a prey to superstition; that all the portents ever invested with the reverence of misguided religion are mere phantoms of dejected and fearful minds; and lastly, that prophets have most power among the people, and are most formidable to rulers, precisely at those times when the state is in most peril. I think this is sufficiently plain to all, and will therefore say no more on the subject.

The origin of superstition above given affords us a clear reason for the fact, that it comes to all men naturally, though some refer its rise to a dim notion of God, universal to mankind, and also tends to show, that it is no less inconsistent and variable than other mental hallucinations and emotional impulses, and further

that it can only be maintained by hope, hatred, anger, and deceit; since it springs, not from reason, but solely from the more powerful phases of emotion. Furthermore, we may readily understand how difficult it is, to maintain in the same course men prone to every form of credulity. For, as the mass of mankind remains always at about the same pitch of misery, it never assents long to any one remedy, but is always best pleased by a novelty which has not yet proved illusive.

This element of inconsistency has been the cause of many terrible wars and revolutions; for, as Curtius well says (lib. iv. chap. 10): “The mob has no ruler more potent than superstition,” and is easily led, on the plea of religion, at one moment to adore its kings as gods, and anon to execrate and abjure them as humanity’s common bane. Immense pains have therefore been taken to counteract this evil by investing religion, whether true or false, with such pomp and ceremony, that it may, rise superior to every shock, and be always observed with studious reverence by the whole people — a system which has been brought to great perfection by the Turks, for they consider even controversy impious, and so clog men’s minds with dogmatic formulas, that they leave no room for sound reason, not even enough to doubt with.

But if, in despotic statecraft, the supreme and essential mystery be to hoodwink the subjects, and to mask the fear, which keeps them clown, with the specious garb of religion, so that men may fight as bravely for slavery as for safety, and count it not shame but highest honour to risk their blood and their lives for the vainglory of a tyrant; yet in a free state no more mischievous expedient could be planned or attempted. Wholly repugnant to the general freedom are such devices as enthralling men’s minds with prejudices, forcing their judgment, or employing any of the weapons of quasi-religious sedition; indeed, such seditions only spring up, when law enters the domain of speculative thought, and opinions are put on trial and condemned on the same footing as crimes, while those who defend and follow them are sacrificed, not to public safety, but to their opponents’ hatred and cruelty. If deeds only could be made the grounds of criminal charges, and words were always allowed to pass free, such seditions would be divested of

every semblance of justification, and would be separated from mere controversies by a hard and fast line.

Now, seeing that we have the rare happiness of living in a republic, where everyone's judgment is free and unshackled, where each may worship God as his conscience dictates, and where freedom is esteemed before all things dear and precious, I have believed that I should be undertaking no ungrateful or unprofitable task, in demonstrating that not only can such freedom be granted without prejudice to the public peace, but also, that without such freedom, piety cannot flourish nor the public peace be secure.

Such is the chief conclusion I seek to establish in this treatise; but, in order to reach it, I must first point out the misconceptions which, like scars of our former bondage, still disfigure our notion of religion, and must expose the false views about the civil authority which many have most impudently advocated, endeavouring to turn the mind of the people, still prone to heathen superstition, away from its legitimate rulers, and so bring us again into slavery. As to the order of my treatise I will speak presently, but first I will recount the causes which led me to write.

I have often wondered, that persons who make a boast of professing the Christian religion, namely, love, joy, peace, temperance, and charity to all men, should quarrel with such rancorous animosity, and display daily towards one another such bitter hatred, that this, rather than the virtues they claim, is the readiest criterion of their faith. Matters have long since come to such a pass, that one can only pronounce a man Christian, Turk, Jew, or Heathen, by his general appearance and attire, by his frequenting this or that place of worship, or employing the phraseology of a particular sect — as for manner of life, it is in all cases the same. Inquiry into the cause of this anomaly leads me unhesitatingly to ascribe it to the fact, that the ministries of the Church are regarded by the masses merely as dignities, her offices as posts of emolument — in short, popular religion may be summed up as respect for ecclesiastics. The spread of this misconception inflamed every worthless fellow with an intense desire to enter holy orders, and

thus the love of diffusing God's religion degenerated into sordid avarice and ambition. Every church became a theatre, where orators, instead of church teachers, harangued, caring not to instruct the people, but striving to attract admiration, to bring opponents to public scorn, and to preach only novelties and paradoxes, such as would tickle the ears of their congregation. This state of things necessarily stirred up an amount of controversy, envy, and hatred, which no lapse of time could appease; so that we can scarcely wonder that of the old religion nothing survives but its outward forms (even these, in the mouth of the multitude, seem rather adulation than adoration of the Deity), and that faith has become a mere compound of credulity and prejudices — aye, prejudices too, which degrade man from rational being to beast, which completely stifle the power of judgment between true and false, which seem, in fact, carefully fostered for the purpose of extinguishing the last spark of reason! Piety, great God! and religion are become a tissue of ridiculous mysteries; men, who flatly despise reason, who reject and turn away from understanding as naturally corrupt, these, I say, these of all men, are thought, O lie most horrible! to possess light from on High. Verily, if they had but one spark of light from on High, they would not insolently rave, but would learn to worship God more wisely, and would be as marked among their fellows for mercy as they now are for malice; if they were concerned for their opponents' souls, instead of for their own reputations, they would no longer fiercely persecute, but rather be filled with pity and compassion.

Furthermore, if any Divine light were in them, it would appear from their doctrine. I grant that they are never tired of professing their wonder at the profound mysteries of Holy Writ; still I cannot discover that they teach anything but speculations of Platonists and Aristotelians, to which (in order to save their credit for Christianity) they have made Holy Writ conform; not content to rave with the Greeks themselves, they want to make the prophets rave also; showing conclusively, that never even in sleep have they caught a glimpse of Scripture's Divine nature. The very vehemence of their admiration for the mysteries plainly attests, that their belief in the Bible is a formal assent rather than a living faith:

and the fact is made still more apparent by their laying down beforehand, as a foundation for the study and true interpretation of Scripture, the principle that it is in every passage true and divine. Such a doctrine should be reached only after strict scrutiny and thorough comprehension of the Sacred Books (which would teach it much better, for they stand in need no human fictions), and not be set up on the threshold, as it were, of inquiry.

As I pondered over the facts that the light of reason is not only despised, but by many even execrated as a source of impiety, that human commentaries are accepted as divine records, and that credulity is extolled as faith; as I marked the fierce controversies of philosophers raging in Church and State, the source of bitter hatred and dissension, the ready instruments of sedition and other ills innumerable, I determined to examine the Bible afresh in a careful, impartial, and unfettered spirit, making no assumptions concerning it, and attributing to it no doctrines, which I do not find clearly therein set down. With these precautions I constructed a method of Scriptural interpretation, and thus equipped proceeded to inquire — what is prophecy? In what sense did God reveal himself to the prophets, and why were these particular men — chosen by him? Was it on account of the sublimity of their thoughts about the Deity and nature, or was it solely on account of their piety? These questions being answered, I was easily able to conclude, that the authority of the prophets has weight only in matters of morality, and that their speculative doctrines affect us little.

Next I inquired, why the Hebrews were called God's chosen people, and discovering that it was only because God had chosen for them a certain strip of territory, where they might live peaceably and at ease, I learnt that the Law revealed by God to Moses was merely the law of the individual Hebrew state, therefore that it was binding on none but Hebrews, and not even on Hebrews after the downfall of their nation. Further, in order to ascertain, whether it could be concluded from Scripture, that the human understanding standing is naturally corrupt, I inquired whether the Universal Religion, the Divine Law revealed through the Prophets and Apostles to the whole human race, differs from that

which is taught by the light of natural reason, whether miracles can take place in violation of the laws of nature, and if so, whether they imply the existence of God more surely and clearly than events, which we understand plainly and distinctly through their immediate natural causes.

Now, as in the whole course of my investigation I found nothing taught expressly by Scripture, which does not agree with our understanding, or which is repugnant thereto, and as I saw that the prophets taught nothing, which is not very simple and easily to be grasped by all, and further, that they clothed their teaching in the style, and confirmed it with the reasons, which would most deeply move the mind of the masses to devotion towards God, I became thoroughly convinced, that the Bible leaves reason absolutely free, that it has nothing in common with philosophy, in fact, that Revelation and Philosophy stand on different footings. In order to set this forth categorically and exhaust the whole question, I point out the way in which the Bible should be interpreted, and show that all of spiritual questions should be sought from it alone, and not from the objects of ordinary knowledge. Thence I pass on to indicate the false notions, which have from the fact that the multitude — ever prone to superstition, and caring more for the shreds of antiquity for eternal truths — pays homage to the Books of the Bible, rather than to the Word of God. I show that the Word of God has not been revealed as a certain number of books, was displayed to the prophets as a simple idea of the mind, namely, obedience to God in singleness of heart, and in the practice of justice and charity; and I further point out, that this doctrine is set forth in Scripture in accordance with the opinions and understandings of those, among whom the Apostles and Prophets preached, to the end that men might receive it willingly, and with their whole heart.

Having thus laid bare the bases of belief, I draw the conclusion that Revelation has obedience for its sole object, therefore, in purpose no less than in foundation and method, stands entirely aloof from ordinary knowledge; each has its separate province, neither can be called the handmaid of the other.

Furthermore, as men's habits of mind differ, so that some more readily embrace one form of faith, some another, for what moves one to pray may move another only to scoff, I conclude, in accordance with what has gone before, that everyone should be free to choose for himself the foundations of his creed, and that faith should be judged only by its fruits; each would then obey God freely with his whole heart, while nothing would be publicly honoured save justice and charity.

Having thus drawn attention to the liberty conceded to everyone by the revealed law of God, I pass on to another part of my subject, and prove that this same liberty can and should be accorded with safety to the state and the magisterial authority — in fact, that it cannot be withheld without great danger to peace and detriment to the community.

In order to establish my point, I start from the natural rights of the individual, which are co-extensive with his desires and power, and from the fact that no one is bound to live as another pleases, but is the guardian of his own liberty. I show that these rights can only be transferred to those whom we depute to defend us, who acquire with the duties of defence the power of ordering our lives, and I thence infer that rulers possess rights only limited by their power, that they are the sole guardians of justice and liberty, and that their subjects should act in all things as they dictate: nevertheless, since no one can so utterly abdicate his own power of self-defence as to cease to be a man, I conclude that no one can be deprived of his natural rights absolutely, but that subjects, either by tacit agreement, or by social contract, retain a certain number, which cannot be taken from them without great danger to the state.

From these considerations I pass on to the Hebrew State, which I describe at some length, in order to trace the manner in which Religion acquired the force of law, and to touch on other noteworthy points. I then prove, that the holders of sovereign power are the depositories and interpreters of religious no less than of civil ordinances, and that they alone have the right to decide what is just or unjust, pious or impious; lastly, I conclude by showing, that they best retain this right and

secure safety to their state by allowing every man to think what he likes, and say what he thinks.

Such, Philosophical Reader, are the questions I submit to your notice, counting on your approval, for the subject matter of the whole book and of the several chapters is important and profitable. I would say more, but I do not want my preface to extend to a volume, especially as I know that its leading propositions are to Philosophers but common places. To the rest of mankind I care not to commend my treatise, for I cannot expect that it contains anything to please them: I know how deeply rooted are the prejudices embraced under the name of religion; I am aware that in the mind of the masses superstition is no less deeply rooted than fear; I recognize that their constancy is mere obstinacy, and that they are led to praise or blame by impulse rather than reason. Therefore the multitude, and those of like passions with the multitude, I ask not to read my book; nay, I would rather that they should utterly neglect it, than that they should misinterpret it after their wont. They would gain no good themselves, and might prove a stumbling-block to others, whose philosophy is hampered by the belief that Reason is a mere handmaid to Theology, and whom I seek in this work especially to benefit. But as there will be many who have neither the leisure, nor, perhaps, the inclination to read through all I have written, I feel bound here, as at the end of my treatise, to declare that I have written nothing, which I do not most willingly submit to the examination and judgment of my country's rulers, and that I am ready to retract anything, which they shall decide to be repugnant to the laws or prejudicial to the public good. I know that I am a man and, as a man, liable to error, but against error I have taken scrupulous care, and striven to keep in entire accordance with the laws of my country, with loyalty, and with morality.

CHAPTER I.

Of Prophecy



PROPHECY, OR REVELATION is sure knowledge revealed by God to man. A prophet is one who interprets the revelations of God {insights} to those who are unable to attain to sure knowledge of the matters revealed, and therefore can only apprehend them by simple faith.

The Hebrew word for prophet is “*nabi*”, 1 i.e. speaker or interpreter, but in Scripture its meaning is restricted to interpreter of God, as we may learn from Exodus vii:1, where God says to Moses, “See, I have made thee a god to Pharaoh, and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet;” implying that, since in interpreting Moses’ words to Pharaoh, Aaron acted the part of a prophet, Moses would be to Pharaoh as a god, or in the attitude of a god.

Prophets I will treat of in the next chapter, and at present consider prophecy.

Now it is evident, from the definition above given, that prophecy really includes ordinary knowledge; for the knowledge which we acquire by our natural faculties depends on knowledge of God and His eternal laws; but ordinary knowledge is common to all men as men, and rests on foundations which all share, whereas the multitude always strains after rarities and exceptions, and thinks little of the gifts of nature; so that, when prophecy is talked of, ordinary knowledge is not supposed to be included. Nevertheless it has as much right as any other to be called Divine, for God’s nature, in so far as we share therein, and God’s laws, dictate it to us; nor does it suffer from that to which we give the preeminence, except in so far as the latter transcends its limits and cannot be accounted for by natural laws taken in themselves. In respect to the certainty it involves, and the source from which it is derived, i.e. God, ordinary knowledge is

no whit inferior to prophetic, unless indeed we believe, or rather dream, that the prophets had human bodies but superhuman minds, and therefore that their sensations and consciousness were entirely different from our own.

But, although ordinary knowledge is Divine, its professors cannot be called prophets ², for they teach what the rest of mankind could perceive and apprehend, not merely by simple faith, but as surely and honourably as themselves.

Seeing then that our mind subjectively contains in itself and partakes of the nature of God, and solely from this cause is enabled to form notions explaining natural phenomena and inculcating morality, it follows that we may rightly assert the nature of the human mind (in so far as it is thus conceived) to be a primary cause of Divine revelation. All that we clearly and distinctly understand is dictated to us, as I have just pointed out, by the idea and nature of God; not indeed through words, but in a way far more excellent and agreeing perfectly with the nature of the mind, as all who have enjoyed intellectual certainty will doubtless attest. Here, however, my chief purpose is to speak of matters having reference to Scripture, so these few words on the light of reason will suffice.

I will now pass on to, and treat more fully, the other ways and means by which God makes revelations to mankind, both of that which transcends ordinary knowledge, and of that within its scope; for there is no reason why God should not employ other means to communicate what we know already by the power of reason.

Our conclusions on the subject must be drawn solely from Scripture; for what can we affirm about matters transcending our knowledge except what is told us by the words or writings of prophets? And since there are, so far as I know, no prophets now alive, we have no alternative but to read the books of prophets departed, taking care the while not to reason from metaphor or to ascribe anything to our authors which they do not themselves distinctly state. I must further premise that the Jews never make any mention or account of secondary, or particular causes, but in a spirit of religion, piety, and what is commonly called godliness, refer all things directly to the Deity. For instance if they make money

by a transaction, they say God gave it to them; if they desire anything, they say God has disposed their hearts towards it; if they think anything, they say God told them. Hence we must not suppose that everything is prophecy or revelation which is described in Scripture as told by God to anyone, but only such things as are expressly announced as prophecy or revelation, or are plainly pointed to as such by the context.

A perusal of the sacred books will show us that all God's revelations to the prophets were made through words or appearances, or a combination of the two. These words and appearances were of two kinds; 1. — real when external to the mind of the prophet who heard or saw them, 2. — imaginary when the imagination of the prophet was in a state which led him distinctly to suppose that he heard or saw them.

With a real voice God revealed to Moses the laws which He wished to be transmitted to the Hebrews, as we may see from Exodus xxv:22, where God says, "And there I will meet with thee and I will commune with thee from the mercy seat which is between the Cherubim." Some sort of real voice must necessarily have been employed, for Moses found God ready to commune with him at any time. This, as I shall shortly show, is the only instance of a real voice.

We might, perhaps, suppose that the voice with which God called Samuel was real, for in 1 Sam. iii:21, we read, "And the Lord appeared again in Shiloh, for the Lord revealed Himself to Samuel in Shiloh by the word of the Lord;" implying that the appearance of the Lord consisted in His making Himself known to Samuel through a voice; in other words, that Samuel heard the Lord speaking. But we are compelled to distinguish between the prophecies of Moses and those of other prophets, and therefore must decide that this voice was imaginary, a conclusion further supported by the voice's resemblance to the voice of Eli, which Samuel was in the habit of hearing, and therefore might easily imagine; when thrice called by the Lord, Samuel supposed it to have been Eli.

The voice which Abimelech heard was imaginary, for it is written, Gen. xx:6, "And God said unto him in a dream." So that the will of God was manifest to

him, not in waking, but only, in sleep, that is, when the imagination is most active and uncontrolled. Some of the Jews believe that the actual words of the Decalogue were not spoken by God, but that the Israelites heard a noise only, without any distinct words, and during its continuance apprehended the Ten Commandments by pure intuition; to this opinion I myself once inclined, seeing that the words of the Decalogue in Exodus are different from the words of the Decalogue in Deuteronomy, for the discrepancy seemed to imply (since God only spoke once) that the Ten Commandments were not intended to convey the actual words of the Lord, but only His meaning. However, unless we would do violence to Scripture, we must certainly admit that the Israelites heard a real voice, for Scripture expressly says, Deut. v:4, "God spake with you face to face," i.e. as two men ordinarily interchange ideas through the instrumentality of their two bodies; and therefore it seems more consonant with Holy Writ to suppose that God really did create a voice of some kind with which the Decalogue was revealed. The discrepancy of the two versions is treated of in Chap. VIII.

Yet not even thus is all difficulty removed, for it seems scarcely reasonable to affirm that a created thing, depending on God in the same manner as other created things, would be able to express or explain the nature of God either verbally or really by means of its individual organism: for instance, by declaring in the first person, "I am the Lord your God."

Certainly when anyone says with his mouth, "I understand," we do not attribute the understanding to the mouth, but to the mind of the speaker; yet this is because the mouth is the natural organ of a man speaking, and the hearer, knowing what understanding is, easily comprehends, by a comparison with himself, that the speaker's mind is meant; but if we knew nothing of God beyond the mere name and wished to commune with Him, and be assured of His existence, I fail to see how our wish would be satisfied by the declaration of a created thing (depending on God neither more nor less than ourselves), "I am the Lord." If God contorted the lips of Moses, or, I will not say Moses, but some

beast, till they pronounced the words, "I am the Lord," should we apprehend the Lord's existence therefrom?

Scripture seems clearly to point to the belief that God spoke Himself, having descended from heaven to Mount Sinai for the purpose — and not only that the Israelites heard Him speaking, but that their chief men beheld Him (Ex:xxiv.) Further the law of Moses, which might neither be added to nor curtailed, and which was set up as a national standard of right, nowhere prescribed the belief that God is without body, or even without form or figure, but only ordained that the Jews should believe in His existence and worship Him alone: it forbade them to invent or fashion any likeness of the Deity, but this was to insure purity of service; because, never having seen God, they could not by means of images recall the likeness of God, but only the likeness of some created thing which might thus gradually take the place of God as the object of their adoration. Nevertheless, the Bible clearly implies that God has a form, and that Moses when he heard God speaking was permitted to behold it, or at least its hinder parts.

Doubtless some mystery lurks in this question which we will discuss more fully below. For the present I will call attention to the passages in Scripture indicating the means by which God has revealed His laws to man.

Revelation may be through figures only, as in I Chron:xxii., where God displays his anger to David by means of an angel bearing a sword, and also in the story of Balaam.

Maimonides and others do indeed maintain that these and every other instance of angelic apparitions (e.g. to Manoah and to Abraham offering up Isaac) occurred during sleep, for that no one with his eyes open ever could see an angel, but this is mere nonsense. The sole object of such commentators seems to be to extort from Scripture confirmations of Aristotelian quibbles and their own inventions, a proceeding which I regard as the acme of absurdity.

In figures, not real but existing only in the prophet's imagination, God revealed to Joseph his future lordship, and in words and figures He revealed to Joshua that He would fight for the Hebrews, causing to appear an angel, as it were the

Captain of the Lord's host, bearing a sword, and by this means communicating verbally. The forsaking of Israel by Providence was portrayed to Isaiah by a vision of the Lord, the thrice Holy, sitting on a very lofty throne, and the Hebrews, stained with the mire of their sins, sunk as it were in uncleanness, and thus as far as possible distant from God. The wretchedness of the people at the time was thus revealed, while future calamities were foretold in words. I could cite from Holy Writ many similar examples, but I think they are sufficiently well known already.

However, we get a still more clear confirmation of our position in Num xii:6,7, as follows: "If there be any prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known unto him in a vision" (i.e. by appearances and signs, for God says of the prophecy of Moses that it was a vision without signs), "and will speak unto him in a dream " (i.e. not with actual words and an actual voice). "My servant Moses is not so; with him will I speak mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark speeches, and the similitude of the Lord he shall behold," i.e. looking on me as a friend and not afraid, he speaks with me (cf. Ex xxxiii:17).

This makes it indisputable that the other prophets did not hear a real voice, and we gather as much from Deut. xxiv:10: "And there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses whom the Lord knew face to face," which must mean that the Lord spoke with none other; for not even Moses saw the Lord's face. These are the only media of communication between God and man which I find mentioned in Scripture, and therefore the only ones which may be supposed or invented. We may be able quite to comprehend that God can communicate immediately with man, for without the intervention of bodily means He communicates to our minds His essence; still, a man who can by pure intuition comprehend ideas which are neither contained in nor deducible from the foundations of our natural knowledge, must necessarily possess a mind far superior to those of his fellow men, nor do I believe that any have been so endowed save Christ. To Him the ordinances of God leading men to salvation were revealed directly without words or visions, so that God manifested Himself

to the Apostles through the mind of Christ as He formerly did to Moses through the supernatural voice. In this sense the voice of Christ, like the voice which Moses heard, may be called the voice of God, and it may be said that the wisdom of God (i.e. wisdom more than human) took upon itself in Christ human nature, and that Christ was the way of salvation. I must at this juncture declare that those doctrines which certain churches put forward concerning Christ, I neither affirm nor deny, for I freely confess that I do not understand them. What I have just stated I gather from Scripture, where I never read that God appeared to Christ, or spoke to Christ, but that God was revealed to the Apostles through Christ; that Christ was the Way of Life, and that the old law was given through an angel, and not immediately by God; whence it follows that if Moses spoke with God face to face as a man speaks with his friend (i.e. by means of their two bodies) Christ communed with God mind to mind.

Thus we may conclude that no one except Christ received the revelations of God without the aid of imagination, whether in words or vision. Therefore the power of prophecy implies not a peculiarly perfect mind, but a peculiarly vivid imagination, as I will show more clearly in the next chapter. We will now inquire what is meant in the Bible by the Spirit of God breathed into the prophets, or by the prophets speaking with the Spirit of God; to that end we must determine the exact signification of the Hebrew word *ruagh*, commonly translated spirit.

The word *ruagh* literally means a wind, e..q. the south wind, but it is frequently employed in other derivative significations.

It is used as equivalent to,

(1.) Breath: "Neither is there any spirit in his mouth," Ps. cxxxv:17.

(2.) Life, or breathing: "And his spirit returned to him" 1 Sam. xxx:12; i.e. he breathed again.

(3.) Courage and strength: "Neither did there remain any more spirit in any man," Josh. ii:11; "And the spirit entered into me, and made me stand on my feet," Ezek. ii:2.

(4.) Virtue and fitness: “Days should speak, and multitudes of years should teach wisdom; but there is a spirit in man,” Job xxxii:7; i.e. wisdom is not always found among old men for I now discover that it depends on individual virtue and capacity. So, “A man in whom is the Spirit,” Numbers xxvii:18.

(5.) Habit of mind: “Because he had another spirit with him,” Numbers xiv:24; i.e. another habit of mind. “Behold I will pour out My Spirit unto you,” Prov. i:23.

(6.) Will, purpose, desire, impulse: “Whither the spirit was to go, they went,” Ezek. 1:12; “That cover with a covering, but not of My Spirit,” Is. xxx:1; “For the Lord hath poured out on you the spirit of deep sleep,” Is. xxix:10; “Then was their spirit softened,” Judges viii:3; “He that ruleth his spirit, is better than he that taketh a city,” Prov. xvi:32; “He that hath no rule over his own spirit,” Prov. xxv:28; “Your spirit as fire shall devour you,” Isaiah xxxiii:1.

From the meaning of disposition we get —

(7.) Passions and faculties. A lofty spirit means pride, a lowly spirit humility, an evil spirit hatred and melancholy. So, too, the expressions spirits of jealousy, fornication, wisdom, counsel, bravery, stand for a jealous, lascivious, wise, prudent, or brave mind (for we Hebrews use substantives in preference to adjectives), or these various qualities.

(8.) The mind itself, or the life: “Yea, they have all one spirit,” Eccles. iii:19 “The spirit shall return to God Who gave it.”

(9.) The quarters of the world (from the winds which blow thence), or even the side of anything turned towards a particular quarter — Ezek. xxxvii:9; xlii:16, 17, 18, 19, &c.

I have already alluded to the way in which things are referred to God, and said to be of God.

(1.) As belonging to His nature, and being, as it were, part of Him; e.g the power of God, the eyes of God.

(2.) As under His dominion, and depending on His pleasure; thus the heavens are called the heavens of the Lord, as being His chariot and habitation. So Nebuchadnezzar is called the servant of God, Assyria the scourge of God, &c.

(3.) As dedicated to Him, e.g. the Temple of God, a Nazarene of God, the Bread of God.

(4.) As revealed through the prophets and not through our natural faculties. In this sense the Mosaic law is called the law of God.

(5.) As being in the superlative degree. Very high mountains are styled the mountains of God, a very deep sleep, the sleep of God, &c. In this sense we must explain Amos iv:11: "I have overthrown you as the overthrow of the Lord came upon Sodom and Gomorrah," i.e. that memorable overthrow, for since God Himself is the Speaker, the passage cannot well be taken otherwise. The wisdom of Solomon is called the wisdom of God, or extraordinary. The size of the cedars of Lebanon is alluded to in the Psalmist's expression, "the cedars of the Lord."

Similarly, if the Jews were at a loss to understand any phenomenon, or were ignorant of its cause, they referred it to God. Thus a storm was termed the chiding of God, thunder and lightning the arrows of God, for it was thought that God kept the winds confined in caves, His treasures; thus differing merely in name from the Greek wind-god Eolus. In like manner miracles were called works of God, as being especially marvellous; though in reality, of course, all natural events are the works of God, and take place solely by His power. The Psalmist calls the miracles in Egypt the works of God, because the Hebrews found in them a way of safety which they had not looked for, and therefore especially marvelled at.

As, then, unusual natural phenomena are called works of God, and trees of unusual size are called trees of God, we cannot wonder that very strong and tall men, though impious robbers and whoremongers, are in Genesis called sons of God.

This reference of things wonderful to God was not peculiar to the Jews. Pharaoh, on hearing the interpretation of his dream, exclaimed that the mind of the gods was in Joseph. Nebuchadnezzar told Daniel that he possessed the mind of the holy gods; so also in Latin anything well made is often said to be wrought with Divine hands, which is equivalent to the Hebrew phrase, wrought with the hand of God.

We can now very easily understand and explain those passages of Scripture which speak of the Spirit of God. In some places the expression merely means a very strong, dry, and deadly wind, as in Isaiah xl:7, "The grass withereth, the flower fadeth, because the Spirit of the Lord bloweth upon it." Similarly in Gen. i:2: "The Spirit of the Lord moved over the face of the waters." At other times it is used as equivalent to a high courage, thus the spirit of Gideon and of Samson is called the Spirit of the Lord, as being very bold, and prepared for any emergency. Any unusual virtue or power is called the Spirit or Virtue of the Lord, Ex. xxxi:3: "I will fill him (Bezaleel) with the Spirit of the Lord," i.e., as the Bible itself explains, with talent above man's usual endowment. So Isa. xi:2: "And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him," is explained afterwards in the text to mean the spirit of wisdom and understanding, of counsel and might.

The melancholy of Saul is called the melancholy of the Lord, or a very deep melancholy, the persons who applied the term showing that they understood by it nothing supernatural, in that they sent for a musician to assuage it by harp-playing. Again, the "Spirit of the Lord" is used as equivalent to the mind of man, for instance, Job xxvii:3: "And the Spirit of the Lord in my nostrils," the allusion being to Gen. ii:7: "And God breathed into man's nostrils the breath of life." Ezekiel also, prophesying to the dead, says (xxvii:14), "And I will give to you My Spirit, and ye shall live;" i.e. I will restore you to life. In Job xxxiv:14, we read: "If He gather unto Himself His Spirit and breath;" in Gen. vi:3: "My Spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh," i.e. since man acts on the dictates of his body, and not the spirit which I gave him to discern the good, I will let him alone. So, too, Ps. li:12: "Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me; cast me not away from Thy presence, and take not Thy Holy Spirit from me." It was supposed that sin originated only from the body, and that good impulses come from the mind; therefore the Psalmist invokes the aid of God against the bodily appetites, but prays that the spirit which the Lord, the Holy One, had given him might be renewed. Again, inasmuch as the Bible, in concession to popular ignorance, describes God as having a mind, a heart,

emotions — nay, even a body and breath — the expression Spirit of the Lord is used for God's mind, disposition, emotion, strength, or breath. Thus, Isa. xl:13: "Who hath disposed the Spirit of the Lord?" i.e. who, save Himself, hath caused the mind of the Lord to will anything,? and Isa. lxiii:10: "But they rebelled, and vexed the Holy Spirit."

The phrase comes to be used of the law of Moses, which in a sense expounds God's will, Is. lxiii. 11, "Where is He that put His Holy Spirit within him?" meaning, as we clearly gather from the context, the law of Moses. Nehemiah, speaking of the giving of the law, says, i:20, "Thou gavest also thy good Spirit to instruct them." This is referred to in Deut. iv:6, "This is your wisdom and understanding," and in Ps. cxliii:10, "Thy good Spirit will lead me into the land of uprightness." The Spirit of the Lord may mean the breath of the Lord, for breath, no less than a mind, a heart, and a body are attributed to God in Scripture, as in Ps. xxxiii:6. Hence it gets to mean the power, strength, or faculty of God, as in Job xxxiii:4, "The Spirit of the Lord made me," i.e. the power, or, if you prefer, the decree of the Lord. So the Psalmist in poetic language declares, xxxiii:6, "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of His mouth," i.e. by a mandate issued, as it were, in one breath. Also Ps. cxxxix:7, "Whither shall I go from Thy Spirit, or whither shall I flee from Thy presence?" i.e. whither shall I go so as to be beyond Thy power and Thy presence?

Lastly, the Spirit of the Lord is used in Scripture to express the emotions of God, e.g. His kindness and mercy, Micah ii:7, "Is the Spirit [i.e. the mercy] of the Lord straitened? Are these cruelties His doings?" Zech. iv:6, "Not by might or by power, but My Spirit [i.e. mercy], saith the Lord of hosts." The twelfth verse of the seventh chapter of the same prophet must, I think, be interpreted in like manner: "Yea, they made their hearts as an adamant stone, lest they should hear the law, and the words which the Lord of hosts hath sent in His Spirit [i.e. in His mercy] by the former prophets." So also Haggai ii:5: "So My Spirit remaineth among you: fear not."

The passage in Isaiah xlviii:16, “And now the Lord and His Spirit hath sent me,” may be taken to refer to God’s mercy or His revealed law; for the prophet says, “From the beginning” (i.e. from the time when I first came to you, to preach God’s anger and His sentence forth against you) “I spoke not in secret; from the time that it was, there am I,” and now I am sent by the mercy of God as a joyful messenger to preach your restoration. Or we may understand him to mean by the revealed law that he had before come to warn them by the command of the law (Levit. xix:17) in the same manner under the same conditions as Moses had warned them, that now, like Moses, he ends by preaching their restoration. But the first explanation seems to me the best.

Returning, then, to the main object of our discussion, we find that the Scriptural phrases, “The Spirit of the Lord was upon a prophet,” “The Lord breathed His Spirit into men,” “Men were filled with the Spirit of God, with the Holy Spirit,” &c., are quite clear to us, and mean that prophets were endowed with a peculiar and extraordinary power, and devoted themselves to piety with especial constancy ³; that thus they perceived the mind or the thought of God, for we have shown that God’s Spirit signifies in Hebrew God’s mind or thought, and that the law which shows His mind and thought is called His Spirit; hence that the imagination of the prophets, inasmuch as through it were revealed the decrees of God, may equally be called the mind of God, and the prophets be said to have possessed the mind of God. On our minds also the mind of God and His eternal thoughts are impressed; but this being the same for all men is less taken into account, especially by the Hebrews, who claimed a pre-eminence, and despised other men and other men’s knowledge.

Lastly, the prophets were said to possess the Spirit of God because men knew not the cause of prophetic knowledge, and in their wonder referred it with other marvels directly to the Deity, styling it Divine knowledge.

We need no longer scruple to affirm that the prophets only perceived God’s revelation by the aid of imagination, that is, by words and figures either real or imaginary. We find no other means mentioned in Scripture, and therefore must not

invent any. As to the particular law of Nature by which the communications took place, I confess my ignorance. I might, indeed, say as others do, that they took place by the power of God; but this would be mere trifling, and no better than explaining some unique specimen by a transcendental term. Everything takes place by the power of God. Nature herself is the power of God under another name, and our ignorance of the power of God is co-extensive with our ignorance of Nature. It is absolute folly, therefore, to ascribe an event to the power of God when we know not its natural cause, which is the power of God.

However, we are not now inquiring into the causes of prophetic knowledge. We are only attempting, as I have said, to examine the Scriptural documents, and to draw our conclusions from them as from ultimate natural facts; the causes of the documents do not concern us.

As the prophets perceived the revelations of God by the aid of imagination, they could indisputably perceive much that is beyond the boundary of the intellect, for many more ideas can be constructed from words and figures than from the principles and notions on which the whole fabric of reasoned knowledge is reared.

Thus we have a clue to the fact that the prophets perceived nearly everything in parables and allegories, and clothed spiritual truths in bodily forms, for such is the usual method of imagination. We need no longer wonder that Scripture and the prophets speak so strangely and obscurely of God's Spirit or Mind (cf. Numbers xi:17, 1 Kings xxii:21, &c.), that the Lord was seen by Micah as sitting, by Daniel as an old man clothed in white, by Ezekiel as a fire, that the Holy Spirit appeared to those with Christ as a descending dove, to the apostles as fiery tongues, to Paul on his conversion as a great light. All these expressions are plainly in harmony with the current ideas of God and spirits.

Inasmuch as imagination is fleeting and inconstant, we find that the power of prophecy did not remain with a prophet for long, nor manifest itself frequently, but was very rare; manifesting itself only in a few men, and in them not often.

We must necessarily inquire how the prophets became assured of the truth of what they perceived by imagination, and not by sure mental laws; but our investigation must be confined to Scripture, for the subject is one on which we cannot acquire certain knowledge, and which we cannot explain by the immediate causes. Scripture teaching about the assurance of prophets I will treat of in the next chapter.

1 The word *nabi* is rightly interpreted by Rabbi Salomon Jarchi, but the sense is hardly caught by Aben Ezra, who was not so good a Hebraist. We must also remark that this Hebrew word for prophecy has a universal meaning and embraces all kinds of prophecy. Other terms are more special, and denote this or that sort of prophecy, as I believe is well known to the learned.

2 “Although, ordinary knowledge is Divine, its professors cannot be called prophets.” That is, interpreters of God. For he alone is an interpreter of God, who interprets the decrees which God has revealed to him, to others who have not received such revelation, and whose belief, therefore, rests merely on the prophet’s authority and the confidence reposed in him. If it were otherwise, and all who listen to prophets became prophets themselves, as all who listen to philosophers become philosophers, a prophet would no longer be the interpreter of Divine decrees, inasmuch as his hearers would know the truth, not on the, authority of the prophet, but by means of actual Divine revelation and inward testimony. Thus the sovereign powers are the interpreters of their own rights of sway, because these are defended only by their authority and supported by their testimony.

3 “Prophets were endowed with a peculiar and extraordinary power.” Though some men enjoy gifts which nature has not bestowed on their fellows, they are not said to surpass the bounds of human nature, unless their special qualities are such as cannot be said to be deducible from the definition of human nature. For instance, a giant is a rarity, but still human. The gift of composing poetry extempore is given to very few, yet it is human. The same may, therefore, be said of the faculty possessed by some of imagining things as vividly as though they saw them before them, and this not while asleep, but while awake. But if anyone could be found who possessed other means and other foundations for knowledge, he might be said to transcend the limits of human nature.

CHAPTER II.

Of Prophets.



IT FOLLOWS FROM the last chapter that, as I have said, the prophets were endowed with unusually vivid imaginations, and not with unusually, perfect minds. This conclusion is amply sustained by Scripture, for we are told that Solomon was the wisest of men, but had no special faculty of prophecy. Heman, Calcol, and Dara, though men of great talent, were not prophets, whereas uneducated countrymen, nay, even women, such as Hagar, Abraham's handmaid, were thus gifted. Nor is this contrary to ordinary experience and reason. Men of great imaginative power are less fitted for abstract reasoning, whereas those who excel in intellect and its use keep their imagination more restrained and controlled, holding it in subjection, so to speak, lest it should usurp the place of reason.

Thus to suppose that knowledge of natural and spiritual phenomena can be gained from the prophetic books, is an utter mistake, which I shall endeavour to expose, as I think philosophy, the age, and the question itself demand. I care not for the girdings of superstition, for superstition is the bitter enemy, of all true knowledge and true morality. Yes; it has come to this! Men who openly confess that they can form no idea of God, and only know Him through created things, of which they know not the causes, can unblushingly, accuse philosophers of Atheism. Treating the question methodically, I will show that prophecies varied, not only according to the imagination and physical temperament of the prophet, but also according to his particular opinions; and further that prophecy never rendered the prophet wiser than he was before. But I will first discuss the

assurance of truth which the prophets received, for this is akin to the subject-matter of the chapter, and will serve to elucidate somewhat our present point.

Imagination does not, in its own nature, involve any certainty of truth, such as is implied in every clear and distinct idea, but requires some extrinsic reason to assure us of its objective reality: hence prophecy cannot afford certainty, and the prophets were assured of God's revelation by some sign, and not by the fact of revelation, as we may see from Abraham, who, when he had heard the promise of God, demanded a sign, not because he did not believe in God, but because he wished to be sure that it was God Who made the promise. The fact is still more evident in the case of Gideon: "Show me," he says to God, "show me a sign, that I may know that it is Thou that talkest with me." God also says to Moses: "And let this be a sign that I have sent thee." Hezekiah, though he had long known Isaiah to be a prophet, none the less demanded a sign of the cure which he predicted. It is thus quite evident that the prophets always received some sign to certify them of their prophetic imaginings; and for this reason Moses bids the Jews (Deut. xviii.) ask of the prophets a sign, namely, the prediction of some coming event. In this respect, prophetic knowledge is inferior to natural knowledge, which needs no sign, and in itself implies certitude. Moreover, Scripture warrants the statement that the certitude of the prophets was not mathematical, but moral. Moses lays down the punishment of death for the prophet who preaches new gods, even though he confirm his doctrine by signs and wonders (Deut. xiii.); "For," he says, "the Lord also worketh signs and wonders to try His people." And Jesus Christ warns His disciples of the same thing (Matt. xxiv:24). Furthermore, Ezekiel (xiv:9) plainly states that God sometimes deceives men with false revelations; and Micaiah bears like witness in the case of the prophets of Ahab.

Although these instances go to prove that revelation is open to doubt, it nevertheless contains, as we have said, a considerable element of certainty, for God never deceives the good, nor His chosen, but (according to the ancient proverb, and as appears in the history of Abigail and her speech), God uses the

good as instruments of goodness, and the wicked as means to execute His wrath. This may be seen from the case of Micaiah above quoted; for although God had determined to deceive Ahab, through prophets, He made use of lying prophets; to the good prophet He revealed the truth, and did not forbid his proclaiming it.

Still the certitude of prophecy, remains, as I have said, merely, moral; for no one can justify himself before God, nor boast that he is an instrument for God's goodness. Scripture itself teaches and shows that God led away David to number the people, though it bears ample witness to David's piety.

The whole question of the certitude of prophecy, was based on these three considerations:

1. That the things revealed were imagined very vividly, affecting the prophets in the same way as things seen when awake;
2. The presence of a sign;
3. Lastly, and chiefly, that the mind of the prophet was given wholly, to what was right and good.

Although Scripture does not always make mention of a sign, we must nevertheless suppose that a sign was always vouchsafed; for Scripture does not always relate every, condition and circumstance (as many, have remarked), but rather takes them for granted. We may, however, admit that no sign was needed when the prophecy declared nothing that was not already contained in the law of Moses, because it was confirmed by that law. For instance, Jeremiah's prophecy, of the destruction of Jerusalem was confirmed by the prophecies of other prophets, and by the threats in the law, and, therefore, it needed no sign; whereas Hananiah, who, contrary to all the prophets, foretold the speedy restoration of the state, stood in need of a sign, or he would have been in doubt as to the truth of his prophecy, until it was confirmed by facts. "The prophet which prophesieth of peace, when the word of the prophet shall come to pass, then shall the prophet be known that the Lord hath truly sent him."

As, then, the certitude afforded to the prophet by signs was not mathematical (i.e. did not necessarily follow from the perception of the thing perceived or

seen), but only moral, and as the signs were only given to convince the prophet, it follows that such signs were given according to the opinions and capacity of each prophet, so that a sign which convince one prophet would fall far short of convincing another who was imbued with different opinions. Therefore the signs varied according to the individual prophet.

So also did the revelation vary, as we have stated, according to individual disposition and temperament, and according to the opinions previously held.

It varied according to disposition, in this way: if a prophet was cheerful, victories, peace, and events which make men glad, were revealed to him; in that he was naturally more likely to imagine such things. If, on the contrary, he was melancholy, wars, massacres, and calamities were revealed; and so, according as a prophet was merciful, gentle, quick to anger, or severe, he was more fitted for one kind of revelation than another. It varied according to the temper of imagination in this way: if a prophet was cultivated he perceived the mind of God in a cultivated way, if he was confused he perceived it confusedly. And so with revelations perceived through visions. If a prophet was a countryman he saw visions of oxen, cows, and the like; if he was a soldier, he saw generals and armies; if a courtier, a royal throne, and so on.

Lastly, prophecy varied according to the opinions held by the prophets; for instance, to the Magi, who believed in the follies of astrology, the birth of Christ was revealed through the vision of a star in the East. To the augurs of Nebuchadnezzar the destruction of Jerusalem was revealed through entrails, whereas the king himself inferred it from oracles and the direction of arrows which he shot into the air. To prophets who believed that man acts from free choice and by his own power, God was revealed as standing apart from and ignorant of future human actions. All of which we will illustrate from Scripture.

The first point is proved from the case of Elisha, who, in order to prophecy to Jehoram, asked for a harp, and was unable to perceive the Divine purpose till he had been recreated by its music; then, indeed, he prophesied to Jehoram and to his allies glad tidings, which previously he had been unable to attain to because he

was angry with the king, and these who are angry with anyone can imagine evil of him, but not good. The theory that God does not reveal Himself to the angry or the sad, is a mere dream: for God revealed to Moses while angry, the terrible slaughter of the firstborn, and did so without the intervention of a harp. To Cain in his rage, God was revealed, and to Ezekiel, impatient with anger, was revealed the contumacy and wretchedness of the Jews. Jeremiah, miserable and weary of life, prophesied the disasters of the Hebrews, so that Josiah would not consult him, but inquired of a woman, inasmuch as it was more in accordance with womanly nature that God should reveal His mercy thereto. So, Micaiah never prophesied good to Ahab, though other true prophets had done so, but invariably evil. Thus we see that individual prophets were by temperament more fitted for one sort of revelation than another.

The style of the prophecy also varied according to the eloquence of the individual prophet. The prophecies of Ezekiel and Amos are not written in a cultivated style like those of Isaiah and Nahum, but more rudely. Any Hebrew scholar who wishes to inquire into this point more closely, and compares chapters of the different prophets treating of the same subject, will find great dissimilarity of style. Compare, for instance, chap. i. of the courtly Isaiah, verse 11 to verse 20, with chap. v. of the countryman Amos, verses 21-24. Compare also the order and reasoning of the prophecies of Jeremiah, written in Idumaea (chap. xhx.), with the order and reasoning of Obadiah. Compare, lastly, Isa. xl:19, 20, and xlv:8, with Hosea viii:6, and xiii:2. And so on.

A due consideration of these passages will clearly show us that God has no particular style in speaking, but, according to the learning and capacity of the prophet, is cultivated, compressed, severe, untutored, prolix, or obscure.

There was, moreover, a certain variation in the visions vouchsafed to the prophets, and in the symbols by which they expressed them, for Isaiah saw the glory of the Lord departing from the Temple in a different form from that presented to Ezekiel. The Rabbis, indeed, maintain that both visions were really the same, but that Ezekiel, being a countryman, was above measure impressed by

it, and therefore set it forth in full detail; but unless there is a trustworthy tradition on the subject, which I do not for a moment believe, this theory is plainly an invention. Isaiah saw seraphim with six wings, Ezekiel beasts with four wings; Isaiah saw God clothed and sitting on a royal throne, Ezekiel saw Him in the likeness of a fire; each doubtless saw God under the form in which he usually imagined Him.

Further, the visions varied in clearness as well as in details; for the revelations of Zechariah were too obscure to be understood by the prophet without explanation, as appears from his narration of them; the visions of Daniel could not be understood by him even after they had been explained, and this obscurity did not arise from the difficulty of the matter revealed (for being merely human affairs, these only transcended human capacity in being future), but solely in the fact that Daniel's imagination was not so capable for prophecy while he was awake as while he was asleep; and this is further evident from the fact that at the very beginning of the vision he was so terrified that he almost despaired of his strength. Thus, on account of the inadequacy of his imagination and his strength, the things revealed were so obscure to him that he could not understand them even after they had been explained. Here we may note that the words heard by Daniel, were, as we have shown above, simply imaginary, so that it is hardly wonderful that in his frightened state he imagined them so confusedly and obscurely that afterwards he could make nothing of them. Those who say that God did not wish to make a clear revelation, do not seem to have read the words of the angel, who expressly says that he came to make the prophet understand what should befall his people in the latter days (Dan. x:14).

The revelation remained obscure because no one was found, at that time, with imagination sufficiently strong to conceive it more clearly. Lastly, the prophets, to whom it was revealed that God would take away Elijah, wished to persuade Elisha that he had been taken somewhere where they would find him; showing sufficiently clearly that they had not understood God's revelation aright.

There is no need to set this out more amply, for nothing is more plain in the Bible than that God endowed some prophets with far greater gifts of prophecy than others. But I will show in greater detail and length, for I consider the point more important, that the prophecies varied according to the opinions previously embraced by the prophets, and that the prophets held diverse and even contrary opinions and prejudices. (I speak, be it understood, solely of matters speculative, for in regard to uprightness and morality the case is widely different.) From thence I shall conclude that prophecy never rendered the prophets more learned, but left them with their former opinions, and that we are, therefore, not at all bound to trust them in matters of intellect.

Everyone has been strangely hasty in affirming that the prophets knew everything within the scope of human intellect; and, although certain passages of Scripture plainly affirm that the prophets were in certain respects ignorant, such persons would rather say that they do not understand the passages than admit that there was anything which the prophets did not know; or else they try to wrest the Scriptural words away from their evident meaning.

If either of these proceedings is allowable we may as well shut our Bibles, for vainly shall we attempt to prove anything from them if their plainest passages may be classed among obscure and impenetrable mysteries, or if we may put any interpretation on them which we fancy. For instance, nothing is more clear in the Bible than that Joshua, and perhaps also the author who wrote his history, thought that the sun revolves round the earth, and that the earth is fixed, and further that the sun for a certain period remained still. Many, who will not admit any movement in the heavenly bodies, explain away the passage till it seems to mean something quite different; others, who have learned to philosophize more correctly, and understand that the earth moves while the sun is still, or at any rate does not revolve round the earth, try with all their might to wrest this meaning from Scripture, though plainly nothing of the sort is intended. Such quibblers excite my wonder! Are we, forsooth, bound to believe that Joshua the Soldier was a learned astronomer? or that a miracle could not be revealed to him, or that the

light of the sun could not remain longer than usual above the horizon, without his knowing the cause? To me both alternatives appear ridiculous, and therefore I would rather say, that Joshua was ignorant of the true cause of the lengthened day, and that he and the whole host with him thought that the sun moved round the earth every day, and that on that particular occasion it stood still for a time, thus causing the light to remain longer; and I would say, that they did not conjecture that, from the amount of snow in the air (see Josh. x:11), the refraction may have been greater than usual, or that there may have been some other cause which we will not now inquire into.

So also the sign of the shadow going back was revealed to Isaiah according to his understanding; that is, as proceeding from a going backwards of the sun; for he, too, thought that the sun moves and that the earth is still; of parhelia he perhaps never even dreamed. We may arrive at this conclusion without any scruple, for the sign could really have come to pass, and have been predicted by Isaiah to the king, without the prophet being aware of the real cause.

With regard to the building of the Temple by Solomon, if it was really dictated by God we must maintain the same doctrine: namely, that all the measurements were revealed according to the opinions and understanding of the king; for as we are not bound to believe that Solomon was a mathematician, we may affirm that he was ignorant of the true ratio between the circumference and the diameter of a circle, and that, like the generality of workmen, he thought that it was as three to one. But if it is allowable to declare that we do not understand the passage, in good sooth I know nothing in the Bible that we can understand; for the process of building is there narrated simply and as a mere matter of history. If, again, it is permitted to pretend that the passage has another meaning, and was written as it is from some reason unknown to us, this is no less than a complete subversal of the Bible; for every absurd and evil invention of human perversity could thus, without detriment to Scriptural authority, be defended and fostered. Our conclusion is in no wise impious, for though Solomon, Isaiah, Joshua, &c. were

prophets, they were none the less men, and as such not exempt from human shortcomings.

According to the understanding of Noah it was revealed to him that God as about to destroy the whole human race, for Noah thought that beyond the limits of Palestine the world was not inhabited.

Not only in matters of this kind, but in others more important, the about the Divine attributes, but held quite ordinary notions about God, and to these notions their revelations were adapted, as I will demonstrate by ample Scriptural testimony; from all which one may easily see that they were praised and commended, not so much for the sublimity and eminence of their intellect as for their piety and faithfulness.

Adam, the first man to whom God was revealed, did not know that He is omnipotent and omniscient; for he hid himself from Him, and attempted to make excuses for his fault before God, as though he had had to do with a man; therefore to him also was God revealed according to his understanding — that is, as being unaware of his situation or his sin, for Adam heard, or seemed to hear, the Lord walling, in the garden, calling him and asking him where he was; and then, on seeing his shamefacedness, asking him whether he had eaten of the forbidden fruit. Adam evidently only knew the Deity as the Creator of all things. To Cain also God was revealed, according to his understanding, as ignorant of human affairs, nor was a higher conception of the Deity required for repentance of his sin.

To Laban the Lord revealed Himself as the God of Abraham, because Laban believed that each nation had its own special divinity (see Gen. xxxi:29). Abraham also knew not that God is omnipresent, and has foreknowledge of all things; for when he heard the sentence against the inhabitants of Sodom, he prayed that the Lord should not execute it till He had ascertained whether they all merited such punishment; for he said (see Gen. xviii:24), “Peradventure there be fifty righteous within the city,” and in accordance with this belief God was revealed to him; as Abraham imagined, He spake thus: “I will go down now, and

see whether they have done altogether according to the cry of it which is come unto Me; and, if not, I will know.” Further, the Divine testimony concerning Abraham asserts nothing but that he was obedient, and that he “commanded his household after him that they should keep the way of the Lord” (Gen. xviii:19); it does not state that he held sublime conceptions of the Deity.

Moses, also, was not sufficiently aware that God is omniscient, and directs human actions by His sole decree, for although God Himself says that the Israelites should hearken to Him, Moses still considered the matter doubtful and repeated, “But if they will not believe me, nor hearken unto my voice.” To him in like manner God was revealed as taking no part in, and as being ignorant of, future human actions: the Lord gave him two signs and said, “And it shall come to pass that if they will not believe thee, neither hearken to the voice of the first sign, that they will believe the voice of the latter sign; but if not, thou shalt take of the water of the river,” &c. Indeed, if any one considers without prejudice the recorded opinions of Moses, he will plainly see that Moses conceived the Deity as a Being Who has always existed, does exist, and always will exist, and for this cause he calls Him by the name Jehovah, which in Hebrew signifies these three phases of existence: as to His nature, Moses only taught that He is merciful, gracious, and exceeding jealous, as appears from many passages in the Pentateuch. Lastly, he believed and taught that this Being was so different from all other beings, that He could not be expressed by the image of any visible thing; also, that He could not be looked upon, and that not so much from inherent impossibility as from human infirmity; further, that by reason of His power He was without equal and unique. Moses admitted, indeed, that there were beings (doubtless by the plan and command of the Lord) who acted as God’s vicegerents — that is, beings to whom God had given the right, authority, and power to direct nations, and to provide and care for them; but he taught that this Being Whom they were bound to obey was the highest and Supreme God, or (to use the Hebrew phrase) God of gods, and thus in the song (Exod. xv:11) he exclaims, “Who is like unto Thee, O Lord, among the gods?” and Jethro says (Exod. xviii:11), “Now I

know that the Lord is greater than all gods.” That is to say, “I am at length compelled to admit to Moses that Jehovah is greater than all gods, and that His power is unrivalled.” We must remain in doubt whether Moses thought that these beings who acted as God’s vicegerents were created by Him, for he has stated nothing, so far as we know, about their creation and origin. He further taught that this Being had brought the visible world into order from Chaos, and had given Nature her germs, and therefore that He possesses supreme right and power over all things; further, that by reason of this supreme right and power He had chosen for Himself alone the Hebrew nation and a certain strip of territory, and had handed over to the care of other gods substituted by Himself the rest of the nations and territories, and that therefore He was called the God of Israel and the God of Jerusalem, whereas the other gods were called the gods of the Gentiles. For this reason the Jews believed that the strip of territory which God had chosen for Himself, demanded a Divine worship quite apart and different from the worship which obtained elsewhere, and that the Lord would not suffer the worship of other gods adapted to other countries. Thus they thought that the people whom the king of Assyria had brought into Judaea were torn in pieces by lions because they knew not the worship of the National Divinity (2 Kings xvii:25).

Jacob, according to Aben Ezra’s opinion, therefore admonished his sons when he wished them to seek out a new country, that they should prepare themselves for a new worship, and lay aside the worship of strange, gods — that is, of the gods of the land where they were (Gen. xxxv:2, 3).

David, in telling Saul that he was compelled by the king’s persecution to live away from his country, said that he was driven out from the heritage of the Lord, and sent to worship other gods (1 Sam. xxvi:19). Lastly, he believed that this Being or Deity had His habitation in the heavens (Deut. xxxiii:27), an opinion very common among the Gentiles.

If we now examine the revelations to Moses, we shall find that they were accommodated to these opinions; as he believed that the Divine Nature was

subject to the conditions of mercy, graciousness, &c., so God was revealed to him in accordance with his idea and under these attributes (see Exodus xxxiv:6, 7, and the second commandment). Further it is related (Ex. xxxiii:18) that Moses asked of God that he might behold Him, but as Moses (as we have said) had formed no mental image of God, and God (as I have shown) only revealed Himself to the prophets in accordance with the disposition of their imagination, He did not reveal Himself in any form. This, I repeat, was because the imagination of Moses was unsuitable, for other prophets bear witness that they saw the Lord; for instance, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, &c. For this reason God answered Moses, “Thou canst not see My face;” and inasmuch as Moses believed that God can be looked upon — that is, that no contradiction of the Divine nature is therein involved (for otherwise he would never have preferred his request) — it is added, “For no one shall look on Me and live,” thus giving a reason in accordance with Moses’ idea, for it is not stated that a contradiction of the Divine nature would be involved, as was really the case, but that the thing would not come to pass because of human infirmity.

When God would reveal to Moses that the Israelites, because they worshipped the calf, were to be placed in the same category as other nations, He said (ch. xxxiii:2, 3), that He would send an angel (that is, a being who should have charge of the Israelites, instead of the Supreme Being), and that He Himself would no longer remain among them; thus leaving Moses no ground for supposing that the Israelites were more beloved by God than the other nations whose guardianship He had entrusted to other beings or angels (vide verse 16).

Lastly, as Moses believed that God dwelt in the heavens, God was revealed to him as coming down from heaven on to a mountain, and in order to talk with the Lord Moses went up the mountain, which he certainly need not have done if he could have conceived of God as omnipresent.

The Israelites knew scarcely anything of God, although He was revealed to them; and this is abundantly evident from their transferring, a few days afterwards, the honour and worship due to Him to a calf, which they believed to

be the god who had brought them out of Egypt. In truth, it is hardly likely that men accustomed to the superstitions of Egypt, uncultivated and sunk in most abject slavery, should have held any sound notions about the Deity, or that Moses should have taught them anything beyond a rule of right living; inculcating it not like a philosopher, as the result of freedom, but like a lawgiver compelling them to be moral by legal authority. Thus the rule of right living, the worship and love of God, was to them rather a bondage than the true liberty, the gift and grace of the Deity. Moses bid them love God and keep His law, because they had in the past received benefits from Him (such as the deliverance from slavery in Egypt), and further terrified them with threats if they transgressed His commands, holding out many promises of good if they should observe them; thus treating them as parents treat irrational children. It is, therefore, certain that they knew not the excellence of virtue and the true happiness.

Jonah thought that he was fleeing from the sight of God, which seems to show that he too held that God had entrusted the care of the nations outside Judaea to other substituted powers. No one in the whole of the Old Testament speaks more rationally of God than Solomon, who in fact surpassed all the men of his time in natural ability. Yet he considered himself above the law (esteeming it only to have been given for men without reasonable and intellectual grounds for their actions), and made small account of the laws concerning kings, which are mainly three: nay, he openly violated them (in this he did wrong, and acted in a manner unworthy of a philosopher, by indulging in sensual pleasure), and taught that all Fortune's favours to mankind are vanity, that humanity has no nobler gift than wisdom, and no greater punishment than folly. See Proverbs xvi:22, 23.

But let us return to the prophets whose conflicting opinions we have undertaken to note. The expressed ideas of Ezekiel seemed so diverse from those of Moses to the Rabbis who have left us the extant prophetic books (as is told in the treatise of Sabbathus, i:13, 2), that they had serious thoughts of omitting his prophecy from the canon, and would doubtless have thus excluded it if a certain Hananiah had not undertaken to explain it; a task which (as is there narrated) he

with great zeal and labour accomplished. How he did so does not sufficiently appear, whether it was by writing a commentary which has now perished, or by altering Ezekiel's words and audaciously — striking out phrases according to his fancy. However this may be, chapter xviii. certainly does not seem to agree with Exodus xxxiv:7, Jeremiah xxxii:18, &c.

Samuel believed that the Lord never repented of anything He had decreed (1 Sam. xv:29), for when Saul was sorry for his sin, and wished to worship God and ask for forgiveness, Samuel said that the Lord would not go back from his decree.

To Jeremiah, on the other hand, it was revealed that, “If that nation against whom I (the Lord) have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them. If it do evil in my sight, that it obey not my voice, then I will repent of the good wherewith I said I would benefit them” (Jer. xviii:8-10). Joel (ii:13) taught that the Lord repented Him only of evil. Lastly, it is clear from Gen iv: 7 that a man can overcome the temptations of sin, and act righteously; for this doctrine is told to Cain, though, as we learn from Josephus and the Scriptures, he never did so overcome them. And this agrees with the chapter of Jeremiah just cited, for it is there said that the Lord repents of the good or the evil pronounced, if the men in question change their ways and manner of life. But, on the other hand, Paul (Rom.ix:10) teaches as plainly as possible that men have no control over the temptations of the flesh save by the special vocation and grace of God. And when (Rom. iii:5 and vi:19) he attributes righteousness to man, he corrects himself as speaking merely humanly and through the infirmity of the flesh.

We have now more than sufficiently proved our point, that God adapted revelations to the understanding and opinions of the prophets, and that in matters of theory without bearing on charity or morality the prophets could be, and, in fact, were, ignorant, and held conflicting opinions. It therefore follows that we must by no means go to the prophets for knowledge, either of natural or of spiritual phenomena.

We have determined, then, that we are only bound to believe in the prophetic writings, the object and substance of the revelation; with regard to the details, every one may believe or not, as he likes.

For instance, the revelation to Cain only teaches us that God admonished him to lead the true life, for such alone is the object and substance of the revelation, not doctrines concerning free will and philosophy. Hence, though the freedom of the will is clearly implied in the words of the admonition, we are at liberty to hold a contrary opinion, since the words and reasons were adapted to the understanding of Cain.

So, too, the revelation to Micaiah would only teach that God revealed to him the true issue of the battle between Ahab and Aram; and this is all we are bound to believe. Whatever else is contained in the revelation concerning the true and the false Spirit of God, the army of heaven standing on the right hand and on the left, and all the other details, does not affect us at all. Everyone may believe as much of it as his reason allows.

The reasonings by which the Lord displayed His power to Job (if they really were a revelation, and the author of the history is narrating, and not merely, as some suppose, rhetorically adorning his own conceptions), would come under the same category — that is, they were adapted to Job's understanding, for the purpose of convincing him, and are not universal, or for the convincing of all men.

We can come to no different conclusion with respect to the reasonings of Christ, by which He convicted the Pharisees of pride and ignorance, and exhorted His disciples to lead the true life. He adapted them to each man's opinions and principles. For instance, when He said to the Pharisees (Matt. xii:26), "And if Satan cast out devils, his house is divided against itself, how then shall his kingdom stand?" He only wished to convince the Pharisees according, to their own principles, not to teach that there are devils, or any kingdom of devils. So, too, when He said to His disciples (Matt. viii:10), "See that ye despise not one of these little ones, for I say unto you that their angels," &c., He merely desired to

warn them against pride and despising any of their fellows, not to insist on the actual reason given, which was simply adopted in order to persuade them more easily.

Lastly, we should say, exactly the same of the apostolic signs and reasonings, but there is no need to go further into the subject. If I were to enumerate all the passages of Scripture addressed only to individuals, or to a particular man's understanding, and which cannot, without great danger to philosophy, be defended as Divine doctrines, I should go far beyond the brevity at which I aim. Let it suffice, then, to have indicated a few instances of general application, and let the curious reader consider others by himself. Although the points we have just raised concerning prophets and prophecy are the only ones which have any direct bearing on the end in view, namely, the separation of Philosophy from Theology, still, as I have touched on the general question, I may here inquire whether the gift of prophecy was peculiar to the Hebrews, or whether it was common to all nations. I must then come to a conclusion about the vocation of the Hebrews, all of which I shall do in the ensuing chapter.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Vocation of the Hebrews, and Whether the Gift of Prophecy was Peculiar to Them.



EVERY MAN'S TRUE happiness and blessedness consist solely in the enjoyment of what is good, not in the pride that he alone is enjoying it, to the exclusion of others. He who thinks himself the more blessed because he is enjoying benefits which others are not, or because he is more blessed or more fortunate than his fellows, is ignorant of true happiness and blessedness, and the joy which he feels is either childish or envious and malicious. For instance, a man's true happiness consists only in wisdom, and the knowledge of the truth, not at all in the fact that he is wiser than others, or that others lack such knowledge: such considerations do not increase his wisdom or true happiness.

Whoever, therefore, rejoices for such reasons, rejoices in another's misfortune, and is, so far, malicious and bad, knowing neither true happiness nor the peace of the true life.

When Scripture, therefore, in exhorting the Hebrews to obey the law, says that the Lord has chosen them for Himself before other nations (Deut. x:15); that He is near them, but not near others (Deut. iv:7); that to them alone He has given just laws (Deut. iv:8); and, lastly, that He has marked them out before others (Deut. iv:32); it speaks only according to the understanding of its hearers, who, as we have shown in the last chapter, and as Moses also testifies (Deut. ix:6, 7), knew not true blessedness. For in good sooth they would have been no less blessed if God had called all men equally to salvation, nor would God have been less present to them for being equally present to others; their laws, would have been no less just if they had been ordained for all, and they themselves would have been no less wise. The miracles would have shown God's power no less by being

wrought for other nations also; lastly, the Hebrews would have been just as much bound to worship God if He had bestowed all these gifts equally on all men.

When God tells Solomon (1 Kings iii:12) that no one shall be as wise as he in time to come, it seems to be only a manner of expressing surpassing wisdom; it is little to be believed that God would have promised Solomon, for his greater happiness, that He would never endow anyone with so much wisdom in time to come; this would in no wise have increased Solomon's intellect, and the wise king would have given equal thanks to the Lord if everyone had been gifted with the same faculties.

Still, though we assert that Moses, in the passages of the Pentateuch just cited, spoke only according to the understanding of the Hebrews, we have no wish to deny that God ordained the Mosaic law for them alone, nor that He spoke to them alone, nor that they witnessed marvels beyond those which happened to any other nation; but we wish to emphasize that Moses desired to admonish the Hebrews in such a manner, and with such reasonings as would appeal most forcibly to their childish understanding, and constrain them to worship the Deity. Further, we wished to show that the Hebrews did not surpass other nations in knowledge, or in piety, but evidently in some attribute different from these; or (to speak like the Scriptures, according to their understanding), that the Hebrews were not chosen by God before others for the sake of the true life and sublime ideas, though they were often thereto admonished, but with some other object. What that object was, I will duly show.

But before I begin, I wish in a few words to explain what I mean by the guidance of God, by the help of God, external and inward, and, lastly, what I understand by fortune.

By the help of God, I mean the fixed and unchangeable order of nature or the chain of natural events: for I have said before and shown elsewhere that the universal laws of nature, according to which all things exist and are determined, are only another name for the eternal decrees of God, which always involve eternal truth and necessity.

So that to say that everything happens according to natural laws, and to say that everything is ordained by the decree and ordinance of God, is the same thing. Now since the power in nature is identical with the power of God, by which alone all things happen and are determined, it follows that whatsoever man, as a part of nature, provides himself with to aid and preserve his existence, or whatsoever nature affords him without his help, is given to him solely by the Divine power, acting either through human nature or through external circumstance. So whatever human nature can furnish itself with by its own efforts to preserve its existence, may be fitly called the inward aid of God, whereas whatever else accrues to man's profit from outward causes may be called the external aid of God.

We can now easily understand what is meant by the election of God. For since no one can do anything save by the predetermined order of nature, that is by God's eternal ordinance and decree, it follows that no one can choose a plan of life for himself, or accomplish any work save by God's vocation choosing him for the work or the plan of life in question, rather than any other. Lastly, by fortune, I mean the ordinance of God in so far as it directs human life through external and unexpected means. With these preliminaries I return to my purpose of discovering the reason why the Hebrews were said to be elected by God before other nations, and with the demonstration I thus proceed.

All objects of legitimate desire fall, generally speaking, under one of these three categories:

1. The knowledge of things through their primary causes.
2. The government of the passions, or the acquirement of the habit of virtue.
3. Secure and healthy life.

The means which most directly conduce towards the first two of these ends, and which may be considered their proximate and efficient causes are contained in human nature itself, so that their acquisition hinges only on our own power, and on the laws of human nature. It may be concluded that these gifts are not peculiar to any nation, but have always been shared by the whole human race, unless, indeed, we would indulge the dream that nature formerly created men of different

kinds. But the means which conduce to security and health are chiefly in external circumstance, and are called the gifts of fortune because they depend chiefly on objective causes of which we are ignorant; for a fool may be almost as liable to happiness or unhappiness as a wise man. Nevertheless, human management and watchfulness can greatly assist towards living in security and warding off the injuries of our fellow-men, and even of beasts. Reason and experience show no more certain means of attaining this object than the formation of a society with fixed laws, the occupation of a strip of territory and the concentration of all forces, as it were, into one body, that is the social body. Now for forming and preserving a society, no ordinary ability and care is required: that society will be most secure, most stable, and least liable to reverses, which is founded and directed by far-seeing and careful men; while, on the other hand, a society constituted by men without trained skill, depends in a great measure on fortune, and is less constant. If, in spite of all, such a society lasts a long time, it is owing to some other directing influence than its own; if it overcomes great perils and its affairs prosper, it will perforce marvel at and adore the guiding Spirit of God (in so far, that is, as God works through hidden means, and not through the nature and mind of man), for everything happens to it unexpectedly and contrary to anticipation, it may even be said and thought to be by miracle. Nations, then, are distinguished from one another in respect to the social organization and the laws under which they live and are governed; the Hebrew nation was not chosen by God in respect to its wisdom nor its tranquillity of mind, but in respect to its social organization and the good fortune with which it obtained supremacy and kept it so many years. This is abundantly clear from Scripture. Even a cursory perusal will show us that the only respects in which the Hebrews surpassed other nations, are in their successful conduct of matters relating to government, and in their surmounting great perils solely by God's external aid; in other ways they were on a par with their fellows, and God was equally gracious to all. For in respect to intellect (as we have shown in the last chapter) they held very ordinary ideas about God and nature, so that they cannot have been God's chosen in this

respect; nor were they so chosen in respect of virtue and the true life, for here again they, with the exception of a very few elect, were on an equality with other nations: therefore their choice and vocation consisted only in the temporal happiness and advantages of independent rule. In fact, we do not see that God promised anything beyond this to the patriarchs ⁴ or their successors; in the law no other reward is offered for obedience than the continual happiness of an independent commonwealth and other goods of this life; while, on the other hand, against contumacy and the breaking of the covenant is threatened the downfall of the commonwealth and great hardships. Nor is this to be wondered at; for the ends of every social organization and commonwealth are (as appears from what we have said, and as we will explain more at length hereafter) security and comfort; a commonwealth can only exist by the laws being binding on all. If all the members of a state wish to disregard the law, by that very fact they dissolve the state and destroy the commonwealth. Thus, the only reward which could be promised to the Hebrews for continued obedience to the law was security ⁵ and its attendant advantages, while no surer punishment could be threatened for disobedience, than the ruin of the state and the evils which generally follow therefrom, in addition to such further consequences as might accrue to the Jews in particular from the ruin of their especial state. But there is no need here to go into this point at more length. I will only add that the laws of the Old Testament were revealed and ordained to the Jews only, for as God chose them in respect to the special constitution of their society and government, they must, of course, have had special laws. Whether God ordained special laws for other nations also, and revealed Himself to their lawgivers prophetically, that is, under the attributes by which the latter were accustomed to imagine Him, I cannot sufficiently determine. It is evident from Scripture itself that other nations acquired supremacy and particular laws by the external aid of God; witness only the two following passages:

In Genesis xiv:18, 19, 20, it is related that Melchisedek was king of Jerusalem and priest of the Most High God, that in exercise of his priestly functions he

blessed Abraham, and that Abraham the beloved of the Lord gave to this priest of God a tithe of all his spoils. This sufficiently shows that before He founded the Israelitish nation God constituted kings and priests in Jerusalem, and ordained for them rites and laws. Whether He did so prophetically is, as I have said, not sufficiently clear; but I am sure of this, that Abraham, whilst he sojourned in the city, lived scrupulously according to these laws, for Abraham had received no special rites from God; and yet it is stated (Gen. xxvi:5), that he observed the worship, the precepts, the statutes, and the laws of God, which must be interpreted to mean the worship, the statutes, the precepts, and the laws of king Melchisedek. Malachi chides the Jews as follows (i:10-11.): “Who is there among you that will shut the doors? [of the Temple]; neither do ye kindle fire on mine altar for nought. I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord of Hosts. For from the rising of the sun, even until the going down of the same My Name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered in My Name, and a pure offering; for My Name is great among the heathen, saith the Lord of Hosts.” These words, which, unless we do violence to them, could only refer to the current period, abundantly testify that the Jews of that time were not more beloved by God than other nations, that God then favoured other nations with more miracles than He vouchsafed to the Jews, who had then partly recovered their empire without miraculous aid; and, lastly, that the Gentiles possessed rites and ceremonies acceptable to God. But I pass over these points lightly: it is enough for my purpose to have shown that the election of the Jews had regard to nothing but temporal physical happiness and freedom, in other words, autonomous government, and to the manner and means by which they obtained it; consequently to the laws in so far as they were necessary to the preservation of that special government; and, lastly, to the manner in which they were revealed. In regard to other matters, wherein man’s true happiness consists, they were on a par with the rest of the nations.

When, therefore, it is said in Scripture (Deut. iv:7) that the Lord is not so nigh to any other nation as He is to the Jews, reference is only made to their

government, and to the period when so many miracles happened to them, for in respect of intellect and virtue — that is, in respect of blessedness — God was, as we have said already, and are now demonstrating, equally gracious to all. Scripture itself bears testimony to this fact, for the Psalmist says (cxlv:18), “The Lord is near unto all them that call upon Him, to all that call upon Him in truth.” So in the same Psalm, verse 9, “The Lord is good to all, and His tender mercies are over all His works.” In Ps. xxxiii:16, it is clearly stated that God has granted to all men the same intellect, in these words, He fashioneth their hearts alike.” The heart was considered by the Hebrews, as I suppose everyone knows, to be the seat of the soul and the intellect.

Lastly, from Job xxxviii:28, it is plain that God had ordained for the whole human race the law to reverence God, to keep from evil doing, or to do well, and that Job, although a Gentile, was of all men most acceptable to God, because he exceeded all in piety and religion. Lastly, from Jonah iv:2, it is very evident that, not only to the Jews but to all men, God was gracious, merciful, long — suffering, and of great goodness, and repented Him of the evil, for Jonah says: “Therefore I determined to flee before unto Tarshish, for I know that Thou art a gracious God, and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness,” &c., and that, therefore, God would pardon the Ninevites. We conclude, therefore (inasmuch as God is to all men equally gracious, and the Hebrews were only, chosen by him in respect to their social organization and government), that the individual Jew, taken apart from his social organization and government, possessed no gift of God above other men, and that there was no difference between Jew and Gentile. As it is a fact that God is equally gracious, merciful, and the rest, to all men; and as the function of the prophet was to teach men not so much the laws of their country, as true virtue, and to exhort them thereto, it is not to be doubted that all nations possessed prophets, and that the prophetic gift was not peculiar to the Jews. Indeed, history, both profane and sacred, bears witness to the fact. Although, from the sacred histories of the Old Testament, it is not evident that the other nations had as many prophets as the Hebrews, or that any Gentile prophet was expressly

sent by God to the nations, this does not affect the question, for the Hebrews were careful to record their own affairs, not those of other nations. It suffices, then, that we find in the Old Testament Gentiles, and uncircumcised, as Noah, Enoch, Abimelech, Balaam, &c., exercising prophetic gifts; further, that Hebrew prophets were sent by God, not only to their own nation but to many others also. Ezekiel prophesied to all the nations then known; Obadiah to none, that we are aware of, save the Idumeans; and Jonah was chiefly the prophet to the Ninevites. Isaiah bewails and predicts the calamities, and hails the restoration not only of the Jews but also of other nations, for he says (chap. xvi:9), “Therefore I will bewail Jazer with weeping;” and in chap. xix. he foretells first the calamities and then the restoration of the Egyptians (see verses 19, 20, 21, 25), saying that God shall send them a Saviour to free them, that the Lord shall be known in Egypt, and, further, that the Egyptians shall worship God with sacrifice and oblation; and, at last, he calls that nation the blessed Egyptian people of God; all of which particulars are specially noteworthy.

Jeremiah is called, not the prophet of the Hebrew nation, but simply the prophet of the nations (see Jer:i.5). He also mournfully foretells the calamities of the nations, and predicts their restoration, for he says (xlviii:31) of the Moabites, “Therefore will I howl for Moab, and I will cryout for all Moab” (verse 36), “and therefore mine heart shall sound for Moab like pipes;” in the end he prophesies their restoration, as also the restoration of the Egyptians, Ammonites, and Elamites. Wherefore it is beyond doubt that other nations also, like the Jews, had their prophets, who prophesied to them.

Although Scripture only, makes mention of one man, Balaam, to whom the future of the Jews and the other nations was revealed, we must not suppose that Balaam prophesied only once, for from the narrative itself it is abundantly clear that he had long previously been famous for prophesy and other Divine gifts. For when Balak bade him to come to him, he said (Num. xxii:6), “For I know that he whom thou blessest is blessed, and he whom thou cursest is cursed.” Thus we see that he possessed the gift which God had bestowed on Abraham. Further, as

accustomed to prophesy, Balaam bade the messengers wait for him till the will of the Lord was revealed to him. When he prophesied, that is, when he interpreted the true mind of God, he was wont to say this of himself: "He hath said, which heard the words of God and knew the knowledge of the Most High, which saw the vision of the Almighty falling into a trance, but having his eyes open." Further, after he had blessed the Hebrews by the command of God, he began (as was his custom) to prophesy to other nations, and to predict their future; all of which abundantly shows that he had always been a prophet, or had often prophesied, and (as we may also remark here) possessed that which afforded the chief certainty to prophets of the truth of their prophecy, namely, a mind turned wholly to what is right and good, for he did not bless those whom he wished to bless, nor curse those whom he wished to curse, as Balak supposed, but only those whom God wished to be blessed or cursed. Thus he answered Balak: "If Balak should give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the commandment of the Lord to do either good or bad of my own mind; but what the Lord saith, that will I speak." As for God being angry with him in the way, the same happened to Moses when he set out to Egypt by the command of the Lord; and as to his receiving money for prophesying, Samuel did the same (1 Sam. ix:7, 8); if in anyway he sinned, "there is not a just man upon earth that doeth good and sinneth not," Eccles. vii:20. (Vide 2 Epist. Peter ii:15, 16, and Jude 5:11.)

His speeches must certainly have had much weight with God, and His power for cursing must assuredly have been very great from the number of times that we find stated in Scripture, in proof of God's great mercy to the Jews, that God would not hear Balaam, and that He changed the cursing to blessing (see Deut. xxiii:6, Josh. xxiv:10, Neh. xiii:2). Wherefore he was without doubt most acceptable to God, for the speeches and cursings of the wicked move God not at all. As then he was a true prophet, and nevertheless Joshua calls him a soothsayer or augur, it is certain that this title had an honourable signification, and that those whom the Gentiles called augurs and soothsayers were true prophets, while those whom Scripture often accuses and condemns were false soothsayers, who

deceived the Gentiles as false prophets deceived the Jews; indeed, this is made evident from other passages in the Bible, whence we conclude that the gift of prophecy was not peculiar to the Jews, but common to all nations. The Pharisees, however, vehemently contend that this Divine gift was peculiar to their nation, and that the other nations foretold the future (what will superstition invent next?) by some unexplained diabolical faculty. The principal passage of Scripture which they cite, by way of confirming their theory with its authority, is Exodus xxxiii:16, where Moses says to God, “For wherein shall it be known here that I and Thy people have found grace in Thy sight? is it not in that Thou goest with us? so shall we be separated, I and Thy people, from all the people that are upon the face of the earth.” From this they would infer that Moses asked of God that He should be present to the Jews, and should reveal Himself to them prophetically; further, that He should grant this favour to no other nation. It is surely absurd that Moses should have been jealous of God’s presence among the Gentiles, or that he should have dared to ask any such thing. The act is, as Moses knew that the disposition and spirit of his nation was rebellious, he clearly saw that they could not carry out what they had begun without very great miracles and special external aid from God; nay, that without such aid they must necessarily perish: as it was evident that God wished them to be preserved, he asked for this special external aid. Thus he says (Ex. xxxiv:9), “If now I have found grace in Thy sight, O Lord, let my Lord, I pray Thee, go among us; for it is a stiffnecked people.” The reason, therefore, for his seeking special external aid from God was the stiffneckedness of the people, and it is made still more plain, that he asked for nothing beyond this special external aid by God’s answer — for God answered at once (verse 10 of the same chapter)— “Behold, I make a covenant: before all Thy people I will do marvels, such as have not been done in all the earth, nor in any nation.” Therefore Moses had in view nothing beyond the special election of the Jews, as I have explained it, and made no other request to God. I confess that in Paul’s Epistle to the Romans, I find another text which carries more weight, namely, where Paul seems to teach a different doctrine from that here set down,

for he there says (Rom. iii:1): “What advantage then hath the Jew? or what profit is there of circumcision? Much every way: chiefly, because that unto them were committed the oracles of God.”

But if we look to the doctrine which Paul especially desired to teach, we shall find nothing repugnant to our present contention; on the contrary, his doctrine is the same as ours, for he says (Rom. iii:29) “that God is the God of the Jews and of the Gentiles, and” (ch. ii:25, 26) “But,

if thou be a breaker of the law, thy circumcision is made uncircumcision. Therefore if the uncircumcision keep the righteousness of the law, shall not his uncircumcision be counted for circumcision?” Further, in chap. iv:verse 9, he says that all alike, Jew and Gentile, were under sin, and that without commandment and law there is no sin. Wherefore it is most evident that to all men absolutely was revealed the law under which all lived — namely, the law which has regard only to true virtue, not the law established in respect to, and in the formation of a particular state and adapted to the disposition of a particular people. Lastly, Paul concludes that since God is the God of all nations, that is, is equally gracious to all, and since all men equally live under the law and under sin, so also to all nations did God send His Christ, to free all men equally from the bondage of the law, that they should no more do right by the command of the law, but by the constant determination of their hearts. So that Paul teaches exactly the same as ourselves. When, therefore, he says “To the Jews only were entrusted the oracles of God,” we must either understand that to them only were the laws entrusted in writing, while they were given to other nations merely in revelation and conception, or else (as none but Jews would object to the doctrine he desired to advance) that Paul was answering only in accordance with the understanding and current ideas of the Jews, for in respect to teaching things which he had partly seen, partly heard, he was to the Greeks a Greek, and to the Jews a Jew.

It now only remains to us to answer the arguments of those who would persuade themselves that the election of the Jews was not temporal, and merely in respect of their commonwealth, but eternal; for, they say, we see the Jews after

the loss of their commonwealth, and after being scattered so many years and separated from all other nations, still surviving, which is without parallel among other peoples, and further the Scriptures seem to teach that God has chosen for Himself the Jews for ever, so that though they have lost their commonwealth, they still nevertheless remain God's elect.

The passages which they think teach most clearly this eternal election, are chiefly:

(1.) Jer. xxxi:36, where the prophet testifies that the seed of Israel shall for ever remain the nation of God, comparing them with the stability of the heavens and nature;

(2.) Ezek. xx:32, where the prophet seems to intend that though the Jews wanted after the help afforded them to turn their backs on the worship of the Lord, that God would nevertheless gather them together again from all the lands in which they were dispersed, and lead them to the wilderness of the peoples — as He had led their fathers to the wilderness of the land of Egypt — and would at length, after purging out from among them the rebels and transgressors, bring them thence to his Holy mountain, where the whole house of Israel should worship Him. Other passages are also cited, especially by the Pharisees, but I think I shall satisfy everyone if I answer these two, and this I shall easily accomplish after showing from Scripture itself that God chose not the Hebrews for ever, but only on the condition under which He had formerly chosen the Canaanites, for these last, as we have shown, had priests who religiously worshipped God, and whom God at length rejected because of their luxury, pride, and corrupt worship.

Moses (Lev. xviii:27) warned the Israelites that they be not polluted with whoredoms, lest the land spue them out as it had spued out the nations who had dwelt there before, and in Deut. viii:19, 20, in the plainest terms He threatens their total ruin, for He says, "I testify against you that ye shall surely perish. As the nations which the Lord destroyeth before your face, so shall ye perish." In like manner many other passages are found in the law which expressly show that God

chose the Hebrews neither absolutely nor for ever. If, then, the prophets foretold for them a new covenant of the knowledge of God, love, and grace, such a promise is easily proved to be only made to the elect, for Ezekiel in the chapter which we have just quoted expressly says that God will separate from them the rebellious and transgressors, and Zephaniah (iii:12, 13), says that “God will take away the proud from the midst of them, and leave the poor.” Now, inasmuch as their election has regard to true virtue, it is not to be thought that it was promised to the Jews alone to the exclusion of others, but we must evidently believe that the true Gentile prophets (and every nation, as we have shown, possessed such) promised the same to the faithful of their own people, who were thereby comforted. Wherefore this eternal covenant of the knowledge of God and love is universal, as is clear, moreover, from Zeph. iii:10, 11: no difference in this respect can be admitted between Jew and Gentile, nor did the former enjoy any special election beyond that which we have pointed out.

When the prophets, in speaking of this election which regards only true virtue, mixed up much concerning sacrifices and ceremonies, and the rebuilding of the temple and city, they wished by such figurative expressions, after the manner and nature of prophecy, to expound matters spiritual, so as at the same time to show to the Jews, whose prophets they were, the true restoration of the state and of the temple to be expected about the time of Cyrus.

At the present time, therefore, there is absolutely nothing which the Jews can arrogate to themselves beyond other people.

As to their continuance so long after dispersion and the loss of empire, there is nothing marvellous in it, for they so separated themselves from every other nation as to draw down upon themselves universal hate, not only by their outward rites, rites conflicting with those of other nations, but also by the sign of circumcision which they most scrupulously observe.

That they have been preserved in great measure by Gentile hatred, experience demonstrates. When the king of Spain formerly compelled the Jews to embrace the State religion or to go into exile, a large number of Jews accepted

Catholicism. Now, as these renegades were admitted to all the native privileges of Spaniards, and deemed worthy of filling all honourable offices, it came to pass that they straightway became so intermingled with the Spaniards as to leave of themselves no relic or remembrance. But exactly the opposite happened to those whom the king of Portugal compelled to become Christians, for they always, though converted, lived apart, inasmuch as they were considered unworthy of any civic honours.

The sign of circumcision is, as I think, so important, that I could persuade myself that it alone would preserve the nation for ever. Nay, I would go so far as to believe that if the foundations of their religion have not emasculated their minds they may even, if occasion offers, so changeable are human affairs, raise up their empire afresh, and that God may a second time elect them.

Of such a possibility we have a very famous example in the Chinese. They, too, have some distinctive mark on their heads which they most scrupulously observe, and by which they keep themselves apart from everyone else, and have thus kept themselves during so many thousand years that they far surpass all other nations in antiquity. They have not always retained empire, but they have recovered it when lost, and doubtless will do so again after the spirit of the Tartars becomes relaxed through the luxury of riches and pride.

Lastly, if any one wishes to maintain that the Jews, from this or from any other cause, have been chosen by God for ever, I will not gainsay him if he will admit that this choice, whether temporary or eternal, has no regard, in so far as it is peculiar to the Jews, to aught but dominion and physical advantages (for by such alone can one nation be distinguished from another), whereas in regard to intellect and true virtue, every nation is on a par with the rest, and God has not in these respects chosen one people rather than another.

⁴ In Gen. xv. it is written that God promised Abraham to protect him, and to grant him ample rewards. Abraham answered that he could expect nothing which could be of any value to him, as he was childless and well stricken in years.

5 That a keeping of the commandments of the old Testament is not sufficient for eternal life, appears from Mark x:21.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the Divine Law.



THE WORD LAW, taken in the abstract, means that by which an individual, or all things, or as many things as belong to a particular species, act in one and the same fixed and definite manner, which manner depends either on natural necessity or on human decree. A law which depends on natural necessity is one which necessarily follows from the nature, or from the definition of the thing in question; a law which depends on human decree, and which is more correctly called an ordinance, is one which men have laid down for themselves and others in order to live more safely or conveniently, or from some similar reason.

For example, the law that all bodies impinging on lesser bodies, lose as much of their own motion as they communicate to the latter is a universal law of all bodies, and depends on natural necessity. So, too, the law that a man in remembering one thing, straightway remembers another either like it, or which he had perceived simultaneously with it, is a law which necessarily follows from the nature of man. But the law that men must yield, or be compelled to yield, somewhat of their natural right, and that they bind themselves to live in a certain way, depends on human decree. Now, though I freely admit that all things are predetermined by universal natural laws to exist and operate in a given, fixed, and definite manner, I still assert that the laws I have just mentioned depend on human decree.

(1.) Because man, in so far as he is a part of nature, constitutes a part of the power of nature. Whatever, therefore, follows necessarily from the necessity of human nature (that is, from nature herself, in so far as we conceive of her as acting through man) follows, even though it be necessarily, from human power.

Hence the sanction of such laws may very well be said to depend on man's decree, for it principally depends on the power of the human mind; so that the human mind in respect to its perception of things as true and false, can readily be conceived as without such laws, but not without necessary law as we have just defined it.

(2.) I have stated that these laws depend on human decree because it is well to define and explain things by their proximate causes. The general consideration of fate and the concatenation of causes would aid us very little in forming and arranging our ideas concerning particular questions. Let us add that as to the actual coordination and concatenation of things, that is how things are ordained and linked together, we are obviously ignorant; therefore, it is more profitable for right living, nay, it is necessary for us to consider things as contingent. So much about law in the abstract.

Now the word law seems to be only applied to natural phenomena by analogy, and is commonly taken to signify a command which men can either obey or neglect, inasmuch as it restrains human nature within certain originally exceeded limits, and therefore lays down no rule beyond human strength. Thus it is expedient to define law more particularly as a plan of life laid down by man for himself or others with a certain object.

However, as the true object of legislation is only perceived by a few, and most men are almost incapable of grasping it, though they live under its conditions, legislators, with a view to exacting general obedience, have wisely put forward another object, very different from that which necessarily follows from the nature of law: they promise to the observers of the law that which the masses chiefly desire, and threaten its violators with that which they chiefly fear: thus endeavouring to restrain the masses, as far as may be, like a horse with a curb; whence it follows that the word law is chiefly applied to the modes of life enjoined on men by the sway of others; hence those who obey the law are said to live under it and to be under compulsion. In truth, a man who renders everyone their due because he fears the gallows, acts under the sway and compulsion of

others, and cannot be called just. But a man who does the same from a knowledge of the true reason for laws and their necessity, acts from a firm purpose and of his own accord, and is therefore properly called just. This, I take it, is Paul's meaning when he says, that those who live under the law cannot be justified through the law, for justice, as commonly defined, is the constant and perpetual will to render every man his due. Thus Solomon says (Prov. xxi:15), "It is a joy to the just to do judgment," but the wicked fear.

Law, then, being a plan of living which men have for a certain object laid down for themselves or others, may, as it seems, be divided into human law and Divine law. {But both are opposite sides of the same coin}

By human law I mean a plan of living which serves only to render life and the state secure. By Divine law I mean that which only regards the highest good, in other words, the true knowledge of God and love.

I call this law Divine because of the nature of the highest good, which I will here shortly explain as clearly as I can.

Inasmuch as the intellect is the best part of our being, it is evident that we should make every effort to perfect it as far as possible if we desire to search for what is really profitable to us. For in intellectual perfection the highest good should consist. Now, since all our knowledge, and the certainty which removes every doubt, depend solely on the knowledge of God; — firstly, because without God nothing can exist or be conceived; secondly, because so long as we have no clear and distinct idea of God we may remain in universal doubt — it follows that our highest good and perfection also depend solely on the knowledge of God. Further, since without God nothing can exist or be conceived, it is evident that all natural phenomena involve and express the conception of God as far as their essence and perfection extend, so that we have greater and more perfect knowledge of God in proportion to our knowledge of natural phenomena: conversely (since the knowledge of an effect through its cause is the same thing as the knowledge of a particular property of a cause) the greater our knowledge of natural phenomena, the more perfect is our knowledge of the essence of God

(which is the cause of all things). So, then, our highest good not only depends on the knowledge of God, but wholly consists therein; and it further follows that man is perfect or the reverse in proportion to the nature and perfection of the object of his special desire; hence the most perfect and the chief sharer in the highest blessedness is he who prizes above all else, and takes especial delight in, the intellectual knowledge of God, the most perfect Being.

Hither, then, our highest good and our highest blessedness aim — namely, to the knowledge and love of God; therefore the means demanded by this aim of all human actions, that is, by God in so far as the idea of him is in us, may be called the commands of God, because they proceed, as it were, from God Himself, inasmuch as He exists in our minds, and the plan of life which has regard to this aim may be fitly called the law of God.

The nature of the means, and the plan of life which this aim demands, how the foundations of the best states follow its lines, and how men's life is conducted, are questions pertaining to general ethics. Here I only proceed to treat of the Divine law in a particular application.

As the love of God is man's highest happiness and blessedness, and the ultimate end and aim of all human actions, it follows that he alone lives by the Divine law who loves God not from fear of punishment, or from love of any other object, such as sensual pleasure, fame, or the like; but solely because he has knowledge of God, or is convinced that the knowledge and love of God is the highest good. The sum and chief precept, then, of the Divine law is to love God as the highest good, namely, as we have said, not from fear of any pains and penalties, or from the love of any other object in which we desire to take pleasure. The idea of God lays down the rule that God is our highest good — in other words, that the knowledge and love of God is the ultimate aim to which all our actions should be directed. The worldling cannot understand these things, they appear foolishness to him. because he has too meager a knowledge of God, and also because in this highest good he can discover nothing which he can handle or eat, or which affects the fleshly appetites wherein he chiefly delights, for it

consists solely in thought and the pure reason. They, on the other hand, who know that they possess no greater gift than intellect and sound reason, will doubtless accept what I have said without question.

We have now explained that wherein the Divine law chiefly consists, and what are human laws, namely, all those which have a different aim unless they have been ratified by revelation, for in this respect also things are referred to God (as we have shown above) and in this sense the law of Moses, although it was not universal, but entirely adapted to the disposition and particular preservation of a single people, may yet be called a law of God or Divine law, inasmuch as we believe that it was ratified by prophetic insight. If we consider the nature of natural Divine law as we have just explained it, we shall see:

I. — That it is universal or common to all men, for we have deduced it from universal human nature.

II. That it does not depend on the truth of any historical narrative whatsoever, for inasmuch as this natural Divine law is comprehended solely by the consideration of human nature, it is plain that we can conceive it as existing as well in Adam as in any other man, as well in a man living among his fellows, as in a man who lives by himself.

The truth of a historical narrative, however assured, cannot give us the knowledge nor consequently the love of God, for love of God springs from knowledge of Him, and knowledge of Him should be derived from general ideas, in themselves certain and known, so that the truth of a historical narrative is very far from being a necessary requisite for our attaining our highest good.

Still, though the truth of histories cannot give us the knowledge and love of God, I do not deny that reading them is very useful with a view to life in the world, for the more we have observed and known of men's customs and circumstances, which are best revealed by their actions, the more warily we shall be able to order our lives among them, and so far as reason dictates to adapt our actions to their dispositions.

III. We see that this natural Divine law does not demand the performance of ceremonies — that is, actions in themselves indifferent, which are called good from the fact of their institution, or actions symbolizing something profitable for salvation, or (if one prefers this definition) actions of which the meaning surpasses human understanding. The natural light of reason does not demand anything which it is itself unable to supply, but only such as it can very clearly show to be good, or a means to our blessedness. Such things as are good simply because they have been commanded or instituted, or as being symbols of something good, are mere shadows which cannot be reckoned among actions that are the offsprings as it were, or fruit of a sound mind and of intellect. There is no need for me to go into this now in more detail.

IV. Lastly, we see that the highest reward of the Divine law is the law itself, namely, to know God and to love Him of our free choice, and with an undivided and fruitful spirit; while its penalty is the absence of these things, and being in bondage to the flesh — that is, having an inconstant and wavering spirit.

These points being noted, I must now inquire:

I. Whether by the natural light of reason we can conceive of God as a law-giver or potentate ordaining laws for men?

II. What is the teaching of Holy Writ concerning this natural light of reason and natural law?

III. With what objects were ceremonies formerly instituted?

IV. Lastly, what is the good gained by knowing the sacred histories and believing them?

Of the first two I will treat in this chapter, of the remaining two in the following one.

Our conclusion about the first is easily deduced from the nature of God's will, which is only distinguished from His understanding in relation to our intellect — that is, the will and the understanding of God are in reality one and the same, and are only distinguished in relation to our thoughts which we form concerning God's understanding. For instance, if we are only looking to the fact that the

nature of a triangle is from eternity contained in the Divine nature as an eternal verity, we say that God possesses the idea of a triangle, or that He understands the nature of a triangle; but if afterwards we look to the fact that the nature of a triangle is thus contained in the Divine nature, solely by the necessity of the Divine nature, and not by the necessity of the nature and essence of a triangle — in fact, that the necessity of a triangle's essence and nature, in so far as they are conceived of as eternal verities, depends solely on the necessity of the Divine nature and intellect, we then style God's will or decree, that which before we styled His intellect. Wherefore we make one and the same affirmation concerning God when we say that He has from eternity decreed that three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles, as when we say that He has understood it.

Hence the affirmations and the negations of God always involve necessity or truth; so that, for example, if God said to Adam that He did not wish him to eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, it would have involved a contradiction that Adam should have been able to eat of it, and would therefore have been impossible that he should have so eaten, for the Divine command would have involved an eternal necessity and truth. But since Scripture nevertheless narrates that God did give this command to Adam, and yet that none the less Adam ate of the tree, we must perforce say that God revealed to Adam the evil which would surely follow if he should eat of the tree, but did not disclose that such evil would of necessity come to pass. Thus it was that Adam took the revelation to be not an eternal and necessary truth, but a law — that is, an ordinance followed by gain or loss, not depending necessarily on the nature of the act performed, but solely on the will and absolute power of some potentate, so that the revelation in question was solely in relation to Adam, and solely through his lack of knowledge a law, and God was, as it were, a lawgiver and potentate. From the same cause, namely, from lack of knowledge, the Decalogue in relation to the Hebrews was a law, for since they knew not the existence of God as an eternal truth, they must have taken as a law that which was revealed to them in the Decalogue, namely, that God exists, and that God only should be worshipped. But if God had spoken to them

without the intervention of any bodily means, immediately they would have perceived it not as a law, but as an eternal truth.

What we have said about the Israelites and Adam, applies also to all the prophets who wrote laws in God's name — they did not adequately conceive God's decrees as eternal truths. For instance, we must say of Moses that from revelation, from the basis of what was revealed to him, he perceived the method by which the Israelitish nation could best be united in a particular territory, and could form a body politic or state, and further that he perceived the method by which that nation could best be constrained to obedience; but he did not perceive, nor was it revealed to him, that this method was absolutely the best, nor that the obedience of the people in a certain strip of territory would necessarily imply the end he had in view. Wherefore he perceived these things not as eternal truths, but as precepts and ordinances, and he ordained them as laws of God, and thus it came to be that he conceived God as a ruler, a legislator, a king, as merciful, just, &c., whereas such qualities are simply attributes of human nature, and utterly alien from the nature of the Deity. Thus much we may affirm of the prophets who wrote laws in the name of God; but we must not affirm it of Christ, for Christ, although He too seems to have written laws in the name of God, must be taken to have had a clear and adequate perception, for Christ was not so much a prophet as the mouthpiece of God. For God made revelations to mankind through Christ as He had before done through angels — that is, a created voice, visions, &c. It would be as unreasonable to say that God had accommodated his revelations to the opinions of Christ as that He had before accommodated them to the opinions of angels (that is, of a created voice or visions) as matters to be revealed to the prophets, a wholly absurd hypothesis. Moreover, Christ was sent to teach not only the Jews but the whole human race, and therefore it was not enough that His mind should be accommodated to the opinions the Jews alone, but also to the opinion and fundamental teaching common to the whole human race — in other words, to ideas universal and true. Inasmuch as God revealed Himself to Christ, or to Christ's mind immediately, and not as to the prophets through words and symbols,

we must needs suppose that Christ perceived truly what was revealed, in other words, He understood it, for a matter is understood when it is perceived simply by the mind without words or symbols.

Christ, then, perceived (truly and adequately) what was revealed, and if He ever proclaimed such revelations as laws, He did so because of the ignorance and obstinacy of the people, acting in this respect the part of God; inasmuch as He accommodated Himself to the comprehension of the people, and though He spoke somewhat more clearly than the other prophets, yet He taught what was revealed obscurely, and generally through parables, especially when He was speaking to those to whom it was not yet given to understand the kingdom of heaven. (See Matt. xiii:10, &c.) To those to whom it was given to understand the mysteries of heaven, He doubtless taught His doctrines as eternal truths, and did not lay them down as laws, thus freeing the minds of His hearers from the bondage of that law which He further confirmed and established. Paul apparently points to this more than once (e.g. Rom. vii:6, and iii:28), though he never himself seems to wish to speak openly, but, to quote his own words (Rom. iii:6, and vi:19), “merely humanly.” This he expressly states when he calls God just, and it was doubtless in concession to human weakness that he attributes mercy, grace, anger, and similar qualities to God, adapting his language to the popular mind, or, as he puts it (1 Cor. iii:1, 2), to carnal men. In Rom. ix:18, he teaches undisguisedly that God’s anger and mercy depend not on the actions of men, but on God’s own nature or will; further, that no one is justified by the works of the law, but only by faith, which he seems to identify with the full assent of the soul; lastly, that no one is blessed unless he have in him the mind of Christ (Rom. viii:9), whereby he perceives the laws of God as eternal truths. We conclude, therefore, that God is described as a lawgiver or prince, and styled just, merciful, &c., merely in concession to popular understanding, and the imperfection of popular knowledge; that in reality God acts and directs all things simply by the necessity of His nature and perfection, and that His decrees and volitions are eternal truths, and always

involve necessity. So much for the first point which I wished to explain and demonstrate.

Passing on to the second point, let us search the sacred pages for their teaching concerning the light of nature and this Divine law. The first doctrine we find in the history of the first man, where it is narrated that God commanded Adam not to eat of the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil; this seems to mean that God commanded Adam to do and to seek after righteousness because it was good, not because the contrary was evil: that is, to seek the good for its own sake, not from fear of evil. We have seen that he who acts rightly from the true knowledge and love of right, acts with freedom and constancy, whereas he who acts from fear of evil, is under the constraint of evil, and acts in bondage under external control. So that this commandment of God to Adam comprehends the whole Divine natural law, and absolutely agrees with the dictates of the light of nature; nay, it would be easy to explain on this basis the whole history or allegory of the first man. But I prefer to pass over the subject in silence, because, in the first place, I cannot be absolutely certain that my explanation would be in accordance with the intention of the sacred writer; and, secondly, because many do not admit that this history is an allegory, maintaining it to be a simple narrative of facts. It will be better, therefore, to adduce other passages of Scripture, especially such as were written by him, who speaks with all the strength of his natural understanding, in which he surpassed all his contemporaries, and whose sayings are accepted by the people as of equal weight with those of the prophets. I mean Solomon, whose prudence and wisdom are commended in Scripture rather than his piety and gift of prophecy. Life being taken to mean the true life (as is evident from Deut. xxx:19), the fruit of the understanding consists only in the true life, and its absence constitutes punishment. All this absolutely agrees with what was set out in our fourth point concerning natural law. Moreover our position that it is the well-spring of life, and that the intellect alone lays down laws for the wise, is plainly taught by, the sage, for he says (Prov. xiii14): “The law of the wise is a fountain of life “ — that is, as we gather from the preceding text, the

understanding. In chap. iii:13, he expressly teaches that the understanding renders man blessed and happy, and gives him true peace of mind. “Happy is the man that findeth wisdom, and the man that getteth understanding,” for “Wisdom gives length of days, and riches and honour; her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths peace” (xiii:6, 17). According to Solomon, therefore, it is only, the wise who live in peace and equanimity, not like the wicked whose minds drift hither and thither, and (as Isaiah says, chap. Ivii:20) “are like the troubled sea, for them there is no peace.”

Lastly, we should especially note the passage in chap. ii. of Solomon’s proverbs which most clearly confirms our contention: “If thou criest after knowledge, and liftest up thy voice for understanding . . . then shalt thou understand the fear of the Lord, and find the knowledge of God; for the Lord giveth wisdom; out of His mouth cometh knowledge and understanding.” These words clearly enunciate, that wisdom or intellect alone teaches us to fear God wisely — that is, to worship Him truly; that wisdom and knowledge flow from God’s mouth, and that God bestows on us this gift; this we have already shown in proving that our understanding and our knowledge depend on, spring from, and are perfected by the idea or knowledge of God, and nothing else. Solomon goes on to say in so many words that this knowledge contains and involves the true principles of ethics and politics: “When wisdom entereth into thy heart, and knowledge is pleasant to thy soul, discretion shall preserve thee, understanding shall keep thee, then shalt thou understand righteousness, and judgment, and equity, yea every good path.” All of which is in obvious agreement with natural knowledge: for after we have come to the understanding of things, and have tasted the excellence of knowledge, she teaches us ethics and true virtue.

Thus the happiness and the peace of him who cultivates his natural understanding lies, according to Solomon also, not so much under the dominion of fortune (or God’s external aid) as in inward personal virtue (or God’s internal aid), for the latter can to a great extent be preserved by vigilance, right action, and thought.

Lastly, we must by no means pass over the passage in Paul's Epistle to the Romans, i:20, in which he says: "For the invisible things of God from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His eternal power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse, because, when they knew God, they glorified Him not as God, neither were they thankful." These words clearly show that everyone can by the light of nature clearly understand the goodness and the eternal divinity of God, and can thence know and deduce what they should seek for and what avoid; wherefore the Apostle says that they are without excuse and cannot plead ignorance, as they certainly might if it were a question of supernatural light and the incarnation, passion, and resurrection of Christ. "Wherefore," he goes on to say (ib. 24), "God gave them up to uncleanness through the lusts of their own hearts;" and so on, through the rest of the chapter, he describes the vices of ignorance, and sets them forth as the punishment of ignorance. This obviously agrees with the verse of Solomon, already quoted, "The instruction of fools is folly," so that it is easy to understand why Paul says that the wicked are without excuse. As every man sows so shall he reap: out of evil, evils necessarily spring, unless they be wisely counteracted.

Thus we see that Scripture literally approves of the light of natural reason and the natural Divine law, and I have fulfilled the promises made at the beginning of this chapter.

CHAPTER V.

Of the Ceremonial Law.



IN THE FOREGOING chapter we have shown that the Divine law, which renders men truly blessed, and teaches them the true life, is universal to all men; nay, we have so intimately deduced it from human nature that it must be esteemed innate, and, as it were, ingrained in the human mind.

But with regard to the ceremonial observances which were ordained in the Old Testament for the Hebrews only, and were so adapted to their state that they could for the most part only be observed by the society as a whole and not by each individual, it is evident that they formed no part of the Divine law, and had nothing to do with blessedness and virtue, but had reference only to the election of the Hebrews, that is (as I have shown in Chap. II.), to their temporal bodily happiness and the tranquillity of their kingdom, and that therefore they were only valid while that kingdom lasted. If in the Old Testament they are spoken of as the law of God, it is only because they were founded on revelation, or a basis of revelation. Still as reason, however sound, has little weight with ordinary theologians, I will adduce the authority of Scripture for what I here assert, and will further show, for the sake of greater clearness, why and how these ceremonials served to establish and preserve the Jewish kingdom. Isaiah teaches most plainly that the Divine law in its strict sense signifies that universal law which consists in a true manner of life, and does not signify ceremonial observances. In chapter i:10, the prophet calls on his countrymen to hearken to the Divine law as he delivers it, and first excluding all kinds of sacrifices and all feasts, he at length sums up the law in these few words, “Cease to do evil, learn to do well: seek judgment, relieve the oppressed.” Not less striking testimony is

given in Psalm xl:7 — 9, where the Psalmist addresses God: “Sacrifice and offering Thou didst not desire; mine ears hast Thou opened; burnt offering and sin-offering hast Thou not required; I delight to do Thy will, O my God; yea, Thy law is within my heart.” Here the Psalmist reckons as the law of God only that which is inscribed in his heart, and excludes ceremonies therefrom, for the latter are good and inscribed on the heart only from the fact of their institution, and not because of their intrinsic value.

Other passages of Scripture testify to the same truth, but these two will suffice. We may also learn from the Bible that ceremonies are no aid to blessedness, but only have reference to the temporal prosperity of the kingdom; for the rewards promised for their observance are merely temporal advantages and delights, blessedness being reserved for the universal Divine law. In all the five books commonly attributed to Moses nothing is promised, as I have said, beyond temporal benefits, such as honours, fame, victories, riches, enjoyments, and health. Though many moral precepts besides ceremonies are contained in these five books, they appear not as moral doctrines universal to all men, but as commands especially adapted to the understanding and character of the Hebrew people, and as having reference only to the welfare of the kingdom. For instance, Moses does not teach the Jews as a prophet not to kill or to steal, but gives these commandments solely as a lawgiver and judge; he does not reason out the doctrine, but affixes for its non-observance a penalty which may and very properly does vary in different nations. So, too, the command not to commit adultery is given merely with reference to the welfare of the state; for if the moral doctrine had been intended, with reference not only to the welfare of the state, but also to the tranquillity and blessedness of the individual, Moses would have condemned not merely the outward act, but also the mental acquiescence, as is done by Christ, Who taught only universal moral precepts, and for this cause promises a spiritual instead of a temporal reward. Christ, as I have said, was sent into the world, not to preserve the state nor to lay down laws, but solely to teach the universal moral law, so we can easily understand that He wished in nowise to

do away with the law of Moses, inasmuch as He introduced no new laws of His own — His sole care was to teach moral doctrines, and distinguish them from the laws of the state; for the Pharisees, in their ignorance, thought that the observance of the state law and the Mosaic law was the sum total of morality; whereas such laws merely had reference to the public welfare, and aimed not so much at instructing the Jews as at keeping them under constraint. But let us return to our subject, and cite other passages of Scripture which set forth temporal benefits as rewards for observing the ceremonial law, and blessedness as reward for the universal law.

None of the prophets puts the point more clearly than Isaiah. (18.) After condemning hypocrisy he commends liberty and charity towards one's self and one's neighbours, and promises as a reward: "Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thy health shall spring forth speedily, thy righteousness shall go before thee, and the glory of the Lord shall be thy reward" (chap. lviii:8). Shortly afterwards he commends the Sabbath, and for a due observance of it, promises: "Then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord, and I will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the earth, and feed thee with the heritage of Jacob thy father: for the mouth of the Lord has spoken it." Thus the prophet for liberty bestowed, and charitable works, promises a healthy mind in a healthy body, and the glory of the Lord even after death; whereas, for ceremonial exactitude, he only promises security of rule, prosperity, and temporal happiness.

In Psalms xv. and xxiv. no mention is made of ceremonies, but only of moral doctrines, inasmuch as there is no question of anything but blessedness, and blessedness is symbolically promised: it is quite certain that the expressions, "the hill of God," and "His tents and the dwellers therein," refer to blessedness and security of soul, not to the actual mount of Jerusalem and the tabernacle of Moses, for these latter were not dwelt in by anyone, and only the sons of Levi ministered there. Further, all those sentences of Solomon to which I referred in the last chapter, for the cultivation of the intellect and wisdom, promise true blessedness,

for by wisdom is the fear of God at length understood, and the knowledge of God found.

That the Jews themselves were not bound to practise their ceremonial observances after the destruction of their kingdom is evident from Jeremiah. For when the prophet saw and foretold that the desolation of the city was at hand, he said that God only delights in those who know and understand that He exercises loving-kindness, judgment, and righteousness in the earth, and that such persons only are worthy of praise. (Jer. ix:23.) As though God had said that, after the desolation of the city, He would require nothing special from the Jews beyond the natural law by which all men are bound.

The New Testament also confirms this view, for only moral doctrines are therein taught, and the kingdom of heaven is promised as a reward, whereas ceremonial observances are not touched on by the Apostles, after they began to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles. The Pharisees certainly continued to practise these rites after the destruction of the kingdom, but more with a view of opposing the Christians than of pleasing God: for after the first destruction of the city, when they were led captive to Babylon, not being then, so far as I am aware, split up into sects, they straightway neglected their rites, bid farewell to the Mosaic law, buried their national customs in oblivion as being plainly superfluous, and began to mingle with other nations, as we may abundantly learn from Ezra and Nehemiah. We cannot, therefore, doubt that they were no more bound by the law of Moses, after the destruction of their kingdom, than they had been before it had been begun, while they were still living among other peoples before the exodus from Egypt, and were subject to no special law beyond the natural law, and also, doubtless, the law of the state in which they were living, in so far as it was consonant with the Divine natural law.

As to the fact that the patriarchs offered sacrifices, I think they did so for the purpose of stimulating their piety, for their minds had been accustomed from childhood to the idea of sacrifice, which we know had been universal from the time of Enoch; and thus they found in sacrifice their most powerful incentive. The

patriarchs, then, did not sacrifice to God at the bidding of a Divine right, or as taught by the basis of the Divine law, but simply in accordance with the custom of the time; and, if in so doing they followed any ordinance, it was simply the ordinance of the country they were living in, by which (as we have seen before in the case of Melchisedek) they were bound.

I think that I have now given Scriptural authority for my view: it remains to show why and how the ceremonial observances tended to preserve and confirm the Hebrew kingdom; and this I can very briefly do on grounds universally accepted.

The formation of society serves not only for defensive purposes, but is also very useful, and, indeed, absolutely necessary, as rendering possible the division of labour. If men did not render mutual assistance to each other, no one would have either the skill or the time to provide for his own sustenance and preservation: for all men are not equally apt for all work, and no one would be capable of preparing all that he individually stood in need of. Strength and time, I repeat, would fail, if every one had in person to plough, to sow, to reap, to grind corn, to cook, to weave, to stitch, and perform the other numerous functions required to keep life going; to say nothing of the arts and sciences which are also entirely necessary to the perfection and blessedness of human nature. We see that peoples living, in uncivilized barbarism lead a wretched and almost animal life, and even they would not be able to acquire their few rude necessities without assisting one another to a certain extent.

Now if men were so constituted by nature that they desired nothing but what is designated by true reason, society would obviously have no need of laws: it would be sufficient to inculcate true moral doctrines; and men would freely, without hesitation, act in accordance with their true interests. But human nature is framed in a different fashion: every one, indeed, seeks his own interest, but does not do so in accordance with the dictates of sound reason, for most men's ideas of desirability and usefulness are guided by their fleshly instincts and emotions, which take no thought beyond the present and the immediate object. Therefore,

no society can exist without government, and force, and laws to restrain and repress men's desires and immoderate impulses. Still human nature will not submit to absolute repression. Violent governments, as Seneca says, never last long; the moderate governments endure. So long as men act simply from fear they act contrary to their inclinations, taking no thought for the advantages or necessity of their actions, but simply endeavouring to escape punishment or loss of life. They must needs rejoice in any evil which befalls their ruler, even if it should involve themselves; and must long for and bring about such evil by every means in their power. Again, men are especially intolerant of serving and being ruled by their equals. Lastly, it is exceedingly difficult to revoke liberties once granted.

From these considerations it follows, firstly, that authority should either be vested in the hands of the whole state in common, so that everyone should be bound to serve, and yet not be in subjection to his equals; or else, if power be in the hands of a few, or one man, that one man should be something above average humanity, or should strive to get himself accepted as such. Secondly, laws should in every government be so arranged that people should be kept in bounds by the hope of some greatly desired good, rather than by fear, for then everyone will do his duty willingly.

Lastly, as obedience consists in acting at the bidding of external authority, it would have no place in a state where the government is vested in the whole people, and where laws are made by common consent. In such a society the people would remain free, whether the laws were added to or diminished, inasmuch as it would not be done on external authority, but their own free consent. The reverse happens when the sovereign power is vested in one man, for all act at his bidding; and, therefore, unless they had been trained from the first to depend on the words of their ruler, the latter would find it difficult, in case of need, to abrogate liberties once conceded, and impose new laws.

From these universal considerations, let us pass on to the kingdom of the Jews. The Jews when they first came out of Egypt were not bound by any national laws, and were therefore free to ratify any laws they liked, or to make new ones, and

were at liberty to set up a government and occupy a territory wherever they chose. However, they, were entirely unfit to frame a wise code of laws and to keep the sovereign power vested in the community; they were all uncultivated and sunk in a wretched slavery, therefore the sovereignty was bound to remain vested in the hands of one man who would rule the rest and keep them under constraint, make laws and interpret them. This sovereignty was easily retained by Moses, because he surpassed the rest in virtue and persuaded the people of the fact, proving it by many testimonies (see Exod. chap. xiv., last verse, and chap. xix:9). He then, by the Divine virtue he possessed, made laws and ordained them for the people, taking the greatest care that they should be obeyed willingly and not through fear, being specially induced to adopt this course by the obstinate nature of the Jews, who would not have submitted to be ruled solely by constraint; and also by the imminence of war, for it is always better to inspire soldiers with a thirst for glory than to terrify them with threats; each man will then strive to distinguish himself by valour and courage, instead of merely trying to escape punishment. Moses, therefore, by his virtue and the Divine command, introduced a religion, so that the people might do their duty from devotion rather than fear. Further, he bound them over by benefits, and prophesied many advantages in the future; nor were his laws very severe, as anyone may see for himself, especially if he remarks the number of circumstances necessary in order to procure the conviction of an accused person.

Lastly, in order that the people which could not govern itself should be entirely dependent on its ruler, he left nothing to the free choice of individuals (who had hitherto been slaves); the people could do nothing but remember the law, and follow the ordinances laid down at the good pleasure of their ruler; they were not allowed to plough, to sow, to reap, nor even to eat; to clothe themselves, to shave, to rejoice, or in fact to do anything whatever as they liked, but were bound to follow the directions given in the law; and not only this, but they were obliged to have marks on their door-posts, on their hands, and between their eyes to admonish them to perpetual obedience.

This, then, was the object of the ceremonial law, that men should do nothing of their own free will, but should always act under external authority, and should continually confess by their actions and thoughts that they were not their own masters, but were entirely under the control of others.

From all these considerations it is clearer than day that ceremonies have nothing to do with a state of blessedness, and that those mentioned in the Old Testament, i.e. the whole Mosaic Law, had reference merely to the government of the Jews, and merely temporal advantages.

As for the Christian rites, such as baptism, the Lord's Supper, festivals, public prayers, and any other observances which are, and always have been, common to all Christendom, if they were instituted by Christ or His Apostles (which is open to doubt), they were instituted as external signs of the universal church, and not as having anything to do with blessedness, or possessing any sanctity in themselves. Therefore, though such ceremonies were not ordained for the sake of upholding a government, they were ordained for the preservation of a society, and accordingly he who lives alone is not bound by them: nay, those who live in a country where the Christian religion is forbidden, are bound to abstain from such rites, and can none the less live in a state of blessedness. We have an example of this in Japan, where the Christian religion is forbidden, and the Dutch who live there are enjoined by their East India Company not to practise any outward rites of religion. I need not cite other examples, though it would be easy to prove my point from the fundamental principles of the New Testament, and to adduce many confirmatory instances; but I pass on the more willingly, as I am anxious to proceed to my next proposition. I will now, therefore, pass on to what I proposed to treat of in the second part of this chapter, namely, what persons are bound to believe in the narratives contained in Scripture, and how far they are so bound. Examining this question by the aid of natural reason, I will proceed as follows.

If anyone wishes to persuade his fellows for or against anything which is not self-evident ⁶, he must deduce his contention from their admissions, and convince them either by experience or by ratiocination; either by appealing to facts of

natural experience, or to self-evident intellectual axioms. Now unless the experience be of such a kind as to be clearly and distinctly understood, though it may convince a man, it will not have the same effect on his mind and disperse the clouds of his doubt so completely as when the doctrine taught is deduced entirely from intellectual axioms — that is, by the mere power of the understanding and logical order, and this is especially the case in spiritual matters which have nothing to do with the senses.

But the deduction of conclusions from general truths . priori, usually requires a long chain of arguments, and, moreover, very great caution, acuteness, and self-restraint — qualities which are not often met with; therefore people prefer to be taught by experience rather than deduce their conclusion from a few axioms, and set them out in logical order. Whence it follows, that if anyone wishes to teach a doctrine to a whole nation (not to speak of the whole human race), and to be understood by all men in every particular, he will seek to support his teaching with experience, and will endeavour to suit his reasonings and the definitions of his doctrines as far as possible to the understanding of the common people, who form the majority of mankind, and he will not set them forth in logical sequence nor adduce the definitions which serve to establish them. Otherwise he writes only for the learned — that is, he will be understood by only a small proportion of the human race.

All Scripture was written primarily for an entire people, and secondarily for the whole human race; therefore its contents must necessarily be adapted as far as possible to the understanding of the masses, and proved only by examples drawn from experience. We will explain ourselves more clearly. The chief speculative doctrines taught in Scripture are the existence of God, or a Being Who made all things, and Who directs and sustains the world with consummate wisdom; furthermore, that God takes the greatest thought for men, or such of them as live piously and honourably, while He punishes, with various penalties, those who do evil, separating them from the good. All this is proved in Scripture entirely through experience—that is, through the narratives there related. No definitions of

doctrine are given, but all the sayings and reasonings are adapted to the understanding of the masses. Although experience can give no clear knowledge of these things, nor explain the nature of God, nor how He directs and sustains all things, it can nevertheless teach and enlighten men sufficiently to impress obedience and devotion on their minds.

It is now, I think, sufficiently clear what persons are bound to believe in the Scripture narratives, and in what degree they are so bound, for it evidently follows from what has been said that the knowledge of and belief in them is particularly necessary to the masses whose intellect is not capable of perceiving things clearly and distinctly. Further, he who denies them because he does not believe that God exists or takes thought for men and the world, may be accounted impious; but a man who is ignorant of them, and nevertheless knows by natural reason that God exists, as we have said, and has a true plan of life, is altogether blessed — yes, more blessed than the common herd of believers, because besides true opinions he possesses also a true and distinct conception. Lastly, he who is ignorant of the Scriptures and knows nothing by the light of reason, though he may not be impious or rebellious, is yet less than human and almost brutal, having none of God's gifts.

We must here remark that when we say that the knowledge of the sacred narrative is particularly necessary to the masses, we do not mean the knowledge of absolutely all the narratives in the Bible, but only of the principal ones, those which, taken by themselves, plainly display the doctrine we have just stated, and have most effect over men's minds.

If all the narratives in Scripture were necessary for the proof of this doctrine, and if no conclusion could be drawn without the general consideration of every one of the histories contained in the sacred writings, truly the conclusion and demonstration of such doctrine would overtask the understanding and strength not only of the masses, but of humanity; who is there who could give attention to all the narratives at once, and to all the circumstances, and all the scraps of doctrine to be elicited from such a host of diverse histories? I cannot believe that the men

who have left us the Bible as we have it were so abounding in talent that they attempted setting about such a method of demonstration, still less can I suppose that we cannot understand Scriptural doctrine till we have given heed to the quarrels of Isaac, the advice of Achitophel to Absalom, the civil war between Jews and Israelites, and other similar chronicles; nor can I think that it was more difficult to teach such doctrine by means of history to the Jews of early times, the contemporaries of Moses, than it was to the contemporaries of Esdras. But more will be said on this point hereafter, we may now only note that the masses are only bound to know those histories which can most powerfully dispose their mind to obedience and devotion. However, the masses are not sufficiently skilled to draw conclusions from what they read, they take more delight in the actual stories, and in the strange and unlooked-for issues of events than in the doctrines implied; therefore, besides reading these narratives, they are always in need of pastors or church ministers to explain them to their feeble intelligence.

But not to wander from our point, let us conclude with what has been our principal object — namely, that the truth of narratives, be they what they may, has nothing to do with the Divine law, and serves for nothing except in respect of doctrine, the sole element which makes one history better than another. The narratives in the Old and New Testaments surpass profane history, and differ among themselves in merit simply by reason of the salutary doctrines which they inculcate. Therefore, if a man were to read the Scripture narratives believing the whole of them, but were to give no heed to the doctrines they contain, and make no amendment in his life, he might employ himself just as profitably in reading the Koran or the poetic drama, or ordinary chronicles, with the attention usually given to such writings; on the other hand, if a man is absolutely ignorant of the Scriptures, and none the less has right opinions and a true plan of life, he is absolutely blessed and truly possesses in himself the spirit of Christ.

The Jews are of a directly contrary way of thinking, for they hold that true opinions and a true plan of life are of no service in attaining blessedness, if their possessors have arrived at them by the light of reason only, and not like the

documents prophetically revealed to Moses. Maimonides ventures openly to make this assertion: "Every man who takes to heart the seven precepts and diligently follows them, is counted with the pious among the nation, and an heir of the world to come; that is to say, if he takes to heart and follows them because God ordained them in the law, and revealed them to us by Moses, because they were of aforetime precepts to the sons of Noah: but he who follows them as led thereto by reason, is not counted as a dweller among the pious or among the wise of the nations." Such are the words Of Maimonides, to which R. Joseph, the son of Shem Job, adds in his book which he calls "Kebod Elohim, or God's Glory," that although Aristotle (whom he considers to have written the best ethics and to be above everyone else) has not omitted anything that concerns true ethics, and which he has adopted in his own book, carefully following the lines laid down, yet this was not able to suffice for his salvation, inasmuch as he embraced his doctrines in accordance with the dictates of reason and not as Divine documents prophetically revealed.

However, that these are mere figments, and are not supported by Scriptural authority will, I think, be sufficiently evident to the attentive reader, so that an examination of the theory will be sufficient for its refutation. It is not my purpose here to refute the assertions of those who assert that the natural light of reason can teach nothing, of any value concerning the true way of salvation. People who lay no claims to reason for themselves, are not able to prove by reason this their assertion; and if they hawk about something superior to reason, it is a mere figment, and far below reason, as their general method of life sufficiently shows. But there is no need to dwell upon such persons. I will merely add that we can only judge of a man by his works. If a man abounds in the fruits of the Spirit, charity, joy, peace, long-suffering, kindness, goodness, faith, gentleness, chastity, against which, as Paul says (Gal. v:22), there is no law, such an one, whether he be taught by reason only or by the Scripture only, has been in very truth taught by God, and is altogether blessed. Thus have I said all that I undertook to say concerning Divine law.

6 We doubt of the existence of God, and consequently of all else, so long as we have no clear and distinct idea of God, but only a confused one. For as he who knows not rightly the nature of a triangle, knows not that its three angles are equal to two right angles, so he who conceives the Divine nature confusedly, does not see that it pertains to the nature of God to exist. Now, to conceive the nature of God clearly and distinctly, it is necessary to pay attention to a certain number of very simple notions, called general notions, and by their help to associate the conceptions which we form of the attributes of the Divine nature. It then, for the first time, becomes clear to us, that God exists necessarily, that He is omnipresent, and that all our conceptions involve in themselves the nature of God and are conceived through it. Lastly, we see that all our adequate ideas are true. Compare on this point the prolegomena to book, “Principles of Descartes’s philosophy set forth geometrically.”

CHAPTER VI.

Of Miracles.



AS MEN ARE accustomed to call Divine the knowledge which transcends human understanding, so also do they style Divine, or the work of God, anything of which the cause is not generally known: for the masses think that the power and providence of God are most clearly displayed by events that are extraordinary and contrary to the conception they have formed of nature, especially if such events bring them any profit or convenience: they think that the clearest possible proof of God's existence is afforded when nature, as they suppose, breaks her accustomed order, and consequently they believe that those who explain or endeavour to understand phenomena or miracles through their natural causes are doing away with God and His providence. They suppose, forsooth, that God is inactive so long as nature works in her accustomed order, and vice versa, that the power of nature and natural causes are idle so long as God is acting: thus they imagine two powers distinct one from the other, the power of God and the power of nature, though the latter is in a sense determined by God, or (as most people believe now) created by Him. What they mean by either, and what they understand by God and nature they do not know, except that they imagine the power of God to be like that of some royal potentate, and nature's power to consist in force and energy.

The masses then style unusual phenomena, "miracles," and partly from piety, partly for the sake of opposing the students of science, prefer to remain in ignorance of natural causes, and only to hear of those things which they know least, and consequently admire most. In fact, the common people can only adore God, and refer all things to His power by removing natural causes, and

conceiving things happening out of their due course, and only admires the power of God when the power of nature is conceived of as in subjection to it.

This idea seems to have taken its rise among the early Jews who saw the Gentiles round them worshipping visible gods such as the sun, the moon, the earth, water, air, &c., and in order to inspire the conviction that such divinities were weak and inconstant, or changeable, told how they themselves were under the sway of an invisible God, and narrated their miracles, trying further to show that the God whom they worshipped arranged the whole of nature for their sole benefit: this idea was so pleasing to humanity that men go on to this day imagining miracles, so that they may believe themselves God's favourites, and the final cause for which God created and directs all things.

What pretension will not people in their folly advance! They have no single sound idea concerning either God or nature, they confound God's decrees with human decrees, they conceive nature as so limited that they believe man to be its chief part! I have spent enough space in setting forth these common ideas and prejudices concerning nature and miracles, but in order to afford a regular demonstration I will show —

I. That nature cannot be contravened, but that she preserves a fixed and immutable order, and at the same time I will explain what is meant by a miracle.

II. That God's nature and existence, and consequently His providence cannot be known from miracles, but that they can all be much better perceived from the fixed and immutable order of nature.

III. That by the decrees and volitions, and consequently the providence of God, Scripture (as I will prove by Scriptural examples) means nothing but nature's order following necessarily from her eternal laws.

IV. Lastly, I will treat of the method of interpreting Scriptural miracles, and the chief points to be noted concerning the narratives of them.

Such are the principal subjects which will be discussed in this chapter, and which will serve, I think, not a little to further the object of this treatise.

Our first point is easily proved from what we showed in Chap. IV. about Divine law — namely, that all that God wishes or determines involves eternal necessity, and truth, for we demonstrated that God’s understanding is identical with His will, and that it is the same thing to say that God wills a thing, as to say, that He understands it; hence, as it follows necessarily, from the Divine nature and perfection that God understands a thing as it is, it follows no less necessarily that He wills it as it is. Now, as nothing is necessarily true save only by, Divine decree, it is plain that the universal laws of nature are decrees of God following from the necessity and perfection of the Divine nature. Hence, any event happening in nature which contravened nature’s universal laws, would necessarily also contravene the Divine decree, nature, and understanding; or if anyone asserted that God acts in contravention to the laws of nature, he, ipso facto, would be compelled to assert that God acted against His own nature — an evident absurdity. One might easily show from the same premises that the power and efficiency, of nature are in themselves the Divine power and efficiency, and that the Divine power is the very essence of God, but this I gladly pass over for the present.

Nothing, then, comes to pass in nature (N.B. I do not mean here by “nature,” merely matter and its modifications, but infinite other things besides matter.) in contravention to her universal laws, nay, everything agrees with them and follows from them, for whatsoever comes to pass, comes to pass by the will and eternal decree of God; that is, as we have just pointed out, whatever comes to pass, comes to pass according to laws and rules which involve eternal necessity and truth; nature, therefore, always observes laws and rules which involve eternal necessity, and truth, although they may not all be known to us, and therefore she keeps a fixed and mutable order. Nor is there any sound reason for limiting the power and efficacy of nature, and asserting that her laws are fit for certain purposes, but not for all; for as the efficacy, and power of nature, are the very, efficacy and power of God, and as the laws and rules of nature are the decrees of God, it is in every way to be believed that the power of nature is infinite, and that

her laws are broad enough to embrace everything conceived by, the Divine intellect; the only alternative is to assert that God has created nature so weak, and has ordained for her laws so barren, that He is repeatedly compelled to come afresh to her aid if He wishes that she should be preserved, and that things should happen as He desires: a conclusion, in My opinion, very far removed from reason. Further, as nothing happens in nature which does not follow from her laws, and as her laws embrace everything conceived by the Divine intellect, and lastly, as nature preserves a fixed and immutable order; it most clearly follows that miracles are only intelligible as in relation to human opinions, and merely mean events of which the natural cause cannot be explained by a reference to any ordinary occurrence, either by us, or at any rate, by the writer and narrator of the miracle.

We may, in fact, say that a miracle is an event of which the causes cannot be explained by the natural reason through a reference to ascertained workings of nature; but since miracles were wrought according to the understanding of the masses, who are wholly ignorant of the workings of nature, it is certain that the ancients took for a miracle whatever they could not explain by the method adopted by the unlearned in such cases, namely, an appeal to the memory, a recalling of something similar, which is ordinarily regarded without wonder; for most people think they sufficiently understand a thing when they have ceased to wonder at it. The ancients, then, and indeed most men up to the present day, had no other criterion for a miracle; hence we cannot doubt that many things are narrated in Scripture as miracles of which the causes could easily be explained by reference to ascertained workings of nature. We have hinted as much in Chap. II., in speaking of the sun standing still in the time of Joshua, and to say on the subject when we come to treat of the interpretation of miracles later on in this chapter.

It is now time to pass on to the second point, and show that we cannot gain an understanding of God's essence, existence, or providence by means of miracles, but that these truths are much better perceived through the fixed and immutable

order of nature. I thus proceed with the demonstration. As God's existence is not self-evident it must necessarily be inferred from ideas so firmly and incontrovertibly true, that no power can be postulated or conceived sufficient to impugn them. They ought certainly so to appear to us when we infer from them God's existence, if we wish to place our conclusion beyond the reach of doubt; for if we could conceive that such ideas could be impugned by any power whatsoever, we should doubt of their truth, we should doubt of our conclusion, namely, of God's existence, and should never be able to be certain of anything. Further, we know that nothing either agrees with or is contrary to nature, unless it agrees with or is contrary to these primary ideas; wherefore if we would conceive that anything could be done in nature by any power whatsoever which would be contrary to the laws of nature, it would also be contrary to our primary ideas, and we should have either to reject it as absurd, or else to cast doubt (as just shown) on our primary ideas, and consequently on the existence of God, and on everything howsoever perceived. Therefore miracles, in the sense of events contrary to the laws of nature, so far from demonstrating to us the existence of God, would, on the contrary, lead us to doubt it, where, otherwise, we might have been absolutely certain of it, as knowing that nature follows a fixed and immutable order.

Let us take miracle as meaning that which cannot be explained through natural causes. This may be interpreted in two senses: either as that which has natural causes, but cannot be examined by the human intellect; or as that which has no cause save God and God's will. But as all things which come to pass through natural causes, come to pass also solely through the will and power of God, it comes to this, that a miracle, whether it has natural causes or not, is a result which cannot be explained by its cause, that is a phenomenon which surpasses human understanding; but from such a phenomenon, and certainly from a result surpassing our understanding, we can gain no knowledge. For whatsoever we understand clearly and distinctly should be plain to us either in itself or by means of something else clearly and distinctly understood; wherefore from a miracle or a

phenomenon which we cannot understand, we can gain no knowledge of God's essence, or existence, or indeed anything about God or nature; whereas when we know that all things are ordained and ratified by God, that the operations of nature follow from the essence of God, and that the laws of nature are eternal decrees and volitions of God, we must perforce conclude that our knowledge of God, and of God's will increases in proportion to our knowledge and clear understanding of nature, as we see how she depends on her primal cause, and how she works according to eternal law. Wherefore so far as our understanding goes, those phenomena which we clearly and distinctly understand have much better right to be called works of God, and to be referred to the will of God than those about which we are entirely ignorant, although they appeal powerfully to the imagination, and compel men's admiration.

It is only phenomena that we clearly and distinctly understand, which heighten our knowledge of God, and most clearly indicate His will and decrees. Plainly, they are but triflers who, when they cannot explain a thing, run back to the will of God; this is, truly, a ridiculous way of expressing ignorance. Again, even supposing that some conclusion could be drawn from miracles, we could not possibly infer from them the existence of God: for a miracle being an event under limitations is the expression of a fixed and limited power; therefore we could not possibly infer from an effect of this kind the existence of a cause whose power is infinite, but at the utmost only of a cause whose power is greater than that of the said effect. I say at the utmost, for a phenomenon may be the result of many concurrent causes, and its power may be less than the power of the sum of such causes, but far greater than that of any one of them taken individually. On the other hand, the laws of nature, as we have shown, extend over infinity, and are conceived by us as, after a fashion, eternal, and nature works in accordance with them in a fixed and immutable order; therefore, such laws indicate to us in a certain degree the infinity, the eternity, and the immutability of God.

We may conclude, then, that we cannot gain knowledge of the existence and providence of God by means of miracles, but that we can far better infer them

from the fixed and immutable order of nature. By miracle, I here mean an event which surpasses, or is thought to surpass, human comprehension: for in so far as it is supposed to destroy or interrupt the order of nature or her laws, it not only can give us no knowledge of God, but, contrariwise, takes away that which we naturally have, and makes us doubt of God and everything else.

Neither do I recognize any difference between an event against the laws of nature and an event beyond the laws of nature (that is, according to some, an event which does not contravene nature, though she is inadequate to produce or effect it) — for a miracle is wrought in, and not beyond nature, though it may be said in itself to be above nature, and, therefore, must necessarily interrupt the order of nature, which otherwise we conceive of as fixed and unchangeable, according to God's decrees. If, therefore, anything should come to pass in nature which does not follow from her laws, it would also be in contravention to the order which God has established in nature for ever through universal natural laws: it would, therefore, be in contravention to God's nature and laws, and, consequently, belief in it would throw doubt upon everything, and lead to Atheism.

I think I have now sufficiently established my second point, so that we can again conclude that a miracle, whether in contravention to, or beyond, nature, is a mere absurdity; and, therefore, that what is meant in Scripture by a miracle can only be a work of nature, which surpasses, or is believed to surpass, human comprehension. Before passing on to my third point, I will adduce Scriptural authority for my assertion that God cannot be known from miracles. Scripture nowhere states the doctrine openly, but it can readily be inferred from several passages. Firstly, that in which Moses commands (Deut. xiii.) that a false prophet should be put to death, even though he work miracles: "If there arise a prophet among you, and giveth thee a sign or wonder, and the sign or wonder come to pass, saying, Let us go after other gods . . . thou shalt not hearken unto the voice of that prophet; for the Lord your God proveth you, and that prophet shall be put to death." From this it clearly follows that miracles could be wrought even by

false prophets; and that, unless men are honestly endowed with the true knowledge and love of God, they may be as easily led by miracles to follow false gods as to follow the true God; for these words are added: “For the Lord your God tempts you, that He may know whether you love Him with all your heart and with all your mind.”

Further, the Israelites, from all their miracles, were unable to form a sound conception of God, as their experience testified: for when they had persuaded themselves that Moses had departed from among them, they petitioned Aaron to give them visible gods; and the idea of God they had formed as the result of all their miracles was — a calf!

Asaph, though he had heard of so many miracles, yet doubted of the providence of God, and would have turned himself from the true way, if he had not at last come to understand true blessedness. (See Ps. lxxxiii.) Solomon, too, at a time when the Jewish nation was at the height of its prosperity, suspects that all things happen by chance. (See Eccles. iii:19, 20, 21; and chap. ix:2, 3, &c.)

Lastly, nearly all the prophets found it very hard to reconcile the order of nature and human affairs with the conception they had formed of God’s providence, whereas philosophers who endeavour to understand things by clear conceptions of them, rather than by miracles, have always found the task extremely easy — at least, such of them as place true happiness solely in virtue and peace of mind, and who aim at obeying nature, rather than being obeyed by her. Such persons rest assured that God directs nature according to the requirements of universal laws, not according to the requirements of the particular laws of human nature, and that, therefore, God’s scheme comprehends, not only the human race, but the whole of nature.

It is plain, then, from Scripture itself, that miracles can give no knowledge of God, nor clearly teach us the providence of God. As to the frequent statements in Scripture, that God wrought miracles to make Himself plain to man — as in Exodus x:2, where He deceived the Egyptians, and gave signs of Himself, that the Israelites might know that He was God — it does not, therefore, follow that

miracles really taught this truth, but only that the Jews held opinions which laid them easily open to conviction by miracles. We have shown in Chap. II. that the reasons assigned by the prophets, or those which are formed from revelation, are not assigned in accordance with ideas universal and common to all, but in accordance with the accepted doctrines, however absurd, and with the opinions of those to whom the revelation was given, or those whom the Holy Spirit wished to convince.

This we have illustrated by many Scriptural instances, and can further cite Paul, who to the Greeks was a Greek, and to the Jews a Jew. But although these miracles could convince the Egyptians and Jews from their standpoint, they could not give a true idea and knowledge of God, but only cause them to admit that there was a Deity more powerful than anything known to them, and that this Deity took special care of the Jews, who had just then an unexpectedly happy issue of all their affairs. They could not teach them that God cares equally for all, for this can be taught only by philosophy: the Jews, and all who took their knowledge of God's providence from the dissimilarity of human conditions of life and the inequalities of fortune, persuaded themselves that God loved the Jews above all men, though they did not surpass their fellows in true human perfection.

I now go on to my third point, and show from Scripture that the decrees and mandates of God, and consequently His providence, are merely the order of nature — that is, when Scripture describes an event as accomplished by God or God's will, we must understand merely that it was in accordance with the law and order of nature, not, as most people believe, that nature had for a season ceased to act, or that her order was temporarily interrupted. But Scripture does not directly teach matters unconnected with its doctrine, wherefore it has no care to explain things by their natural causes, nor to expound matters merely speculative. Wherefore our conclusion must be gathered by inference from those Scriptural narratives which happen to be written more at length and circumstantially than usual. Of these I will cite a few.

In the first book of Samuel, ix:15, 16, it is related that God revealed to Samuel that He would send Saul to him, yet God did not send Saul to Samuel as people are wont to send one man to another. His “sending” was merely the ordinary course of nature. Saul was looking for the asses he had lost, and was meditating a return home without them, when, at the suggestion of his servant, he went to the prophet Samuel, to learn from him where he might find them. From no part of the narrative does it appear that Saul had any command from God to visit Samuel beyond this natural motive.

In Psalm cv. 24 it is said that God changed the hearts of the Egyptians, so that they hated the Israelites. This was evidently a natural change, as appears from Exodus, chap.i., where we find no slight reason for the Egyptians reducing the Israelites to slavery.

In Genesis ix:13, God tells Noah that He will set His bow in the cloud; this action of God’s is but another way of expressing the refraction and reflection which the rays of the sun are subjected to in drops of water.

In Psalm cxlvii:18, the natural action and warmth of the wind, by which hoar frost and snow are melted, are styled the word of the Lord, and in verse 15 wind and cold are called the commandment and word of God.

In Psalm civ:4, wind and fire are called the angels and ministers of God, and various other passages of the same sort are found in Scripture, clearly showing that the decree, commandment, fiat, and word of God are merely expressions for the action and order of nature.

Thus it is plain that all the events narrated in Scripture came to pass naturally, and are referred directly to God because Scripture, as we have shown, does not aim at explaining things by their natural causes, but only at narrating what appeals to the popular imagination, and doing so in the manner best calculated to excite wonder, and consequently to impress the minds of the masses with devotion. If, therefore, events are found in the Bible which we cannot refer to their causes, nay, which seem entirely to contradict the order of nature, we must not come to a stand, but assuredly believe that whatever did really happen happened naturally.

This view is confirmed by the fact that in the case of every miracle there were many attendant circumstances, though these were not always related, especially where the narrative was of a poetic character.

The circumstances of the miracles clearly show, I maintain, that natural causes were needed. For instance, in order to infect the Egyptians with blains, it was necessary that Moses should scatter ashes in the air (Exod. ix: 10); the locusts also came upon the land of Egypt by a command of God in accordance with nature, namely, by an east wind blowing for a whole day and night; and they departed by a very strong west wind (Exod. x:14, 19). By a similar Divine mandate the sea opened a way for the Jews (Exo. xiv:21), namely, by an east wind which blew very strongly all night.

So, too, when Elisha would revive the boy who was believed to be dead, he was obliged to bend over him several times until the flesh of the child waxed warm, and at last he opened his eyes (2 Kings iv:34, 35).

Again, in John's Gospel (chap. ix.) certain acts are mentioned as performed by Christ preparatory to healing the blind man, and there are numerous other instances showing that something further than the absolute fiat of God is required for working a miracle.

Wherefore we may believe that, although the circumstances attending miracles are not related always or in full detail, yet a miracle was never performed without them.

This is confirmed by Exodus xiv:27, where it is simply stated that "Moses stretched forth his hand, and the waters of the sea returned to their strength in the morning," no mention being made of a wind; but in the song of Moses (Exod. xv:10) we read, "Thou didst blow with Thy wind (i.e. with a very strong wind), and the sea covered them." Thus the attendant circumstance is omitted in the history, and the miracle is thereby enhanced.

But perhaps someone will insist that we find many things in Scripture which seem in nowise explicable by natural causes, as for instance, that the sins of men and their prayers can be the cause of rain and of the earth's fertility, or that faith

can heal the blind, and so on. But I think I have already made sufficient answer: I have shown that Scripture does not explain things by their secondary causes, but only narrates them in the order and the style which has most power to move men, and especially uneducated men, to devotion; and therefore it speaks inaccurately of God and of events, seeing that its object is not to convince the reason, but to attract and lay hold of the imagination. If the Bible were to describe the destruction of an empire in the style of political historians, the masses would remain unstirred, whereas the contrary is the case when it adopts the method of poetic description, and refers all things immediately to God. When, therefore, the Bible says that the earth is barren because of men's sins, or that the blind were healed by faith, we ought to take no more notice than when it says that God is angry at men's sins, that He is sad, that He repents of the good He has promised and done; or that on seeing a sign he remembers something He had promised, and other similar expressions, which are either thrown out poetically or related according to the opinion and prejudices of the writer.

We may, then, be absolutely certain that every event which is truly described in Scripture necessarily happened, like everything else, according to natural laws; and if anything is there set down which can be proved in set terms to contravene the order of nature, or not to be deducible therefrom, we must believe it to have been foisted into the sacred writings by irreligious hands; for whatsoever is contrary to nature is also contrary to reason, and whatsoever is contrary to reason is absurd, and, ipso facto, to be rejected.

There remain some points concerning the interpretation of miracles to be noted, or rather to be recapitulated, for most of them have been already stated. These I proceed to discuss in the fourth division of my subject, and I am led to do so lest anyone should, by wrongly interpreting a miracle, rashly suspect that he has found something in Scripture contrary to human reason.

It is very rare for men to relate an event simply as it happened, without adding any element of their own judgment. When they see or hear anything new, they are, unless strictly on their guard, so occupied with their own preconceived

opinions that they perceive something quite different from the plain facts seen or heard, especially if such facts surpass the comprehension of the beholder or hearer, and, most of all, if he is interested in their happening in a given way.

Thus men relate in chronicles and histories their own opinions rather than actual events, so that one and the same event is so differently related by two men of different opinions, that it seems like two separate occurrences; and, further, it is very easy from historical chronicles to gather the personal opinions of the historian.

I could cite many instances in proof of this from the writings both of natural philosophers and historians, but I will content myself with one only from Scripture, and leave the reader to judge of the rest.

In the time of Joshua the Hebrews held the ordinary opinion that the sun moves with a daily motion, and that the earth remains at rest; to this preconceived opinion they adapted the miracle which occurred during their battle with the five kings. They did not simply relate that that day was longer than usual, but asserted that the sun and moon stood still, or ceased from their motion — a statement which would be of great service to them at that time in convincing and proving by experience to the Gentiles, who worshipped the sun, that the sun was under the control of another deity who could compel it to change its daily course. Thus, partly through religious motives, partly through preconceived opinions, they conceived of and related the occurrence as something quite different from what really happened.

Thus in order to interpret the Scriptural miracles and understand from the narration of them how they really happened, it is necessary to know the opinions of those who first related them, and have recorded them for us in writing, and to distinguish such opinions from the actual impression made upon their senses, otherwise we shall confound opinions and judgments with the actual miracle as it really occurred: nay, further, we shall confound actual events with symbolical and imaginary ones. For many things are narrated in Scripture as real, and were believed to be real, which were in fact only symbolical and imaginary. As, for

instance, that God came down from heaven (Exod. xix:28, Deut. v:28), and that Mount Sinai smoked because God descended upon it surrounded with fire; or, again that Elijah ascended into heaven in a chariot of fire, with horses of fire; all these things were assuredly merely symbols adapted to the opinions of those who have handed them down to us as they were represented to them, namely, as real. All who have any education know that God has no right hand nor left; that He is not moved nor at rest, nor in a particular place, but that He is absolutely infinite and contains in Himself all perfections.

These things, I repeat, are known to whoever judges of things by the perception of pure reason, and not according as his imagination is affected by his outward senses. Following the example of the masses who imagine a bodily Deity, holding a royal court with a throne on the convexity of heaven, above the stars, which are believed to be not very, far off from the earth.

To these and similar opinions very many narrations in Scripture are adapted, and should not, therefore, be mistaken by philosophers for realities.

Lastly, in order to understand, in the case of miracles, what actually took place, we ought to be familiar with Jewish phrases and metaphors; anyone who did not make sufficient allowance for these, would be continually seeing miracles in Scripture where nothing of the kind is intended by the writer; he would thus miss the knowledge not only of what actually happened, but also of the mind of the writers of the sacred text. For instance, Zechariah speaking of some future war says (chap. xiv;7): "It shall be one day which shall be known to the Lord, not day, nor night; but at even time it shall be light." In these words he seems to predict a great miracle, yet he only means that the battle will be doubtful the whole day, that the issue will be known only to God, but that in the evening they will gain the victory: the prophets frequently used to predict victories and defeats of the nations in similar phrases. Thus Isaiah, describing the destruction of Babylon, says (chap. xiii.): "The stars of heaven, and the constellations thereof, shall not give their light; the sun shall be darkened in his going forth, and the moon shall not cause her light to shine." Now I suppose no one imagines that at the destruction of

Babylon these phenomena actually occurred any more than that which the prophet adds, "For I will make the heavens to tremble, and remove the earth out of her place."

So, too, Isaiah in foretelling to the Jews that they would return from Babylon to Jerusalem in safety, and would not suffer from thirst on their journey, says: "And they thirsted not when He led them through the deserts; He caused the waters to flow out of the rocks for them; He clave the rocks, and the waters gushed out." These words merely mean that the Jews, like other people, found springs in the desert, at which they quenched their thirst; for when the Jews returned to Jerusalem with the consent of Cyrus, it is admitted that no similar miracles befell them.

In this way many occurrences in the Bible are to be regarded merely as Jewish expressions. There is no need for me to go through them in detail; but I will call attention generally to the fact that the Jews employed such phrases not only rhetorically, but also, and indeed chiefly, from devotional motives. Such is the reason for the substitution of "bless God" for "curse God" in 1 Kings xxi:10, and Job ii:9, and for all things being referred to God, whence it appears that the Bible seems to relate nothing but miracles, even when speaking of the most ordinary occurrences, as in the examples given above.

Hence we must believe that when the Bible says that the Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart, it only means that Pharaoh was obstinate; when it says that God opened the windows of heaven, it only means that it rained very hard, and so on. When we reflect on these peculiarities, and also on the fact that most things are related very shortly, with very little details and almost in abridgments, we shall see that there is hardly anything in Scripture which can be proved contrary to natural reason, while, on the other hand, many things which before seemed obscure, will after a little consideration be understood and easily explained.

I think I have now very clearly explained all that I proposed to explain, but before I finish this chapter I would call attention to the fact that I have adopted a different method in speaking of miracles to that which I employed in treating of

prophecy. Of prophecy I have asserted nothing which could not be inferred from promises revealed in Scripture, whereas in this chapter I have deduced my conclusions solely from the principles ascertained by the natural light of reason. I have proceeded in this way advisedly, for prophecy, in that it surpasses human knowledge, is a purely theological question; therefore, I knew that I could not make any assertions about it, nor learn wherein it consists, except through deductions from premises that have been revealed; therefore I was compelled to collate the history of prophecy, and to draw therefrom certain conclusions which would teach me, in so far as such teaching is possible, the nature and properties of the gift. But in the case of miracles, as our inquiry is a question purely philosophical (namely, whether anything can happen which contravenes or does not follow from the laws of nature), I was not under any such necessity: I therefore thought it wiser to unravel the difficulty through premises ascertained and thoroughly known by could also easily have solved the problem merely from the doctrines and fundamental principles of Scripture: in order that everyone may acknowledge this, I will briefly show how it could be done.

Scripture makes the general assertion in several passages that nature's course is fixed and unchangeable. In Ps. cxlviii:6, for instance, and Jer. xxxi:35. The wise man also, in Eccles. i:10, distinctly teaches that "there is nothing new under the sun," and in verses 11, 12, illustrating the same idea, he adds that although something occasionally happens which seems new, it is not really new, but "hath been already of old time, which was before us, whereof there is no remembrance, neither shall there be any remembrance of things that are to come with those that come after." Again in chap. iii:11, he says, "God hath made everything beautiful in his time," and immediately afterwards adds, "I know that whatsoever God doeth, it shall be for ever; nothing can be put to it, nor anything taken from it."

Now all these texts teach most distinctly that nature preserves a fixed and unchangeable order, and that God in all ages, known and unknown, has been the same; further, that the laws of nature are so perfect, that nothing can be added

thereto nor taken therefrom; and, lastly, that miracles only appear as something new because of man's ignorance.

Such is the express teaching of Scripture: nowhere does Scripture assert that anything happens which contradicts, or cannot follow from the laws of nature; and, therefore, we should not attribute to it such a doctrine.

To these considerations we must add, that miracles require causes and attendant circumstances, and that they follow, not from some mysterious royal power which the masses attribute to God, but from the Divine rule and decree, that is (as we have shown from Scripture itself) from the laws and order of nature; lastly, that miracles can be wrought even by false prophets, as is proved from Deut. xiii. and Matt. xxiv:24.

The conclusion, then, that is most plainly put before us is, that miracles were natural occurrences, and must therefore be so explained as to appear neither new (in the words of Solomon) nor contrary to nature, but, as far as possible, in complete agreement with ordinary events. This can easily be done by anyone, now that I have set forth the rules drawn from Scripture. Nevertheless, though I maintain that Scripture teaches this doctrine, I do not assert that it teaches it as a truth necessary to salvation, but only that the prophets were in agreement with ourselves on the point; therefore everyone is free to think on the subject as he likes, according as he thinks it best for himself, and most likely to conduce to the worship of God and to singlehearted religion.

This is also the opinion of Josephus, for at the conclusion of the second book of his "Antiquities," he writes: Let no man think this story incredible of the sea's dividing to save these people, for we find it in ancient records that this hath been seen before, whether by God's extraordinary will or by the course of nature it is indifferent. The same thing happened one time to the Macedonians, under the command of Alexander, when for want of another passage the Pamphylian Sea divided to make them way; God's Providence making use of Alexander at that time as His instrument for destroying the Persian Empire. This is attested by all

the historians who have pretended to write the Life of that Prince. But people are at liberty to think what they please.”

Such are the words of Josephus, and such is his opinion on faith in miracles.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the Interpretation of Scripture



WHEN PEOPLE DECLARE, as all are ready, to do, that the Bible is the Word of God teaching man true blessedness and the way of salvation, they evidently do not mean what they, say; for the masses take no pains at all to live according to Scripture, and we see most people endeavouring to hawk about their own commentaries as the word of God, and giving their best efforts, under the guise of religion, to compelling others to think as they do: we generally see, I say, theologians anxious to learn how to wring their inventions and sayings out of the sacred text, and to fortify, them with Divine authority. Such persons never display, less scruple or more zeal than when they, are interpreting Scripture or the mind of the Holy Ghost; if we ever see them perturbed, it is not that they fear to attribute some error to the Holy Spirit, and to stray from the right path, but that they are afraid to be convicted of error by, others, and thus to overthrow and bring into contempt their own authority. But if men really believed what they verbally testify of Scripture, they would adopt quite a different plan of life: their minds would not be agitated by so many contentions, nor so many hatreds, and they would cease to be excited by such a blind and rash passion for interpreting the sacred writings, and excogitating novelties in religion. On the contrary, they would not dare to adopt, as the teaching of Scripture, anything which they could not plainly deduce therefrom: lastly, those sacrilegious persons who have dared, in several passages, to interpolate the Bible, would have shrunk from so great a crime, and would have stayed their sacrilegious hands.

Ambition and unscrupulousness have waxed so powerful, that religion is thought to consist, not so much in respecting the writings of the Holy Ghost, as in

defending human commentaries, so that religion is no longer identified with charity, but with spreading discord and propagating insensate hatred disguised under the name of zeal for the Lord, and eager ardour.

To these evils we must add superstition, which teaches men to despise reason and nature, and only to admire and venerate that which is repugnant to both: whence it is not wonderful that for the sake of increasing the admiration and veneration felt for Scripture, men strive to explain it so as to make it appear to contradict, as far as possible, both one and the other: thus they dream that most profound mysteries lie hid in the Bible, and weary themselves out in the investigation of these absurdities, to the neglect of what is useful. Every result of their diseased imagination they attribute to the Holy Ghost, and strive to defend with the utmost zeal and passion; for it is an observed fact that men employ their reason to defend conclusions arrived at by reason, but conclusions arrived at by the passions are defended by the passions.

If we would separate ourselves from the crowd and escape from theological prejudices, instead of rashly accepting human commentaries for Divine documents, we must consider the true method of interpreting Scripture and dwell upon it at some length: for if we remain in ignorance of this we cannot know, certainly, what the Bible and the Holy Spirit wish to teach.

I may sum up the matter by saying that the method of interpreting Scripture does not widely differ from the method of interpreting nature — in fact, it is almost the same. For as the interpretation of nature consists in the examination of the history of nature, and therefrom deducing definitions of natural phenomena on certain fixed axioms, so Scriptural interpretation proceeds by the examination of Scripture, and inferring the intention of its authors as a legitimate conclusion from its fundamental principles. By working in this manner everyone will always advance without danger of error — that is, if they admit no principles for interpreting Scripture, and discussing its contents save such as they find in Scripture itself — and will be able with equal security to discuss what surpasses our understanding, and what is known by the natural light of reason.

In order to make clear that such a method is not only correct, but is also the only one advisable, and that it agrees with that employed in interpreting nature, I must remark that Scripture very often treats of matters which cannot be deduced from principles known to reason: for it is chiefly made up of narratives and revelation: the narratives generally contain miracles — that is, as we have shown in the last chapter, relations of extraordinary natural occurrences adapted to the opinions and judgment of the historians who recorded them: the revelations also were adapted to the opinions of the prophets, as we showed in Chap. II., and in themselves surpassed human comprehension. Therefore the knowledge of all these — that is, of nearly the whole contents of Scripture, must be sought from Scripture alone, even as the knowledge of nature is sought from nature. As for the moral doctrines which are also contained in the Bible, they may be demonstrated from received axioms, but we cannot prove in the same manner that Scripture intended to teach them, this can only be learned from Scripture itself.

If we would bear unprejudiced witness to the Divine origin of Scripture, we must prove solely on its own authority that it teaches true moral doctrines, for by such means alone can its Divine origin be demonstrated: we have shown that the certitude of the prophets depended chiefly on their having minds turned towards what is just and good, therefore we ought to have proof of their possessing this quality before we repose faith in them. From miracles God's divinity cannot be proved, as I have already shown, and need not now repeat, for miracles could be wrought by false prophets. Wherefore the Divine origin of Scripture must consist solely in its teaching true virtue. But we must come to our conclusion simply on Scriptural grounds, for if we were unable to do so we could not, unless strongly prejudiced accept the Bible and bear witness to its Divine origin.

Our knowledge of Scripture must then be looked for in Scripture only.

Lastly, Scripture does not give us definition of things any more than nature does: therefore, such definitions must be sought in the latter case from the diverse workings of nature; in the former case, from the various narratives about the given subject which occur in the Bible.

The universal rule, then, in interpreting Scripture is to accept nothing as an authoritative Scriptural statement which we do not perceive very clearly when we examine it in the light of its history. What I mean by its history, and what should be the chief points elucidated, I will now explain.

The history of a Scriptural statement comprises —

I. The nature and properties of the language in which the books of the Bible were written, and in which their authors were, accustomed to speak. We shall thus be able to investigate every expression by comparison with common conversational usages.

Now all the writers both of the Old Testament and the New were Hebrews: therefore, a knowledge of the Hebrew language is before all things necessary, not only for the comprehension of the Old Testament, which was written in that tongue, but also of the New: for although the latter was published in other languages, yet its characteristics are Hebrew.

II. An analysis of each book and arrangement of its contents under heads; so that we may have at hand the various texts which treat of a given subject. Lastly, a note of all the passages which are ambiguous or obscure, or which seem mutually contradictory.

I call passages clear or obscure according as their meaning is inferred easily or with difficulty in relation to the context, not according as their truth is perceived easily or the reverse by reason. We are at work not on the truth of passages, but solely on their meaning. We must take especial care, when we are in search of the meaning of a text, not to be led away by our reason in so far as it is founded on principles of natural knowledge (to say nothing of prejudices): in order not to confound the meaning of a passage with its truth, we must examine it solely by means of the signification of the words, or by a reason acknowledging no foundation but Scripture.

I will illustrate my meaning by an example. The words of Moses, “God is a fire” and “God is jealous,” are perfectly clear so long as we regard merely the signification of the words, and I therefore reckon them

among the clear passages, though in relation to reason and truth they are most obscure: still, although the literal meaning is repugnant to the natural light of reason, nevertheless, if it cannot be clearly overruled on grounds and principles derived from its Scriptural “history,” it, that is, the literal meaning, must be the one retained: and contrariwise if these passages literally interpreted are found to clash with principles derived from Scripture, though such literal interpretation were in absolute harmony with reason, they must be interpreted in a different manner, i.e. metaphorically.

If we would know whether Moses believed God to be a fire or not, we must on no account decide the question on grounds of the reasonableness or the reverse of such an opinion, but must judge solely by the other opinions of Moses which are on record.

In the present instance, as Moses says in several other passages that God has no likeness to any visible thing, whether in heaven or in earth, or in the water, either all such passages must be taken metaphorically, or else the one before us must be so explained. However, as we should depart as little as possible from the literal sense, we must first ask whether this text, God is a fire, admits of any but the literal meaning — that is, whether the word fire ever means anything besides ordinary natural fire. If no such second meaning can be found, the text must be taken literally, however repugnant to reason it may be: and all the other passages, though in complete accordance with reason, must be brought into harmony with it. If the verbal expressions would not admit of being thus harmonized, we should have to set them down as irreconcilable, and suspend our judgment concerning them. However, as we find the name fire applied to anger and jealousy (see Job xxxi:12) we can thus easily reconcile the words of Moses, and legitimately conclude that the two propositions God is a fire, and God is jealous, are in meaning identical.

Further, as Moses clearly teaches that God is jealous, and nowhere states that God is without passions or emotions, we must evidently infer that Moses held this doctrine himself, or at any rate, that he wished to teach it, nor must we refrain

because such a belief seems contrary to reason: for as we have shown, we cannot wrest the meaning of texts to suit the dictates of our reason, or our preconceived opinions. The whole knowledge of the Bible must be sought solely from itself.

III. Lastly, such a history should relate the environment of all the prophetic books extant; that is, the life, the conduct, and the studies of the author of each book, who he was, what was the occasion, and the epoch of his writing, whom did he write for, and in what language. Further, it should inquire into the fate of each book: how it was first received, into whose hands it fell, how many different versions there were of it, by whose advice was it received into the Bible, and, lastly, how all the books now universally accepted as sacred, were united into a single whole.

All such information should, as I have said, be contained in the “history” of Scripture. For, in order to know what statements are set forth as laws, and what as moral precepts, it is important to be acquainted with the life, the conduct, and the pursuits of their author: moreover, it becomes easier to explain a man’s writings in proportion as we have more intimate knowledge of his genius and temperament.

Further, that we may not confound precepts which are eternal with those which served only a temporary purpose, or were only meant for a few, we should know what was the occasion, the time, the age, in which each book was written, and to what nation it was addressed. Lastly, we should have knowledge on the other points I have mentioned, in order to be sure, in addition to the authenticity of the work, that it has not been tampered with by sacrilegious hands, or whether errors can have crept in, and, if so, whether they have been corrected by men sufficiently skilled and worthy of credence. All these things should be known, that we may not be led away by blind impulse to accept whatever is thrust on our notice, instead of only that which is sure and indisputable.

Now when we are in possession of this history of Scripture, and have finally decided that we assert nothing as prophetic doctrine which does not directly follow from such history, or which is not clearly deducible from it, then, I say, it will be time to gird ourselves for the task of investigating the mind of the

prophets and of the Holy Spirit. But in this further arguing, also, we shall require a method very like that employed in interpreting nature from her history. As in the examination of natural phenomena we try first to investigate what is most universal and common to all nature — such, for instance, as motion and rest, and their laws and rules, which nature always observes, and through which she continually works — and then we proceed to what is less universal; so, too, in the history of Scripture, we seek first for that which is most universal, and serves for the basis and foundation of all Scripture, a doctrine, in fact, that is commended by all the prophets as eternal and most profitable to all men. For example, that God is one, and that He is omnipotent, that He alone should be worshipped, that He has a care for all men, and that He especially loves those who adore Him and love their neighbour as themselves, &c. These and similar doctrines, I repeat, Scripture everywhere so clearly and expressly teaches, that no one was ever in doubt of its meaning concerning them.

The nature of God, His manner of regarding and providing for things, and similar doctrines, Scripture nowhere teaches professedly, and as eternal doctrine; on the contrary, we have shown that the prophets themselves did not agree on the subject; therefore, we must not lay down any doctrine as Scriptural on such subjects, though it may appear perfectly clear on rational grounds.

From a proper knowledge of this universal doctrine of Scripture, we must then proceed to other doctrines less universal, but which, nevertheless, have regard to the general conduct of life, and flow from the universal doctrine like rivulets from a source; such are all particular external manifestations of true virtue, which need a given occasion for their exercise; whatever is obscure or ambiguous on such points in Scripture must be explained and defined by its universal doctrine; with regard to contradictory instances, we must observe the occasion and the time in which they were written. For instance, when Christ says, “Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted” we do not know, from the actual passage, what sort of mourners are meant; as, however, Christ afterwards teaches that we should have care for nothing, save only for the kingdom of God and His

righteousness, which is commended as the highest good (see Matt. vi;33), it follows that by mourners He only meant those who mourn for the kingdom of God and righteousness neglected by man: for this would be the only cause of mourning to those who love nothing but the Divine kingdom and justice, and who evidently despise the gifts of fortune. So, too, when Christ says: “But if a man strike you on the right cheek, turn to him the left also,” and the words which follow.

If He had given such a command, as a lawgiver, to judges, He would thereby have abrogated the law of Moses, but this He expressly says He did not do (Matt. v:17). Wherefore we must consider who was the speaker, what was the occasion, and to whom were the words addressed. Now Christ said that He did not ordain laws as a legislator, but inculcated precepts as a teacher: inasmuch as He did not aim at correcting outward actions so much as the frame of mind. Further, these words were spoken to men who were oppressed, who lived in a corrupt commonwealth on the brink of ruin, where justice was utterly neglected. The very doctrine inculcated here by Christ just before the destruction of the city was also taught by Jeremiah before the first destruction of Jerusalem, that is, in similar circumstances, as we see from Lamentations iii:25-30.

Now as such teaching was only set forth by the prophets in times of oppression, and was even then never laid down as a law; and as, on the other hand, Moses (who did not write in times of oppression, but — mark this — strove to found a well-ordered commonwealth), while condemning envy and hatred of one’s neighbour, yet ordained that an eye should be given for an eye, it follows most clearly from these purely Scriptural grounds that this precept of Christ and Jeremiah concerning submission to injuries was only valid in places where justice is neglected, and in a time of oppression, but does not hold good in a well-ordered state.

In a well-ordered state where justice is administered every one is bound, if he would be accounted just, to demand penalties before the judge (see Lev:1), not for the sake of vengeance (Lev. xix:17, 18), but in order to defend justice and his

country's laws, and to prevent the wicked rejoicing in their wickedness. All this is plainly in accordance with reason. I might cite many other examples in the same manner, but I think the foregoing are sufficient to explain my meaning and the utility of this method, and this is all my present purpose. Hitherto we have only shown how to investigate those passages of Scripture which treat of practical conduct, and which, therefore, are more easily examined, for on such subjects there was never really any controversy among the writers of the Bible.

The purely speculative passages cannot be so easily, traced to their real meaning: the way becomes narrower, for as the prophets differed in matters speculative among themselves, and the narratives are in great measure adapted to the prejudices of each age, we must not, on any, account infer the intention of one prophet from clearer passages in the writings of another; nor must we so explain his meaning, unless it is perfectly plain that the two prophets were at one in the matter.

How we are to arrive at the intention of the prophets in such cases I will briefly explain. Here, too, we must begin from the most universal proposition, inquiring first from the most clear Scriptural statements what is the nature of prophecy or revelation, and wherein does it consist; then we must proceed to miracles, and so on to whatever is most general till we come to the opinions of a particular prophet, and, at last, to the meaning of a particular revelation, prophecy, history, or miracle. We have already pointed out that great caution is necessary not to confound the mind of a prophet or historian with the mind of the Holy Spirit and the truth of the matter; therefore I need not dwell further on the subject. I would, however, here remark concerning the meaning of revelation, that the present method only teaches us what the prophets really saw or heard, not what they desired to signify or represent by symbols. The latter may be guessed at but cannot be inferred with certainty from Scriptural premises.

We have thus shown the plan for interpreting Scripture, and have, at the same time, demonstrated that it is the one and surest way of investigating its true meaning. I am willing indeed to admit that those persons (if any such there be)

would be more absolutely certainly right, who have received either a trustworthy tradition or an assurance from the prophets themselves, such as is claimed by the Pharisees; or who have a pontiff gifted with infallibility in the interpretation of Scripture, such as the Roman Catholics boast. But as we can never be perfectly sure, either of such a tradition or of the authority of the pontiff, we cannot found any certain conclusion on either: the one is denied by the oldest sect of Christians, the other by the oldest sect of Jews. Indeed, if we consider the series of years (to mention no other point) accepted by the Pharisees from their Rabbis, during which time they say they have handed down the tradition from Moses, we shall find that it is not correct, as I show elsewhere. Therefore such a tradition should be received with extreme suspicion; and although, according to our method, we are bound to consider as uncorrupted the tradition of the Jews, namely, the meaning of the Hebrew words which we received from them, we may accept the latter while retaining our doubts about the former.

No one has ever been able to change the meaning of a word in ordinary use, though many have changed the meaning of a particular sentence. Such a proceeding would be most difficult; for whoever attempted to change the meaning of a word, would be compelled, at the same time, to explain all the authors who employed it, each according to his temperament and intention, or else, with consummate cunning, to falsify them.

Further, the masses and the learned alike preserve language, but it is only the learned who preserve the meaning of particular sentences and books: thus, we may easily imagine that the learned having a very rare book in their power, might change or corrupt the meaning of a sentence in it, but they could not alter the signification of the words; moreover, if anyone wanted to change the meaning of a common word he would not be able to keep up the change among posterity, or in common parlance or writing.

For these and such-like reasons we may readily conclude that it would never enter into the mind of anyone to corrupt a language, though the intention of a writer may often have been falsified by changing his phrases or interpreting them

amiss. As then our method (based on the principle that the knowledge of Scripture must be sought from itself alone) is the sole true one, we must evidently renounce any knowledge which it cannot furnish for the complete understanding of Scripture. I will now point out its difficulties and shortcomings, which prevent our gaining a complete and assured knowledge of the Sacred Text.

Its first great difficulty consists in its requiring a thorough knowledge of the Hebrew language. Where is such knowledge to be obtained? The men of old who employed the Hebrew tongue have left none of the principles and bases of their language to posterity; we have from them absolutely nothing in the way of dictionary, grammar, or rhetoric.

Now the Hebrew nation has lost all its grace and beauty (as one would expect after the defeats and persecutions it has gone through), and has only retained certain fragments of its language and of a few books. Nearly all the names of fruits, birds, and fishes, and many other words have perished in the wear and tear of time. Further, the meaning of many nouns and verbs which occur in the Bible are either utterly lost, or are subjects of dispute. And not only are these gone, but we are lacking in a knowledge of Hebrew phraseology. The devouring tooth of time has destroyed turns of expression peculiar to the Hebrews, so that we know them no more.

Therefore we cannot investigate as we would all the meanings of a sentence by the uses of the language; and there are many phrases of which the meaning is most obscure or altogether inexplicable, though the component words are perfectly plain.

To this impossibility of tracing the history of the Hebrew language must be added its particular nature and composition: these give rise to so many ambiguities that it is impossible to find a method which would enable us to gain a certain knowledge of all the statements in Scripture [7](#). In addition to the sources of ambiguities common to all languages, there are many peculiar to Hebrew. These, I think, it worth while to mention.

Firstly, an ambiguity often arises in the Bible from our mistaking one letter for another similar one. The Hebrews divide the letters of the alphabet into five classes, according to the five organs of the mouth employed in pronouncing them, namely, the lips, the tongue, the teeth, the palate, and the throat. For instance, Alpha, Ghet, Hgain, He, are called gutturals, and are barely distinguishable, by any sign that we know, one from the other. El, which signifies to, is often taken for hgal, which signifies above, and vice versa. Hence sentences are often rendered rather ambiguous or meaningless.

A second difficulty arises from the multiplied meaning of conjunctions and adverbs. For instance, vau serves promiscuously for a particle of union or of separation, meaning, and, but, because, however, then: ki, has seven or eight meanings, namely, wherefore, although, if, when, inasmuch as, because, a burning, &c., and so on with almost all particles.

The third very fertile source of doubt is the fact that Hebrew verbs in the indicative mood lack the present, the past imperfect, the pluperfect, the future perfect, and other tenses most frequently employed in other languages; in the imperative and infinitive moods they are wanting in all except the present, and a subjunctive mood does not exist. Now, although all these defects in moods and tenses may be supplied by certain fundamental rules of the language with ease and even elegance, the ancient writers evidently neglected such rules altogether, and employed indifferently future for present and past, and vice versa past for future, and also indicative for imperative and subjunctive, with the result of considerable confusion.

Besides these sources of ambiguity there are two others, one very important. Firstly, there are in Hebrew no vowels; secondly, the sentences are not separated by any marks elucidating the meaning or separating the clauses. Though the want of these two has generally been supplied by points and accents, such substitutes cannot be accepted by us, inasmuch as they were invented and designed by men of an after age whose authority should carry no weight. The ancients wrote without points (that is, without vowels and accents), as is abundantly testified;

their descendants added what was lacking, according to their own ideas of Scriptural interpretation; wherefore the existing accents and points are simply current interpretations, and are no more authoritative than any other commentaries.

Those who are ignorant of this fact cannot justify the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews for interpreting (chap. xi;21) Genesis (xlvii:31) very differently from the version given in our Hebrew text as at present pointed, as though the Apostle had been obliged to learn the meaning of Scripture from those who added the points. In my opinion the latter are clearly wrong. In order that everyone may judge for himself, and also see how the discrepancy arose simply from the want of vowels, I will give both interpretations. Those who pointed our version read, “And Israel bent himself over, or (changing Hqain into Aleph, a similar letter) towards, the head of the bed.” The author of the Epistle reads, “And Israel bent himself over the head of his staff,” substituting mate for mita, from which it only differs in respect of vowels. Now as in this narrative it is Jacob’s age only that is in question, and not his illness, which is not touched on till the next chapter, it seems more likely that the historian intended to say that Jacob bent over the head of his staff (a thing commonly used by men of advanced age for their support) than that he bowed himself at the head of his bed, especially as for the former reading no substitution of letters is required. In this example I have desired not only to reconcile the passage in the Epistle with the passage in Genesis, but also and chiefly to illustrate how little trust should be placed in the points and accents which are found in our present Bible, and so to prove that he who would be without bias in interpreting Scripture should hesitate about accepting them, and inquire afresh for himself. Such being the nature and structure of the Hebrew language, one may easily understand that many difficulties are likely to arise, and that no possible method could solve all of them. It is useless to hope for a way out of our difficulties in the comparison of various parallel passages (we have shown that the only method of discovering the true sense of a passage out of many alternative ones is to see what are the usages of the language), for this comparison

of parallel passages can only accidentally throw light on a difficult point, seeing that the prophets never wrote with the express object of explaining their own phrases or those of other people, and also because we cannot infer the meaning of one prophet or apostle by the meaning of another, unless on a purely practical question, not when the matter is speculative, or if a miracle, or history is being narrated. I might illustrate my point with instances, for there are many inexplicable phrases in Scripture, but I would rather pass on to consider the difficulties and imperfections of the method under discussion.

A further difficulty attends the method, from the fact that it requires the history of all that has happened to every book in the Bible; such a history we are often quite unable to furnish. Of the authors, or (if the expression be preferred), the writers of many of the books, we are either in complete ignorance, or at any rate in doubt, as I will point out at length. Further, we do not know either the occasions or the epochs when these books of unknown authorship were written; we cannot say into what hands they fell, nor how the numerous varying versions originated; nor, lastly, whether there were not other versions, now lost. I have briefly shown that such knowledge is necessary, but I passed over certain considerations which I will now draw attention to.

If we read a book which contains incredible or impossible narratives, or is written in a very obscure style, and if we know nothing of its author, nor of the time or occasion of its being written, we shall vainly endeavour to gain any certain knowledge of its true meaning. For being in ignorance on these points we cannot possibly know the aim or intended aim of the author; if we are fully informed, we so order our thoughts as not to be in any way prejudiced either in ascribing to the author or him for whom the author wrote either more or less than his meaning, and we only take into consideration what the author may have had in his mind, or what the time and occasion demanded. I think this must be tolerably evident to all.

It often happens that in different books we read histories in themselves similar, but which we judge very differently, according to the opinions we have formed of

the authors. I remember once to have read in some book that a man named Orlando Furioso used to drive a kind of winged monster through the air, fly over any countries he liked, kill unaided vast numbers of men and giants, and such like fancies, which from the point of view of reason are obviously absurd. A very similar story I read in Ovid of Perseus, and also in the books of Judges and Kings of Samson, who alone and unarmed killed thousands of men, and of Elijah, who flew through the air, said at last went up to heaven in a chariot of fire, with horses of fire. All these stories are obviously alike, but we judge them very differently. The first only sought to amuse, the second had a political object, the third a religious object. We gather this simply from the opinions we had previously formed of the authors. Thus it is evidently necessary to know something of the authors of writings which are obscure or unintelligible, if we would interpret their meaning; and for the same reason, in order to choose the proper reading from among a great variety, we ought to have information as to the versions in which the differences are found, and as to the possibility of other readings having been discovered by persons of greater authority.

A further difficulty attends this method in the case of some of the books of Scripture, namely, that they are no longer extant in their original language. The Gospel according to Matthew, and certainly the Epistle to the Hebrews, were written, it is thought, in Hebrew, though they no longer exist in that form. Aben Ezra affirms in his commentaries that the book of Job was translated into Hebrew out of another language, and that its obscurity arises from this fact. I say nothing of the apocryphal books, for their authority stands on very inferior ground.

The foregoing difficulties in this method of interpreting Scripture from its own history, I conceive to be so great that I do not hesitate to say that the true meaning of Scripture is in many places inexplicable, or at best mere subject for guesswork; but I must again point out, on the other hand, that such difficulties only arise when we endeavour to follow the meaning of a prophet in matters which cannot be perceived, but only imagined, not in things, whereof the understanding can give a clear idea, and which are conceivable through themselves; ⁸, matters which

by their nature are easily perceived cannot be expressed so obscurely as to be unintelligible; as the proverb says, “a word is enough to the wise.” Euclid, who only wrote of matters very simple and easily understood, can easily be comprehended by anyone in any language; we can follow his intention perfectly, and be certain of his true meaning, without having a thorough knowledge of the language in which he wrote; in fact, a quite rudimentary acquaintance is sufficient. We need make no researches concerning the life, the pursuits, or the habits of the author; nor need we inquire in what language, nor when he wrote, nor the vicissitudes of his book, nor its various readings, nor how, nor by whose advice it has been received.

What we here say of Euclid might equally be said of any book which treats of things by their nature perceptible: thus we conclude that we can easily follow the intention of Scripture in moral questions, from the history we possess of it, and we can be sure of its true meaning.

The precepts of true piety are expressed in very ordinary language, and are equally simple and easily understood. Further, as true salvation and blessedness consist in a true assent of the soul — and we truly assent only to what we clearly understand — it is most plain that we can follow with certainty the intention of Scripture in matters relating to salvation and necessary to blessedness; therefore, we need not be much troubled about what remains: such matters, inasmuch as we generally cannot grasp them with our reason and understanding, are more curious than profitable.

I think I have now set forth the true method of Scriptural interpretation, and have sufficiently explained my own opinion thereon. Besides, I do not doubt that everyone will see that such a method only requires the aid of natural reason. The nature and efficacy of the natural reason consists in deducing and proving the unknown from the known, or in carrying premises to their legitimate conclusions; and these are the very processes which our method desiderates. Though we must admit that it does not suffice to explain everything in the Bible, such imperfection does not spring from its own nature, but from the fact that the path which it

teaches us, as the true one, has never been tended or trodden by men, and has thus, by the lapse of time, become very difficult, and almost impassable, as, indeed, I have shown in the difficulties I draw attention to.

There only remains to examine the opinions of those who differ from me. The first which comes under our notice is, that the light of nature has no power to interpret Scripture, but that a supernatural faculty is required for the task. What is meant by this supernatural faculty I will leave to its propounders to explain. Personally, I can only suppose that they have adopted a very obscure way of stating their complete uncertainty about the true meaning of Scripture. If we look at their interpretations, they contain nothing supernatural, at least nothing but the merest conjectures.

Let them be placed side by side with the interpretations of those who frankly confess that they have no faculty beyond their natural ones; we shall see that the two are just alike — both human, both long pondered over, both laboriously invented. To say that the natural reason is insufficient for such results is plainly untrue, firstly, for the reasons above stated, namely, that the difficulty of interpreting Scripture arises from no defect in human reason, but simply from the carelessness (not to say malice) of men who neglected the history of the Bible while there were still materials for inquiry; secondly, from the fact (admitted, I think, by all) that the supernatural faculty is a Divine gift granted only to the faithful. But the prophets and apostles did not preach to the faithful only, but chiefly to the unfaithful and wicked. Such persons, therefore, were able to understand the intention of the prophets and apostles, otherwise the prophets and apostles would have seemed to be preaching to little boys and infants, not to men endowed with reason. Moses, too, would have given his laws in vain, if they could only be comprehended by the faithful, who need no law. Indeed, those who demand supernatural faculties for comprehending the meaning of the prophets and apostles seem truly lacking in natural faculties, so that we should hardly suppose such persons the possessors of a Divine supernatural gift.

The opinion of Maimonides was widely different. He asserted that each passage in Scripture admits of various, nay, contrary, meanings; but that we could never be certain of any particular one till we knew that the passage, as we interpreted it, contained nothing contrary or repugnant to reason. If the literal meaning clashes with reason, though the passage seems in itself perfectly clear, it must be interpreted in some metaphorical sense. This doctrine he lays down very plainly in chap. xxv. part ii. of his book, "More Nebuchim," for he says: "Know that we shrink not from affirming that the world hath existed from eternity, because of what Scripture saith concerning the world's creation. For the texts which teach that the world was created are not more in number than those which teach that God hath a body; neither are the approaches in this matter of the world's creation closed, or even made hard to us: so that we should not be able to explain what is written, as we did when we showed that God hath no body, nay, peradventure, we could explain and make fast the doctrine of the world's eternity more easily than we did away with the doctrines that God hath a beatified body. Yet two things hinder me from doing as I have said, and believing that the world is eternal. As it hath been clearly shown that God hath not a body, we must perforce explain all those passages whereof the literal sense agreeth not with the demonstration, for sure it is that they can be so explained. But the eternity of the world hath not been so demonstrated, therefore it is not necessary to do violence to Scripture in support of some common opinion, whereof we might, at the bidding of reason, embrace the contrary."

Such are the words of Maimonides, and they are evidently sufficient to establish our point: for if he had been convinced by reason that the world is eternal, he would not have hesitated to twist and explain away the words of Scripture till he made them appear to teach this doctrine. He would have felt quite sure that Scripture, though everywhere plainly denying the eternity of the world, really intends to teach it. So that, however clear the meaning of Scripture may be, he would not feel certain of having grasped it, so long as he remained doubtful of the truth of what, was written. For we are in doubt whether a thing is in

conformity with reason, or contrary thereto, so long as we are uncertain of its truth, and, consequently, we cannot be sure whether the literal meaning of a passage be true or false.

If such a theory as this were sound, I would certainly grant that some faculty beyond the natural reason is required for interpreting Scripture. For nearly all things that we find in Scripture cannot be inferred from known principles of the natural reason, and, therefore, we should be unable to come to any conclusion about their truth, or about the real meaning and intention of Scripture, but should stand in need of some further assistance.

Further, the truth of this theory would involve that the masses, having generally no comprehension of, nor leisure for, detailed proofs, would be reduced to receiving all their knowledge of Scripture on the authority and testimony of philosophers, and, consequently, would be compelled to suppose that the interpretations given by philosophers were infallible.

Truly this would be a new form of ecclesiastical authority, and a new sort of priests or pontiffs, more likely to excite men's ridicule than their veneration. Certainly our method demands a knowledge of Hebrew for which the masses have no leisure; but no such objection as the foregoing can be brought against us. For the ordinary Jews or Gentiles, to whom the prophets and apostles preached and wrote, understood the language, and, consequently, the intention of the prophet or apostle addressing them; but they did not grasp the intrinsic reason of what was preached, which, according to Maimonides, would be necessary for an understanding of it.

There is nothing, then, in our method which renders it necessary that the masses should follow the testimony of commentators, for I point to a set of unlearned people who understood the language of the prophets and apostles; whereas Maimonides could not point to any such who could arrive at the prophetic or apostolic meaning through their knowledge of the causes of things.

As to the multitude of our own time, we have shown that whatsoever is necessary to salvation, though its reasons may be unknown, can easily be

understood in any language, because it is thoroughly ordinary and usual; it is in such understanding as this that the masses acquiesce, not in the testimony of commentators; with regard to other questions, the ignorant and the learned fare alike.

But let us return to the opinion of Maimonides, and examine it more closely. In the first place, he supposes that the prophets were in entire agreement one with another, and that they were consummate philosophers and theologians; for he would have them to have based their conclusions on the absolute truth. Further, he supposes that the sense of Scripture cannot be made plain from Scripture itself, for the truth of things is not made plain therein (in that it does not prove any thing, nor teach the matters of which it speaks through their definitions and first causes), therefore, according to Maimonides, the true sense of Scripture cannot be made plain from itself, and must not be there sought.

The falsity of such a doctrine is shown in this very chapter, for we have shown both by reason and examples that the meaning of Scripture is only made plain through Scripture itself, and even in questions deducible from ordinary knowledge should be looked for from no other source.

Lastly, such a theory supposes that we may explain the words of Scripture according to our preconceived opinions, twisting them about, and reversing or completely changing the literal sense, however plain it may be. Such licence is utterly opposed to the teaching of this and the preceding chapters, and, moreover, will be evident to everyone as rash and excessive.

But if we grant all this licence, what can it effect after all? Absolutely nothing. Those things which cannot be demonstrated, and which make up the greater part of Scripture, cannot be examined by reason, and cannot therefore be explained or interpreted by this rule; whereas, on the contrary, by following our own method, we can explain many questions of this nature, and discuss them on a sure basis, as we have already shown, by reason and example. Those matters which are by their nature comprehensible we can easily explain, as has been pointed out, simply by means of the context.

Therefore, the method of Maimonides is clearly useless: to which we may add, that it does away with all the certainty which the masses acquire by candid reading, or which is gained by any other persons in any other way. In conclusion, then, we dismiss Maimonides' theory as harmful, useless, and absurd.

As to the tradition of the Pharisees, we have already shown that it is not consistent, while the authority of the popes of Rome stands in need of more credible evidence; the latter, indeed, I reject simply on this ground, for if the popes could point out to us the meaning of Scripture as surely as did the high priests of the Jews, I should not be deterred by the fact that there have been heretic and impious Roman pontiffs; for among the Hebrew high-priests of old there were also heretics and impious men who gained the high — priesthood by improper means, but who, nevertheless, had Scriptural sanction for their supreme power of interpreting the law. (See Deut. xvii:11, 12, and xxxiii:10, also Malachi ii:8.)

However, as the popes can show no such sanction, their authority remains open to very grave doubt, nor should anyone be deceived by the example of the Jewish high-priests and think that the Catholic religion also stands in need of a pontiff; he should bear in mind that the laws of Moses being also the ordinary laws of the country, necessarily required some public authority to insure their observance; for, if everyone were free to interpret the laws of his country as he pleased, no state could stand, but would for that very reason be dissolved at once, and public rights would become private rights.

With religion the case is widely different. Inasmuch as it consists not so much in outward actions as in simplicity and truth of character, it stands outside the sphere of law and public authority. Simplicity and truth of character are not produced by the constraint of laws, nor by the authority of the state, no one the whole world over can be forced or legislated into a state of blessedness; the means required for such a consummation are faithful and brotherly admonition, sound education, and, above all, free use of the individual judgment.

Therefore, as the supreme right of free thinking, even on religion, is in every man's power, and as it is inconceivable that such power could be alienated, it is also in every man's power to wield the supreme right and authority of free judgment in this behalf, and to explain and interpret religion for himself. The only reason for vesting the supreme authority in the interpretation of law, and judgment on public affairs in the hands of the magistrates, is that it concerns questions of public right. Similarly the supreme authority in explaining religion, and in passing judgment thereon, is lodged with the individual because it concerns questions of individual right. So far, then, from the authority of the Hebrew high-priests telling in confirmation of the authority of the Roman pontiffs to interpret religion, it would rather tend to establish individual freedom of judgment. Thus in this way also, we have shown that our method of interpreting Scripture is the best. For as the highest power of Scriptural interpretation belongs to every man, the rule for such interpretation should be nothing but the natural light of reason which is common to all — not any supernatural light nor any external authority; moreover, such a rule ought not to be so difficult that it can only be applied by very skilful philosophers, but should be adapted to the natural and ordinary faculties and capacity of mankind. And such I have shown our method to be, for such difficulties as it has arise from men's carelessness, and are no part of its nature.

⁷ — “It is impossible to find a method which would enable us to gain a certain knowledge of all the statements in Scripture.” I mean impossible for us who have not the habitual use of the language, and have lost the precise meaning of its phraseology.

⁸ — “Not in things whereof the understanding can gain a clear and distinct idea, and which are conceivable through themselves.” By things conceivable I mean not only those which are rigidly proved, but also those whereof we are morally certain, and are wont to hear without wonder, though they are incapable of proof. Everyone can see the truth of Euclid's propositions before they are proved. So also the histories of things both future and past which do not surpass human credence, laws, institutions, manners, I call conceivable and clear, though they cannot be proved mathematically. But hieroglyphics and histories which seem to pass the

bounds of belief I call inconceivable; yet even among these last there are many which our method enables us to investigate, and to discover the meaning of their narrator.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Authorship of the Pentateuch and the Other Historical Books of the Old Testament



IN THE FORMER chapter we treated of the foundations and principles of Scriptural knowledge, and showed that it consists solely in a trustworthy history of the sacred writings; such a history, in spite of its indispensability, the ancients neglected, or at any rate, whatever they may have written or handed down has perished in the lapse of time, consequently the groundwork for such an investigation is to a great extent, cut from under us. This might be put up with if succeeding generations had confined themselves within the limits of truth, and had handed down conscientiously what few particulars they had received or discovered without any additions from their own brains: as it is, the history of the Bible is not so much imperfect as untrustworthy: the foundations are not only too scanty for building upon, but are also unsound. It is part of my purpose to remedy these defects, and to remove common theological prejudices. But I fear that I am attempting my task too late, for men have arrived at the pitch of not suffering contradiction, but defending obstinately whatever they have adopted under the name of religion. So widely have these prejudices taken possession of men's minds, that very few, comparatively speaking, will listen to reason. However, I will make the attempt, and spare no efforts, for there is no positive reason for despairing of success.

In order to treat the subject methodically, I will begin with the received opinions concerning the true authors of the sacred books, and in the first place, speak of the author of the Pentateuch, who is almost universally supposed to have been Moses. The Pharisees are so firmly convinced of his identity, that they account as a heretic anyone who differs from them on the subject. Wherefore,

Aben Ezra, a man of enlightened intelligence, and no small learning, who was the first, so far as I know, to treat of this opinion, dared not express his meaning openly, but confined himself to dark hints which I shall not scruple to elucidate, thus throwing, full light on the subject.

The words of Aben Ezra which occur in his commentary on Deuteronomy are as follows: “Beyond Jordan, &c . . . If so be that thou understandest the mystery of the twelve . . . moreover Moses wrote the law . . . The Canaanite was then in the land . . . it shall be revealed on the mount of God . . . then also behold his bed, his iron bed, then shalt thou know the truth.” In these few words he hints, and also shows that it was not Moses who wrote the Pentateuch, but someone who lived long after him, and further, that the book which Moses wrote was something different from any now extant.

To prove this, I say, he draws attention to the facts:

I. That the preface to Deuteronomy could not have been written by Moses, inasmuch as he had never crossed the Jordan.

II. That the whole book of Moses was written at full length on the circumference of a single altar (Deut. xxvii, and Josh. viii:37), which altar, according to the Rabbis, consisted of only twelve stones: therefore the book of Moses must have been of far less extent than the Pentateuch. This is what our author means, I think, by the mystery of the twelve, unless he is referring to the twelve curses contained in the chapter of Deuteronomy above cited, which he thought could not have been contained in the law, because Moses bade the Levites read them after the recital of the law, and so bind the people to its observance. Or again, he may have had in his mind the last chapter of Deuteronomy which treats of the death of Moses, and which contains twelve verses. But there is no need to dwell further on these and similar conjectures.

III. That in Deut. xxxi:9, the expression occurs, “and Moses wrote the law:” words that cannot be ascribed to Moses, but must be those of some other writer narrating the deeds and writings of Moses.

IV. That in Genesis xii:6, the historian, after narrating that Abraham journeyed through the and of Canaan, adds, “and the Canaanite was then in the land,” thus clearly excluding the time at which he wrote. So that this passage must have been written after the death of Moses, when the Canaanites had been driven out, and no longer possessed the land.

Aben Ezra, in his commentary on the passage, alludes to the difficulty as follows:— “And the Canaanite was then in the land: it appears that Canaan, the grandson of Noah, took from another the land which bears his name; if this be not the true meaning, there lurks some mystery in the passage, and let him who understands it keep silence.” That is, if Canaan invaded those regions, the sense will be, the Canaanite was then in the land, in contradistinction to the time when it had been held by another: but if, as follows from Gen. chap. x. Canaan was the first to inhabit the land, the text must mean to exclude the time present, that is the time at which it was written; therefore it cannot be the work of Moses, in whose time the Canaanites still possessed those territories: this is the mystery concerning which silence is recommended.

V. That in Genesis xxii:14 Mount Moriah is called the mount of God, ג, a name which it did not acquire till after the building of the Temple; the choice of the mountain was not made in the time of Moses, for Moses does not point out any spot as chosen by God; on the contrary, he foretells that God will at some future time choose a spot to which this name will be given.

VI. Lastly, that in Deut. chap. iii., in the passage relating to Og, king of Bashan, these words are inserted: “For only Og king of Bashan remained of the remnant of giants: behold, his bedstead was a bedstead of iron: is it not in Rabbath of the children of Ammon? nine cubits was the length thereof, and four cubits the breadth of it, after the cubit of a man.” This parenthesis most plainly shows that its writer lived long after Moses; for this mode of speaking is only employed by one treating of things long past, and pointing to relics for the sake of gaining credence: moreover, this bed was almost certainly first discovered by David, who conquered the city of Rabbath (2 Sam. xii:30.) Again, the historian a

little further on inserts after the words of Moses, “Jair, the son of Manasseh, took all the country of Argob unto the coasts of Geshuri and Maachathi; and called them after his own name, Bashan-havoth-jair, unto this day.” This passage, I say, is inserted to explain the words of Moses which precede it. “And the rest of Gilead, and all Bashan, being the kingdom of Og, gave I unto the half tribe of Manasseh; all the region of Argob, with all Bashan, which is called the land of the giants.” The Hebrews in the time of the writer indisputably knew what territories belonged to the tribe of Judah, but did not know them under the name of the jurisdiction of Argob, or the land of the giants. Therefore the writer is compelled to explain what these places were which were anciently so styled, and at the same time to point out why they were at the time of his writing known by the name of Jair, who was of the tribe of Manasseh, not of Judah. We have thus made clear the meaning of Aben Ezra and also the passages of the Pentateuch which he cites in proof of his contention. However, Aben Ezra does not call attention to every instance, or even the chief ones; there remain many of greater importance, which may be cited. Namely (I.), that the writer of the books in question not only speaks of Moses in the third person, but also bears witness to many details concerning him; for instance, “Moses talked with God;” “The Lord spoke with Moses face to face;” “Moses was the meekest of men” (Numb. xii:3); “Moses was wrath with the captains of the host;” “Moses, the man of God,” “Moses, the servant of the Lord, died;” “There was never a prophet in Israel like unto Moses,” &c. On the other hand, in Deuteronomy, where the law which Moses had expounded to the people and written is set forth, Moses speaks and declares what he has done in the first person: “God spake with me “ (Deut. ii:1, 17, &c.), “I prayed to the Lord,” &c. Except at the end of the book, when the historian, after relating the words of Moses, begins again to speak in the third person, and to tell how Moses handed over the law which he had expounded to the people in writing, again admonishing them, and further, how Moses ended his life. All these details, the manner of narration, the testimony, and the context of the whole story lead to the plain conclusion that these books were written by another, and not by Moses in person.

III. We must also remark that the history relates not only the manner of Moses' death and burial, and the thirty days' mourning of the Hebrews, but further compares him with all the prophets who came after him, and states that he surpassed them all. "There was never a prophet in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face." Such testimony cannot have been given of Moses by, himself, nor by any who immediately succeeded him, but it must come from someone who lived centuries afterwards, especially, as the historian speaks of past times. "There was never a prophet," &c. And of the place of burial, "No one knows it to this day."

III. We must note that some places are not styled by the names they bore during Moses' lifetime, but by others which they obtained subsequently. For instance, Abraham is said to have pursued his enemies even unto Dan, a name not bestowed on the city till long after the death of Joshua (Gen. xiv;14, Judges xviii;29).

IV. The narrative is prolonged after the death of Moses, for in Exodus xvi:34 we read that "the children of Israel did eat manna forty years until they came to a land inhabited, until they came unto the borders of the land of Canaan." In other words, until the time alluded to in Joshua vi:12.

So, too, in Genesis xxxvi:31 it is stated, "These are the kings that reigned in Edom before there reigned any king over the children of Israel." The historian, doubtless, here relates the kings of Idumaea before that territory was conquered by David [10](#) and garrisoned, as we read in 2 Sam. viii:14. From what has been said, it is thus clearer than the sun at noonday that the Pentateuch was not written by Moses, but by someone who lived long after Moses. Let us now turn our attention to the books which Moses actually did write, and which are cited in the Pentateuch; thus, also, shall we see that they were different from the Pentateuch. Firstly, it appears from Exodus xvii:14 that Moses, by the command of God, wrote an account of the war against Amalek. The book in which he did so is not named in the chapter just quoted, but in Numb. xxi:12 a book is referred to under the title of the wars of God, and doubtless this war against Amalek and the

castrametations said in Numb. xxxiii:2 to have been written by Moses are therein described. We hear also in Exod. xxiv:4 of another book called the Book of the Covenant, which Moses read before the Israelites when they first made a covenant with God. But this book or this writing contained very little, namely, the laws or commandments of God which we find in Exodus xx:22 to the end of chap. xxiv., and this no one will deny who reads the aforesaid chapter rationally and impartially. It is there stated that as soon as Moses had learnt the feeling of the people on the subject of making a covenant with God, he immediately wrote down God's laws and utterances, and in the morning, after some ceremonies had been performed, read out the conditions of the covenant to an assembly of the whole people. When these had been gone through, and doubtless understood by all, the whole people gave their assent.

Now from the shortness of the time taken in its perusal and also from its nature as a compact, this document evidently contained nothing more than that which we have just described. Further, it is clear that Moses explained all the laws which he had received in the fortieth year after the exodus from Egypt; also that he bound over the people a second time to observe them, and that finally he committed them to writing (Deut. i:5; xxix:14; xxxi:9), in a book which contained these laws explained, and the new covenant, and this book was therefore called the book of the law of God: the same which was afterwards added to by Joshua when he set forth the fresh covenant with which he bound over the people and which he entered into with God (Josh. xxiv:25, 26).

Now, as we have extent no book containing this covenant of Moses and also the covenant of Joshua, we must perforce conclude that it has perished, unless, indeed, we adopt the wild conjecture of the Chaldean paraphrast Jonathan, and twist about the words of Scripture to our heart's content. This commentator, in the face of our present difficulty, preferred corrupting the sacred text to confessing his own ignorance. The passage in the book of Joshua which runs, "and Joshua wrote these words in the book of the law of God," he changes into "and Joshua wrote these words and kept them with the book of the law of God." What is to be done

with persons who will only see what pleases them? What is such a proceeding if it is not denying Scripture, and inventing another Bible out of our own heads? We may therefore conclude that the book of the law of God which Moses wrote was not the Pentateuch, but something quite different, which the author of the Pentateuch duly inserted into his book. So much is abundantly plain both from what I have said and from what I am about to add. For in the passage of Deuteronomy above quoted, where it is related that Moses wrote the book of the law, the historian adds that he handed it over to the priests and bade them read it out at a stated time to the whole people. This shows that the work was of much less length than the Pentateuch, inasmuch as it could be read through at one sitting so as to be understood by all; further, we must not omit to notice that out of all the books which Moses wrote, this one book of the second covenant and the song (which latter he wrote afterwards so that all the people might learn it), was the only one which he caused to be religiously guarded and preserved. In the first covenant he had only bound over those who were present, but in the second covenant he bound over all their descendants also (Dent. xxix:14), and therefore ordered this covenant with future ages to be religiously preserved, together with the Song, which was especially addressed to posterity: as, then, we have no proof that Moses wrote any book save this of the covenant, and as he committed no other to the care of posterity; and, lastly, as there are many passages in the Pentateuch which Moses could not have written, it follows that the belief that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch is ungrounded and even irrational. Someone will perhaps ask whether Moses did not also write down other laws when they were first revealed to him — in other words, whether, during the course of forty years, he did not write down any of the laws which he promulgated, save only those few which I have stated to be contained in the book of the first covenant. To this I would answer, that although it seems reasonable to suppose that Moses wrote down the laws at the time when he wished to communicate them to the people, yet we are not warranted to take it as proved, for I have shown above that we must make no assertions in such matters which we do

not gather from Scripture, or which do not flow as legitimate consequences from its fundamental principles. We must not accept whatever is reasonably probable. However even reason in this case would not force such a conclusion upon us: for it may be that the assembly of elders wrote down the decrees of Moses and communicated them to the people, and the historian collected them, and duly set them forth in his narrative of the life of Moses. So much for the five books of Moses: it is now time for us to turn to the other sacred writings.

The book of Joshua may be proved not to be an autograph by reasons similar to those we have just employed: for it must be some other than Joshua who testifies that the fame of Joshua was spread over the whole world; that he omitted nothing of what Moses had taught (Josh. vi:27; viii. last verse; xi:15); that he grew old and summoned an assembly of the whole people, and finally that he departed this life. Furthermore, events are related which took place after Joshua's death. For instance, that the Israelites worshipped God, after his death, so long as there were any old men alive who remembered him; and in chap. xvi:10, we read that "Ephraim and Manasseh did not drive out the Canaanites which dwelt in Gezer, but the Canaanite dwelt in the land of Ephraim unto this day, and was tributary to him." This is the same statement as that in Judges, chap. i., and the phrase "unto this day" shows that the writer was speaking of ancient times. With these texts we may compare the last verse of chap. xv., concerning the sons of Judah, and also the history of Caleb in the same chap. v:14. Further, the building of an altar beyond Jordan by the two tribes and a half, chap. xxii:10, sqq., seems to have taken place after the death of Joshua, for in the whole narrative his name is never mentioned, but the people alone held council as to waging war, sent out legates, waited for their return, and finally approved of their answer.

Lastly, from chap. x:14, it is clear that the book was written many generations after the death of Joshua, for it bears witness, there was never any, day like unto, that day, either before or after, that the Lord hearkened to the voice of a man," &c. If, therefore, Joshua wrote any book at all, it was that which is quoted in the work now before us, chap. x:13.

With regard to the book of Judges, I suppose no rational person persuades himself that it was written by the actual Judges. For the conclusion of the whole history contained in chap. ii. clearly shows that it is all the work — of a single historian. Further, inasmuch as the writer frequently tells us that there was then no king in Israel, it is evident that the book was written after the establishment of the monarchy.

The books of Samuel need not detain us long, inasmuch as the narrative in them is continued long after Samuel's death; but I should like to draw attention to the fact that it was written many generations after Samuel's death. For in book i. chap. ix:9, the historian remarks in a parenthesis, "Beforetime, in Israel, when a man went to inquire of God, thus he spake: Come, and let us go to the seer; for he that is now called a prophet was beforetime called a seer."

Lastly, the books of Kings, as we gather from internal evidence, were compiled from the books of King Solomon (I Kings xi:41), from the chronicles of the kings of Judah (1 Kings xiv:19, 29), and the chronicles of the kings of Israel.

We may, therefore, conclude that all the books we have considered hitherto are compilations, and that the events therein are recorded as having happened in old time. Now, if we turn our attention to the connection and argument of all these books, we shall easily see that they were all written by a single historian, who wished to relate the antiquities of the Jews from their first beginning down to the first destruction of the city. The way in which the several books are connected one with the other is alone enough to show us that they form the narrative of one and the same writer. For as soon as he has related the life of Moses, the historian thus passes on to the story of Joshua: "And it came to pass after that Moses the servant of the Lord was dead, that God spake unto Joshua," &c., so in the same way, after the death of Joshua was concluded, he passes with identically the same transition and connection to the history of the Judges: "And it came to pass after that Joshua was dead, that the children of Israel sought from God," &c. To the book of Judges he adds the story of Ruth, as a sort of appendix, in these words: "Now it came to pass in the days that the judges ruled, that there was a famine in the land."

The first book of Samuel is introduced with a similar phrase; and so is the second book of Samuel. Then, before the history of David is concluded, the historian passes in the same way to the first book of Kings, and, after David's death, to the Second book of Kings.

The putting together, and the order of the narratives, show that they are all the work of one man, writing with a create aim; for the historian begins with relating the first origin of the Hebrew nation, and then sets forth in order the times and the occasions in which Moses put forth his laws, and made his predictions. He then proceeds to relate how the Israelites invaded the promised land in accordance with Moses' prophecy (Deut. vii.); and how, when the land was subdued, they turned their backs on their laws, and thereby incurred many misfortunes (Deut. xxxi:16, 17). He tells how they wished to elect rulers, and how, according as these rulers observed the law, the people flourished or suffered (Deut. xxviii:36); finally, how destruction came upon the nation, even as Moses had foretold. In regard to other matters, which do not serve to confirm the law, the writer either passes over them in silence, or refers the reader to other books for information. All that is set down in the books we have conduces to the sole object of setting forth the words and laws of Moses, and proving them by subsequent events. When we put together these three considerations, namely, the unity of the subject of all the books, the connection between them, and the fact that they are compilations made many generations after the events they relate had taken place, we come to the conclusion, as I have just stated, that they are all the work of a single historian. Who this historian was, it is not so easy to show; but I suspect that he was Ezra, and there are several strong reasons for adopting this hypothesis.

The historian whom we already know to be but one individual brings his history down to the liberation of Jehoiakim, and adds that he himself sat at the king's table all his life — that is, at the table either of Jehoiakim, or of the son of Nebuchadnezzar, for the sense of the passage is ambiguous: hence it follows that he did not live before the time of Ezra. But Scripture does not testify of any except of Ezra (Ezra vii:10), that he “prepared his heart to seek the law of the

Lord, and to set it forth, and further that he was a ready scribe in the law of Moses.” Therefore, I can not find anyone, save Ezra, to whom to attribute the sacred books.

Further, from this testimony concerning Ezra, we see that he prepared his heart, not only to seek the law of the Lord, but also to set it forth; and, in Nehemiah viii:8, we read that “they read in the book of the law of God distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading.”

As, then, in Deuteronomy, we find not only the book of the law of Moses, or the greater part of it, but also many things inserted for its better explanation, I conjecture that this Deuteronomy is the book of the law of God, written, set forth, and explained by Ezra, which is referred to in the text above quoted. Two examples of the way matters were inserted parenthetically in the text of Deuteronomy, with a view to its fuller explanation, we have already given, in speaking of Aben Ezra’s opinion. Many others are found in the course of the work: for instance, in chap. ii:12: “The Horims dwelt also in Seir beforetime; but the children of Esau succeeded them, when they had destroyed them from before them, and dwelt in their stead; as Israel did unto the land of his possession, which the Lord gave unto them.” This explains verses 3 and 4 of the same chapter, where it is stated that Mount Seir, which had come to the children of Esau for a possession, did not fall into their hands uninhabited; but that they invaded it, and turned out and destroyed the Horims, who formerly dwelt therein, even as the children of Israel had done unto the Canaanites after the death of Moses.

So, also, verses 6, 7, 8, 9, of the tenth chapter are inserted parenthetically among the words of Moses. Everyone must see that verse 8, which begins, “At that time the Lord separated the tribe of Levi,” necessarily refers to verse 5, and not to the death of Aaron, which is only mentioned here by Ezra because Moses, in telling of the golden calf worshipped by the people, stated that he had prayed for Aaron.

He then explains that at the time at which Moses spoke, God had chosen for Himself the tribe of Levi in order that He may point out the reason for their

election, and for the fact of their not sharing in the inheritance; after this digression, he resumes the thread of Moses' speech. To these parentheses we must add the preface to the book, and all the passages in which Moses is spoken of in the third person, besides many which we cannot now distinguish, though, doubtless, they would have been plainly recognized by the writer's contemporaries.

If, I say, we were in possession of the book of the law as Moses wrote it, I do not doubt that we should find a great difference in the words of the precepts, the order in which they are given, and the reasons by which they are supported.

A comparison of the decalogue in Deuteronomy with the decalogue in Exodus, where its history is explicitly set forth, will be sufficient to show us a wide discrepancy in all these three particulars, for the fourth commandment is given not only in a different form, but at much greater length, while the reason for its observance differs wholly from that stated in Exodus. Again, the order in which the tenth commandment is explained differs in the two versions. I think that the differences here as elsewhere are the work of Ezra, who explained the law of God to his contemporaries, and who wrote this book of the law of God, before anything else; this I gather from the fact that it contains the laws of the country, of which the people stood in most need, and also because it is not joined to the book which precedes it by any connecting phrase, but begins with the independent statement, "these are the words of Moses." After this task was completed, I think Ezra set himself to give a complete account of the history of the Hebrew nation from the creation of the world to the entire destruction of the city, and in this account he inserted the book of Deuteronomy, and, possibly, he called the first five books by the name of Moses, because his life is chiefly contained therein, and forms their principal subject; for the same reason he called the sixth Joshua, the seventh Judges, the eighth Ruth, the ninth, and perhaps the tenth, Samuel, and, lastly, the eleventh and twelfth Kings. Whether Ezra put the finishing touches to this work and finished it as he intended, we will discuss in the next chapter.

9 “Mount Moriah is called the mount of God.” That is by the historian, not by Abraham, for he says that the place now called “In the mount of the Lord it shall be revealed,” was called by Abraham, “the Lord shall provide.”

10 “Before that territory [Idumoea] was conquered by David.” From this time to the reign of Jehoram when they again separated from the Jewish kingdom (2 Kings viii:20), the Idumaeans had no king, princes appointed by the Jews supplied the place of kings (1 Kings xxii:48), in fact the prince of Idumaea is called a king (2 Kings iii:9).

It may be doubted whether the last of the Idumaeen kings had begun to reign before the accession of Saul, or whether Scripture in this chapter of Genesis wished to enumerate only such kings as were independent. It is evidently mere trifling to wish to enrol among Hebrew kings the name of Moses, who set up a dominion entirely different from a monarchy.

CHAPTER IX.

Other questions concerning the same Books: namely, whether they were completely finished by Ezra, and, further, whether the Marginal notes which are found in the Hebrew texts were various readings.



HOW GREATLY THE inquiry we have just made concerning the real writer of the twelve books aids us in attaining a complete understanding of them, may be easily gathered solely from the passages which we have adduced in confirmation of our opinion, and which would be most obscure without it. But besides the question of the writer, there are other points to notice which common superstition forbids the multitude to apprehend. Of these the chief is, that Ezra (whom I will take to be the author of the aforesaid books until some more likely person be suggested) did not put the finishing touches to the narrative contained therein, but merely collected the histories from various writers, and sometimes simply set them down, leaving their examination and arrangement to posterity.

The cause (if it were not untimely death) which prevented him from completing his work in all its portions, I cannot conjecture, but the fact remains most clear, although we have lost the writings of the ancient Hebrew historians, and can only judge from the few fragments which are still extant. For the history of Hezekiah (2 Kings xviii:17), as written in the vision of Isaiah, is related as it is found in the chronicles of the kings of Judah. We read the same story, told with few exceptions, [11](#), in the same words, in the book of Isaiah which was contained in the chronicles of the kings of Judah (2 Chron. xxxii:32). From this we must conclude that there were various versions of this narrative of Isaiah's, unless, indeed, anyone would dream that in this, too, there lurks a mystery. Further, the last chapter of 2 Kings 27-30 is repeated in the last chapter of Jeremiah, v.31-34.

Again, we find 2 Sam. vii. repeated in 1 Chron. xvii., but the expressions in the two passages are so curiously varied [12](#), that we can very easily see that these two chapters were taken from two different versions of the history of Nathan.

Lastly, the genealogy of the kings of Idumaea contained in Genesis xxxvi:31, is repeated in the same words in 1 Chron. i., though we know that the author of the latter work took his materials from other historians, not from the twelve books we have ascribed to Ezra. We may therefore be sure that if we still possessed the writings of the historians, the matter would be made clear; however, as we have lost them, we can only examine the writings still extant, and from their order and connection, their various repetitions, and, lastly, the contradictions in dates which they contain, judge of the rest.

These, then, or the chief of them, we will now go through. First, in the story of Judah and Tamar (Gen. xxxviii.) the historian thus begins: "And it came to pass at that time that Judah went down from his brethren." This time cannot refer to what immediately precedes [13](#), but must necessarily refer to something else, for from the time when Joseph was sold into Egypt to the time when the patriarch Jacob, with all his family, set out thither, cannot be reckoned as more than twenty-two years, for Joseph, when he was sold by his brethren, was seventeen years old, and when he was summoned by Pharaoh from prison was thirty; if to this we add the seven years of plenty and two of famine, the total amounts to twenty-two years. Now, in so short a period, no one can suppose that so many things happened as are described; that Judah had three children, one after the other, from one wife, whom he married at the beginning of the period; that the eldest of these, when he was old enough, married Tamar, and that after he died his next brother succeeded to her; that, after all this, Judah, without knowing it, had intercourse with his daughter-in-law, and that she bore him twins, and, finally, that the eldest of these twins became a father within the aforesaid period. As all these events cannot have taken place within the period mentioned in Genesis, the reference must necessarily be to something treated of in another book: and Ezra in this instance

simply related the story, and inserted it without examination among his other writings.

However, not only this chapter but the whole narrative of Joseph and Jacob is collected and set forth from various histories, inasmuch as it is quite inconsistent with itself. For in Gen. xlvii. we are told that Jacob, when he came at Joseph's bidding to salute Pharaoh, was 130 years old. If from this we deduct the twenty-two years which he passed sorrowing for the absence of Joseph and the seventeen years forming Joseph's age when he was sold, and, lastly, the seven years for which Jacob served for Rachel, we find that he was very advanced in life, namely, eighty four, when he took Leah to wife, whereas Dinah was scarcely seven years old when she was violated by Shechem, [14](#). Simeon and Levi were aged respectively eleven and twelve when they spoiled the city and slew all the males therein with the sword.

There is no need that I should go through the whole Pentateuch. If anyone pays attention to the way in which all the histories and precepts in these five books are set down promiscuously and without order, with no regard for dates; and further, how the same story is often repeated, sometimes in a different version, he will easily, I say, discern that all the materials were promiscuously collected and heaped together, in order that they might at some subsequent time be more readily examined and reduced to order. Not only these five books, but also the narratives contained in the remaining seven, going down to the destruction of the city, are compiled in the same way. For who does not see that in Judges ii:6 a new historian is being quoted, who had also written of the deeds of Joshua, and that his words are simply copied? For after our historian has stated in the last chapter of the book of Joshua that Joshua died and was buried, and has promised, in the first chapter of Judges, to relate what happened after his death, in what way, if he wished to continue the thread of his history, could he connect the statement here made about Joshua with what had gone before?

So, too, 1 Sam. 17, 18, are taken from another historian, who assigns a cause for David's first frequenting Saul's court very different from that given in chap.

xvi. of the same book. For he did not think that David came to Saul in consequence of the advice of Saul's servants, as is narrated in chap. xvi., but that being sent by chance to the camp by his father on a message to his brothers, he was for the first time remarked by Saul on the occasion of his victory, over Goliath the Philistine, and was retained at his court.

I suspect the same thing has taken place in chap. xxvi. of the same book, for the historian there seems to repeat the narrative given in chap. xxiv. according to another man's version. But I pass over this, and go on to the computation of dates.

In I Kings, chap. vi., it is said that Solomon built the Temple in the four hundred and eightieth year after the exodus from Egypt; but from the historians themselves we get a much longer period, for:

	Years
Moses governed the people in the desert	40
Joshua, who lived 110 years, did not, according to Josephus and others' opinion rule more than	26
Cusban Rishathaim held the people in subjection	8
Othniel, son of Kenag, was judge for 15	40
Eglon, King of Moab, governed the people	18
Ehucl and Shamgar were judges	80
Jachin, King of Canaan, held the people in subjection	20
The people was at peace subsequently for	40
It was under subjection to Median	7
It obtained freedom under Gideon for	40
It fell under the rule of Abimelech	3
Tola, son of Puah, was judge	23
Jair was judge	22
The people was in subjection to the Philistines and Ammonites	18
Jephthah was judge	6

Ibzan, the Bethlehemite, was judge	7
Elon, the Zabulonite	10
Abclon, the Pirathonite	8
The people was again subject to the Philistines	40
Samson was judge <u>16</u>	20
Eli was judge	40
The people again fell into subjection to the Philistines, till they were delivered by Samuel	20
David reigned	40
Solomon reigned before he built the temple	4

All these periods added together make a total of 580 years. But to these must be added the years during which the Hebrew republic flourished after the death of Joshua, until it was conquered by Cushan Rishathaim, which I take to be very numerous, for I cannot bring myself to believe that immediately after the death of Joshua all those who had witnessed his miracles died simultaneously, nor that their successors at one stroke bid farewell to their laws, and plunged from the highest virtue into the depth of wickedness and obstinacy.

Nor, lastly, that Cushan Rishathaim subdued them on the instant; each one of these circumstances requires almost a generation, and there is no doubt that Judges ii:7, 9, 10, comprehends a great many years which it passes over in silence. We must also add the years during which Samuel was judge, the number of which is not stated in Scripture, and also the years during which Saul reigned, which are not clearly shown from his history. It is, indeed, stated in 1 Sam. xiii:1, that he reigned two years, but the text in that passage is mutilated, and the records of his reign lead us to suppose a longer period. That the text is mutilated I suppose no one will doubt who has ever advanced so far as the threshold of the Hebrew language, for it runs as follows: "Saul was in his — year, when he began to reign, and he reigned two years over Israel." Who, I say, does not see that the number of the years of Saul's age when he began to reign has been omitted? That the record

of the reign presupposes a greater number of years is equally beyond doubt, for in the same book, chap. xxvii:7, it is stated that David sojourned among the Philistines, to whom he had fled on account of Saul, a year and four months; thus the rest of the reign must have been comprised in a space of eight months, which I think no one will credit. Josephus, at the end of the sixth book of his antiquities, thus corrects the text: Saul reigned eighteen years while Samuel was alive, and two years after his death. However, all the narrative in chap. Xiii. is in complete disagreement with what goes before. At the end of chap. vii. it is narrated that the Philistines were so crushed by the Hebrews that they did not venture, during Samuel's life, to invade the borders of Israel; but in chap. xiii. we are told that the Hebrews were invaded during the life of Samuel by the Philistines, and reduced by them to such a state of wretchedness and poverty that they were deprived not only of weapons with which to defend themselves, but also of the means of making more. I should be at pains enough if I were to try and harmonize all the narratives contained in this first book of Samuel so that they should seem to be all written and arranged by a single historian. But I return to my object. The years, then, during which Saul reigned must be added to the above computation; and, lastly, I have not counted the years of the Hebrew anarchy, for I cannot from Scripture gather their number. I cannot, I say, be certain as to the period occupied by the events related in Judges chap. xvii. on till the end of the book.

It is thus abundantly evident that we cannot arrive at a true computation of years from the histories, and, further, that the histories are inconsistent themselves on the subject. We are compelled to confess that these histories were compiled from various writers without previous arrangement and examination. Not less discrepancy is found between the dates given in the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah, and those in the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel; in the latter, it is stated that Jehoram, the son of Ahab, began to reign in the second year of the reign of Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat (2 Kings i:17), but in the former we read that Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat, began to reign in the fifth year of Jehoram, the son of Ahab (2 Kings viii:16). Anyone who compares the narratives in Chronicles

with the narratives in the books of Kings, will find many similar discrepancies. These there is no need for me to examine here, and still less am I called upon to treat of the commentaries of those who endeavour to harmonize them. The Rabbis evidently let their fancy run wild. Such commentators as I have, read, dream, invent, and as a last resort, play fast and loose with the language. For instance, when it is said in 2 Chronicles, that Ahab was forty-two years old when he began to reign, they pretend that these years are computed from the reign of Omri, not from the birth of Ahab. If this can be shown to be the real meaning of the writer of the book of Chronicles, all I can say is, that he did not know how to state a fact. The commentators make many other assertions of this kind, which if true, would prove that the ancient Hebrews were ignorant both of their own language, and of the way to relate a plain narrative. I should in such case recognize no rule or reason in interpreting Scripture, but it would be permissible to hypothesize to one's heart's content.

If anyone thinks that I am speaking too generally, and without sufficient warrant, I would ask him to set himself to showing us some fixed plan in these histories which might be followed without blame by other writers of chronicles, and in his efforts at harmonizing and interpretation, so strictly to observe and explain the phrases and expressions, the order and the connections, that we may be able to imitate these also in our writings [17](#). If he succeeds, I will at once give him my hand, and he shall be to me as great Apollo; for I confess that after long endeavours I have been unable to discover anything of the kind. I may add that I set down nothing here which I have not long reflected upon, and that, though I was imbued from my boyhood up with the ordinary opinions about the Scriptures, I have been unable to withstand the force of what I have urged.

However, there is no need to detain the reader with this question, and drive him to attempt an impossible task; I merely mentioned the fact in order to throw light on my intention.

I now pass on to other points concerning the treatment of these books. For we must remark, in addition to what has been shown, that these books were not

guarded by posterity with such care that no faults crept in. The ancient scribes draw attention to many doubtful readings, and some mutilated passages, but not to all that exist: whether the faults are of sufficient importance to greatly embarrass the reader I will not now discuss. I am inclined to think that they are of minor moment to those, at any rate, who read the Scriptures with enlightenment: and I can positively, affirm that I have not noticed any fault or various reading in doctrinal passages sufficient to render them obscure or doubtful.

There are some people, however, who will not admit that there is any corruption, even in other passages, but maintain that by some unique exercise of providence God has preserved from corruption every word in the Bible: they say that the various readings are the symbols of profoundest mysteries, and that mighty secrets lie hid in the twenty-eight hiatus which occur, nay, even in the very form of the letters.

Whether they are actuated by folly and anile devotion, or whether by arrogance and malice so that they alone may be held to possess the secrets of God, I know not: this much I do know, that I find in their writings nothing which has the air of a Divine secret, but only childish lucubrations. I have read and known certain Kabbalistic triflers, whose insanity provokes my unceasing astonishment. That faults have crept in will, I think, be denied by no sensible person who reads the passage about Saul, above quoted (1 Sam. xiii:1) and also 2 Sam. vi:2: “And David arose and went with all the people that were with him from Judah, to bring up from thence the ark of God.”

No one can fail to remark that the name of their destination, viz., Kirjath-jearim [18](#), has been omitted: nor can we deny that 2 Sam. xiii:37, has been tampered with and mutilated. “And Absalom fled, and went to Talmai, the son of Ammihud, king of Geshur. And he mourned for his son every day. So Absalom fled, and went to Geshur, and was there three years.” I know that I have remarked other passages of the same kind, but I cannot recall them at the moment.

That the marginal notes which are found continually in the Hebrew Codices are doubtful readings will, I think, be evident to everyone who has noticed that

they often arise from the great similarity, of some of the Hebrew letters, such for instance, as the similarity between Kaph and Beth, Jod and Van, Daleth and Reth, &c. For example, the text in 2 Sam. v:24, runs “in the time when thou hearest,” and similarly in Judges xxi:22, “And it shall be when their fathers or their brothers come unto us often,” the marginal version is “come unto us to complain.”

So also many various readings have arisen from the use of the letters named mutes, which are generally not sounded in pronunciation, and are taken promiscuously, one for the other. For example, in Levit. xxv:29, it is written, “The house shall be established which is not in the walled city,” but the margin has it, “which is in a walled city.”

Though these matters are self-evident, [Endnote 6], it is necessary, to answer the reasonings of certain Pharisees, by which they endeavour to convince us that the marginal notes serve to indicate some mystery, and were added or pointed out by the writers of the sacred books. The first of these reasons, which, in my opinion, carries little weight, is taken from the practice of reading the Scriptures aloud.

If, it is urged, these notes were added to show various readings which could not be decided upon by posterity, why has custom prevailed that the marginal readings should always be retained? Why has the meaning which is preferred been set down in the margin when it ought to have been incorporated in the text, and not relegated to a side note?

The second reason is more specious, and is taken from the nature of the case. It is admitted that faults have crept into the sacred writings by chance and not by design; but they say that in the five books the word for a girl is, with one exception, written without the letter “he,” contrary to all grammatical rules, whereas in the margin it is written correctly according to the universal rule of grammar. Can this have happened by mistake? Is it possible to imagine a clerical error to have been committed every time the word occurs? Moreover, it would have been easy, to supply the emendation. Hence, when these readings are not accidental or corrections of manifest mistakes, it is supposed that they must have

been set down on purpose by the original writers, and have a meaning. However, it is easy to answer such arguments; as to the question of custom having prevailed in the reading of the marginal versions, I will not spare much time for its consideration: I know not the promptings of superstition, and perhaps the practice may have arisen from the idea that both readings were deemed equally good or tolerable, and therefore, lest either should be neglected, one was appointed to be written, and the other to be read. They feared to pronounce judgment in so weighty a matter lest they should mistake the false for the true, and therefore they would give preference to neither, as they must necessarily have done if they had commanded one only to be both read and written. This would be especially the case where the marginal readings were not written down in the sacred books: or the custom may have originated because some things though rightly written down were desired to be read otherwise according to the marginal version, and therefore the general rule was made that the marginal version should be followed in reading the Scriptures. The cause which induced the scribes to expressly prescribe certain passages to be read in the marginal version, I will now touch on, for not all the marginal notes are various readings, but some mark expressions which have passed out of common use, obsolete words and terms which current decency did not allow to be read in a public assembly. The ancient writers, without any evil intention, employed no courtly paraphrase, but called things by their plain names. Afterwards, through the spread of evil thoughts and luxury, words which could be used by the ancients without offence, came to be considered obscene. There was no need for this cause to change the text of Scripture. Still, as a concession to the popular weakness, it became the custom to substitute more decent terms for words denoting sexual intercourse, excreta, &c., and to read them as they were given in the margin.

At any rate, whatever may have been the origin of the practice of reading Scripture according to the marginal version, it was not that the true interpretation is contained therein. For besides that, the Rabbins in the Talmud often differ from the Massoretes, and give other readings which they approve of, as I will shortly

show, certain things are found in the margin which appear less warranted by the uses of the Hebrew language. For example, in 2 Samuel xiv:22, we read, “In that the king hath fulfilled the request of his servant,” a construction plainly regular, and agreeing with that in chap. xvi. But the margin has it “of thy servant,” which does not agree with the person of the verb. So, too, chap. xvi:25 of the same book, we find, “As if one had inquired at the oracle of God,” the margin adding “someone” to stand as a nominative to the verb. But the correction is not apparently warranted, for it is a common practice, well known to grammarians in the Hebrew language, to use the third person singular of the active verb impersonally.

The second argument advanced by the Pharisees is easily answered from what has just been said, namely, that the scribes besides the various readings called attention to obsolete words. For there is no doubt that in Hebrew as in other languages, changes of use made many words obsolete and antiquated, and such were found by the later scribes in the sacred books and noted by them with a view to the books being publicly read according to custom. For this reason the word *nahgar* is always found marked because its gender was originally common, and it had the same meaning as the Latin *juvenis* (a young person). So also the Hebrew capital was anciently called Jerusalem, not *Jerusalaim*. As to the pronouns *himself* and *herself*, I think that the later scribes changed *vau* into *jod* (a very frequent change in Hebrew) when they wished to express the feminine gender, but that the ancients only distinguished the two genders by a change of vowels. I may also remark that the irregular tenses of certain verbs differ in the ancient and modern forms, it being formerly considered a mark of elegance to employ certain letters agreeable to the ear.

In a word, I could easily multiply proofs of this kind if I were not afraid of abusing the patience of the reader. Perhaps I shall be asked how I became acquainted with the fact that all these expressions are obsolete. I reply that I have found them in the most ancient Hebrew writers in the Bible itself, and that they have not been imitated by subsequent authors, and thus they are recognized as

antiquated, though the language in which they occur is dead. But perhaps someone may press the question why, if it be true, as I say, that the marginal notes of the Bible generally mark various readings, there are never more than two readings of a passage, that in the text and that in the margin, instead of three or more; and further, how the scribes can have hesitated between two readings, one of which is evidently contrary to grammar, and the other a plain correction.

The answer to these questions also is easy: I will premise that it is almost certain that there once were more various readings than those now recorded. For instance, one finds many in the Talmud which the Massoretes have neglected, and are so different one from the other that even the superstitious editor of the Bomberg Bible confesses that he cannot harmonize them. "We cannot say anything," he writes, "except what we have said above, namely, that the Talmud is generally in contradiction to the Massorete." So that we are not bound to hold that there never were more than two readings of any passage, yet I am willing to admit, and indeed I believe that more than two readings are never found: and for the following reasons: — (I.) The cause of the differences of reading only admits of two, being generally the similarity of certain letters, so that the question resolved itself into which should be written Beth, or Kaf, Jod or Vau, Daleth or Reth: cases which are constantly occurring, and frequently yielding a fairly good meaning whichever alternative be adopted. Sometimes, too, it is a question whether a syllable be long or short, quantity being determined by the letters called mutes. Moreover, we never asserted that all the marginal versions, without exception, marked various readings; on the contrary, we have stated that many were due to motives of decency or a desire to explain obsolete words. (II.) I am inclined to attribute the fact that more than two readings are never found to the paucity of exemplars, perhaps not more than two or three, found by the scribes. In the treatise of the scribes, chap. vi., mention is made of three only, pretended to have been found in the time of Ezra, in order that the marginal versions might be attributed to him.

However that may be, if the scribes only had three codices we may easily imagine that in a given passage two of them would be in accord, for it would be extraordinary if each one of the three gave a different reading of the same text.

The dearth of copies after the time of Ezra will surprise no one who has read the 1st chapter of Maccabees, or Josephus's "Antiquities," Bk. 12, chap. 5. Nay, it appears wonderful considering the fierce and daily persecution, that even these few should have been preserved. This will, I think, be plain to even a cursory reader of the history of those times.

We have thus discovered the reasons why there are never more than two readings of a passage in the Bible, but this is a long way from supposing that we may therefore conclude that the Bible was purposely written incorrectly in such passages in order to signify some mystery. As to the second argument, that some passages are so faultily written that they are at plain variance with all grammar, and should have been corrected in the text and not in the margin, I attach little weight to it, for I am not concerned to say what religious motive the scribes may have had for acting as they did: possibly they did so from candour, wishing to transmit the few exemplars of the Bible which they had found exactly in their original state, marking the differences they discovered in the margin, not as doubtful readings, but as simple variants. I have myself called them doubtful readings, because it would be generally impossible to say which of the two versions is preferable.

Lastly, besides these doubtful readings the scribes have (by leaving a hiatus in the middle of a paragraph) marked several passages as mutilated. The Massorettes have counted up such instances, and they amount to eight-and-twenty. I do not know whether any mystery is thought to lurk in the number, at any rate the Pharisees religiously preserve a certain amount of empty space.

One of such hiatus occurs (to give an instance) in Gen. iv:8, where it is written, "And Cain said to his brother . . . and it came to pass while they were in the field, &c.," a space being left in which we should expect to hear what it was that Cain said.

Similarly there are (besides those points we have noticed) eight-and-twenty hiatus left by the scribes. Many of these would not be recognized as mutilated if it were not for the empty space left. But I have said enough on this subject.

11 “With few exceptions.” One of these exceptions is found in 2 Kings xviii:20, where we read, “Thou sayest (but they are but vain words),” the second person being used. In Isaiah xxxvi:5, we read “I say (but they are but vain words) I have counsel and strength for war,” and in the twenty-second verse of the chapter in Kings it is written, “But if ye say,” the plural number being used, whereas Isaiah gives the singular. The text in Isaiah does not contain the words found in 2 Kings xxxii:32. Thus there are several cases of various readings where it is impossible to distinguish the best.

12 “The expressions in the two passages are so varied.” For instance we read in 2 Sam. vii:6, “But I have walked in a tent and in a tabernacle.” Whereas in 1 Chron. xvii:5, “but have gone from tent to tent and from one tabernacle to another.” In 2 Sam. vii:10, we read, “to afflict them,” whereas in 1 Chron. vii:9, we find a different expression. I could point out other differences still greater, but a single reading of the chapters in question will suffice to make them manifest to all who are neither blind nor devoid of sense.

13 “This time cannot refer to what immediately precedes.” It is plain from the context that this passage must allude to the time when Joseph was sold by his brethren. But this is not all. We may draw the same conclusion from the age of Judah, who was then twenty-two years old at most, taking as basis of calculation his own history just narrated. It follows, indeed, from the last verse of Gen. xxx., that Judah was born in the tenth of the years of Jacob’s servitude to Laban, and Joseph in the fourteenth. Now, as we know that Joseph was seventeen years old when sold by his brethren, Judah was then not more than twenty-one. Hence, those writers who assert that Judah’s long absence from his father’s house took place before Joseph was sold, only seek to delude themselves and to call in question the Scriptural authority which they are anxious to protect.

14 “Dinah was scarcely seven years old when she was violated by Schechem.” The opinion held by some that Jacob wandered about eight or ten years between Mesopotamia and Bethel, savours of the ridiculous; if respect for Aben Ezra, allows me to say so. For it is clear that Jacob had two reasons for haste: first, the desire to see his old parents; secondly, and chiefly to perform, the vow made when he fled from his brother (Gen. xxviii:10 and xxxi:13, and xxxv:1). We read (Gen. xxxi:3), that God had commanded him to fulfill his

vow, and promised him help for returning to his country. If these considerations seem conjectures rather than reasons, I will waive the point and admit that Jacob, more unfortunate than Ulysses, spent eight or ten years or even longer, in this short journey. At any rate it cannot be denied that Benjamin was born in the last year of this wandering, that is by the reckoning of the objectors, when Joseph was sixteen or seventeen years old, for Jacob left Laban seven years after Joseph's birth. Now from the seventeenth year of Joseph's age till the patriarch went into Egypt, not more than twenty-two years elapsed, as we have shown in this chapter. Consequently Benjamin, at the time of the journey to Egypt, was twenty-three or twenty-four at the most. He would therefore have been a grandfather in the flower of his age (Gen. xlv:21, cf. Numb. xxvi:38, 40, and 1 Chron. viii:1), for it is certain that Bela, Benjamin's eldest son, had at that time, two sons, Addai and Naaman. This is just as absurd as the statement that Dinah was violated at the age of seven, not to mention other impossibilities which would result from the truth of the narrative. Thus we see that unskillful endeavours to solve difficulties, only raise fresh ones, and make confusion worse confounded.

15 "Othniel, son of Kenan, was judge for forty years." Rabbi Levi Ben Gerson and others believe that these forty years which the Bible says were passed in freedom, should be counted from the death of Joshua, and consequently include the eight years during which the people were subject to Kushan Rishathaim, while the following eighteen years must be added on to the eighty years of Ehud's and Shamgar's judgeships. In this case it would be necessary to reckon the other years of subjection among those said by the Bible to have been passed in freedom. But the Bible expressly notes the number of years of subjection, and the number of years of freedom, and further declares (Judges ii:18) that the Hebrew state was prosperous during the whole time of the judges. Therefore it is evident that Levi Ben Gerson (certainly a very learned man), and those who follow him, correct rather than interpret the Scriptures.

The same fault is committed by those who assert, that Scripture, by this general calculation of years, only intended to mark the period of the regular administration of the Hebrew state, leaving out the years of anarchy and subjection as periods of misfortune and interregnum. Scripture certainly passes over in silence periods of anarchy, but does not, as they dream, refuse to reckon them or wipe them out of the country's annals. It is clear that Ezra, in 1 Kings vi., wished to reckon absolutely all the years since the flight from Egypt. This is so plain, that no one versed in the Scriptures can doubt it. For, without going back to the precise words of the text, we may see that the genealogy of David given at the end of the book of Ruth, and I

Chron. ii., scarcely accounts for so great a number of years. For Nahshon, who was prince of the tribe of Judah (Numb. vii;11), two years after the Exodus, died in the desert, and his son Salmon passed the Jordan with Joshua. Now this Salmon, according to the genealogy, was David's great-grandfather. Deducting, then, from the total of 480 years, four years for Solomon's reign, seventy for David's life, and forty for the time passed in the desert, we find that David was born 366 years after the passage of the Jordan. Hence we must believe that David's father, grandfather, great-grandfather, and great-great-grandfather begat children when they were ninety years old.

16 "Samson was judge for twenty years." Samson was born after the Hebrews had fallen under the dominion of the Philistines.

17 Otherwise, they rather correct than explain Scripture.

18 "Kirjath-jearim." Kirjath-jearim is also called Baale of Judah. Hence Kimchi and others think that the words Baale Judah, which I have translated "the people of Judah," are the name of a town. But this is not so, for the word Baale is in the plural. Moreover, comparing this text in Samuel with I Chron. Xiii:5, we find that David did not rise up and go forth out of Baale, but that he went thither. If the author of the book of Samuel had meant to name the place whence David took the ark, he would, if he spoke Hebrew correctly, have said, "David rose up, and set forth from Baale Judah, and took the ark from thence."

CHAPTER X.

An Examination of the Remaining Books of the Old Testament According to the Preceding Method.



I NOW PASS on to the remaining books of the Old Testament. Concerning the two books of Chronicles I have nothing particular or important to remark, except that they were certainly written after the time of Ezra, and possibly after the restoration of the Temple by Judas Maccabaeus [19](#). For in chap. ix. of the first book we find a reckoning of the families who were the first to live in Jerusalem, and in verse 17 the names of the porters, of which two recur in Nehemiah. This shows that the books were certainly compiled after the rebuilding of the city. As to their actual writer, their authority, utility, and doctrine, I come to no conclusion. I have always been astonished that they have been included in the Bible by men who shut out from the canon the books of Wisdom, Tobit, and the others styled apocryphal. I do not aim at disparaging their authority, but as they are universally received I will leave them as they are.

The Psalms were collected and divided into five books in the time of the second temple, for Ps. lxxxviii. was published, according to Philo-Judaeus, while king Jehoiachin was still a prisoner in Babylon; and Ps. lxxxix. when the same king obtained his liberty: I do not think Philo would have made the statement unless either it had been the received opinion in his time, or else had been told him by trustworthy persons.

The Proverbs of Solomon were, I believe, collected at the same time, or at least in the time of King Josiah; for in chap. xxv:1, it is written, “These are also proverbs of Solomon which the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah, copied out.” I cannot here pass over in silence the audacity of the Rabbis who wished to exclude from the sacred canon both the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, and to put them both in

the Apocrypha. In fact, they would actually have done so, if they had not lighted on certain passages in which the law of Moses is extolled. It is, indeed, grievous to think that the settling of the sacred canon lay in the hands of such men; however, I congratulate them, in this instance, on their suffering us to see these books in question, though I cannot refrain from doubting whether they have transmitted them in absolute good faith; but I will not now linger on this point.

I pass on, then, to the prophetic books. An examination of these assures me that the prophecies therein contained have been compiled from other books, and are not always set down in the exact order in which they were spoken or written by the prophets, but are only such as were collected here and there, so that they are but fragmentary.

Isaiah began to prophecy in the reign of Uzziah, as the writer himself testifies in the first verse. He not only prophesied at that time, but furthermore wrote the history of that king (see 2 Chron. xxvi:22) in a volume now lost. That which we possess, we have shown to have been taken from the chronicles of the kings of Judah and Israel.

We may add that the Rabbis assert that this prophet prophesied in the reign of Manasseh, by whom he was eventually put to death, and, although this seems to be a myth, it yet shows that they did not think that all Isaiah's prophecies are extant.

The prophecies of Jeremiah, which are related historically are also taken from various chronicles; for not only are they heaped together confusedly, without any account being taken of dates, but also the same story is told in them differently in different passages. For instance, in chap. xxi. we are told that the cause of Jeremiah's arrest was that he had prophesied the destruction of the city to Zedekiah who consulted him. This narrative suddenly passes, in chap xxii., to the prophet's remonstrances to Jehoiakim (Zedekiah's predecessor), and the prediction he made of that king's captivity; then, in chap. xxv., come the revelations granted to the prophet previously, that is in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, and, further on still, the revelations received in the first year of the

same reign. The continuator of Jeremiah goes on heaping prophecy upon prophecy without any regard to dates, until at last, in chap. xxxviii. (as if the intervening chapters had been a parenthesis), he takes up the thread dropped in chap. xxi.

In fact, the conjunction with which chap. xxxviii. begins, refers to the 8th, 9th, and 10th verses of chap. xxi. Jeremiah's last arrest is then very differently described, and a totally separate cause is given for his daily retention in the court of the prison.

We may thus clearly see that these portions of the book have been compiled from various sources, and are only from this point of view comprehensible. The prophecies contained in the remaining chapters, where Jeremiah speaks in the first person, seem to be taken from a book written by Baruch, at Jeremiah's dictation. These, however, only comprise (as appears from chap. xxxvi:2) the prophecies revealed to the prophet from the time of Josiah to the fourth year of Jehoiakim, at which period the book begins. The contents of chap. xlv:2, on to chap. li:59, seem taken from the same volume.

That the book of Ezekiel is only a fragment, is clearly indicated by the first verse. For anyone may see that the conjunction with which it begins, refers to something already said, and connects what follows therewith. However, not only this conjunction, but the whole text of the discourse implies other writings. The fact of the present work beginning the thirtieth year shows that the prophet is continuing, not commencing a discourse; and this is confirmed by the writer, who parenthetically states in verse 3, "The word of the Lord came often unto Ezekiel the priest, the son of Buzi, in the land of the Chaldeans," as if to say that the prophecies which he is about to relate are the sequel to revelations formerly received by Ezekiel from God. Furthermore, Josephus, 11 Antiq." x:9, says that Ezekiel prophesied that Zedekiah should not see Babylon, whereas the book we now have not only contains no such statement, but contrariwise asserts in chap. xvii. that he should be taken to Babylon as a captive, [20](#).

Of Hosea I cannot positively state that he wrote more than is now extant in the book bearing his name, but I am astonished at the smallness of the quantity, we possess, for the sacred writer asserts that the prophet prophesied for more than eighty years.

We may assert, speaking generally, that the compiler of the prophetic books neither collected all the prophets, nor all the writings of those we have; for of the prophets who are said to have prophesied in the reign of Manasseh and of whom general mention is made in 2 Chron. xxxiii:10, 18, we have, evidently, no prophecies extant; neither have we all the prophecies of the twelve who give their names to books. Of Jonah we have only, the prophecy concerning the Ninevites, though he also prophesied to the children of Israel, as we learn in 2 Kings xiv:25.

The book and the personality of Job have caused much controversy. Some think that the book is the work of Moses, and the whole narrative merely allegorical. Such is the opinion of the Rabbins recorded in the Talmud, and they are supported by, Maimonides in his "More Nebuchim." Others believe it to be a true history, and some suppose that Job lived in the time of Jacob, and was married to his daughter Dinah. Aben Ezra, however, as I have already stated, affirms, in his commentaries, that the work is a translation into Hebrew from some other language: I could wish that he could advance more cogent arguments than he does, for we might then conclude that the Gentiles also had sacred books. I myself leave the matter undecided, but I conjecture Job to have been a Gentile, and a man of very stable character, who at first prospered, then was assailed with terrible calamities, and finally, was restored to great happiness. (He is thus named, among others, by Ezekiel, xiv:12.) I take it that the constancy of his mind amid the vicissitudes of his fortune occasioned many men to dispute about God's providence, or at least caused the writer of the book in question to compose his dialogues; for the contents, and also the style, seem to emanate far less from a man wretchedly ill and lying among ashes, than from one reflecting at ease in his study. I should also be inclined to agree with Aben Ezra that the book is a translation, for its poetry seems akin to that of the Gentiles; thus the Father of

Gods summons a council, and Momus, here called Satan, criticizes the Divine decrees with the utmost freedom. But these are mere conjectures without any solid foundation.

I pass on to the book of Daniel, which, from chap. viii. onwards, undoubtedly contains the writing of Daniel himself. Whence the first seven chapters are derived I cannot say; we may, however, conjecture that, as they were first written in Chaldean, they are taken from Chaldean chronicles. If this could be proved, it would form a very striking proof of the fact that the sacredness of Scripture depends on our understanding of the doctrines therein signified, and not on the words, the language, and the phrases in which these doctrines are conveyed to us; and it would further show us that books which teach and speak of whatever is highest and best are equally sacred, whatever be the tongue in which they are written, or the nation to which they belong.

We can, however, in this case only remark that the chapters in question were written in Chaldee, and yet are as sacred as the rest of the Bible.

The first book of Ezra is so intimately connected with the book of Daniel that both are plainly recognizable as the work of the same author, writing of Jewish history from the time of the first captivity onwards. I have no hesitation in joining to this the book of Esther, for the conjunction with which it begins can refer to nothing else. It cannot be the same work as that written by Mordecai, for, in chap. ix:20-22, another person relates that Mordecai wrote letters, and tells us their contents; further, that Queen Esther confirmed the days of Purim in their times appointed, and that the decree was written in the book that is (by a Hebraism), in a book known to all then living, which, as Aben Ezra and the rest confess, has now perished. Lastly, for the rest of the acts of Mordecai, the historian refers us to the chronicles of the kings of Persia. Thus there is no doubt that this book was written by the same person as he who recounted the history of Daniel and Ezra, and who wrote Nehemiah, [21](#), sometimes called the second book of Ezra. We may, then, affirm that all these books are from one hand; but we have no clue whatever to the personality of the author. However, in order to determine whence he,

whoever he was, had gained a knowledge of the histories which he had, perchance, in great measure himself written, we may remark that the governors or chiefs of the Jews, after the restoration of the Temple, kept scribes or historiographers, who wrote annals or chronicles of them. The chronicles of the kings are often quoted in the books of Kings, but the chronicles of the chiefs and priests are quoted for the first time in Nehemiah xii:23, and again in 1 Macc. xvi:24. This is undoubtedly the book referred to as containing the decree of Esther and the acts of Mordecai; and which, as we said with Aben Ezra, is now lost. From it were taken the whole contents of these four books, for no other authority is quoted by their writer, or is known to us.

That these books were not written by either Ezra or Nehemiah is plain from Nehemiah xii:9, where the descendants of the high priest, Joshua are traced down to Jaddua, the sixth high priest, who went to meet Alexander the Great, when the Persian empire was almost subdued (Josephus, “Ant.” ii. 108), or who, according to Philo-Judaeus, was the sixth and last high priest under the Persians. In the same chapter of Nehemiah, verse 22, this point is clearly brought out: “The Levites in the days of Eliashib, Joiada, and Johanan, and Jaddua, were recorded chief of the fathers: also the priests, to the reign of Darius the Persian” — that is to say, in the chronicles; and, I suppose, no one thinks, [22](#), that the lives of Nehemiah and Ezra were so prolonged that they outlived fourteen kings of Persia. Cyrus was the first who granted the Jews permission to rebuild their Temple: the period between his time and Darius, fourteenth and last king of Persia, extends over 230 years. I have, therefore, no doubt that these books were written after Judas Maccabaeus had restored the worship in the Temple, for at that time false books of Daniel, Ezra, and Esther were published by evil-disposed persons, who were almost certainly Sadducees, for the writings were never recognized by the Pharisees, so far as I am aware; and, although certain myths in the fourth book of Ezra are repeated in the Talmud, they must not be set down to the Pharisees, for all but the most ignorant admit that they have been added by some trifler: in fact, I think,

someone must have made such additions with a view to casting ridicule on all the traditions of the sect.

Perhaps these four books were written out and published at the time I have mentioned with a view to showing the people that the prophecies of Daniel had been fulfilled, and thus kindling their piety, and awakening a hope of future deliverance in the midst of their misfortunes. In spite of their recent origin, the books before us contain many errors, due, I suppose, to the haste with which they were written. Marginal readings, such as I have mentioned in the last chapter, are found here as elsewhere, and in even greater abundance; there are, moreover, certain passages which can only be accounted for by supposing some such cause as hurry.

However, before calling attention to the marginal readings, I will remark that, if the Pharisees are right in supposing them to have been ancient, and the work of the original scribes, we must perforce admit that these scribes (if there were more than one) set them down because they found that the text from which they were copying was inaccurate, and did yet not venture to alter what was written by their predecessors and superiors. I need not again go into the subject at length, and will, therefore, proceed to mention some discrepancies not noticed in the margin.

I. Some error has crept into the text of the second chapter of Ezra, for in verse 64 we are told that the total of all those mentioned in the rest of the chapter amounts to 42,360; but, when we come to add up the several items we get as result only 29,818. There must, therefore, be an error, either in the total, or in the details. The total is probably correct, for it would most likely be well known to all as a noteworthy thing; but with the details, the case would be different. If, then, any error had crept into the total, it would at once have been remarked, and easily corrected. This view is confirmed by Nehemiah vii., where this chapter of Ezra is mentioned, and a total is given in plain correspondence thereto; but the details are altogether different — some are larger, and some less, than those in Ezra, and altogether they amount to 31,089. We may, therefore, conclude that both in Ezra and in Nehemiah the details are erroneously given. The commentators who

attempt to harmonize these evident contradictions draw on their imagination, each to the best of his ability; and while professing adoration for each letter and word of Scripture, only succeed in holding up the sacred writers to ridicule, as though they knew not how to write or relate a plain narrative. Such persons effect nothing but to render the clearness of Scripture obscure. If the Bible could everywhere be interpreted after their fashion, there would be no such thing as a rational statement of which the meaning could be relied on. However, there is no need to dwell on the subject; only I am convinced that if any historian were to attempt to imitate the proceedings freely attributed to the writers of the Bible, the commentators would cover him with contempt. If it be blasphemy to assert that there are any errors in Scripture, what name shall we apply to those who foist into it their own fancies, who degrade the sacred writers till they seem to write confused nonsense, and who deny the plainest and most evident meanings? What in the whole Bible can be plainer than the fact that Ezra and his companions, in the second chapter of the book attributed to him, have given in detail the reckoning of all the Hebrews who set out with them for Jerusalem? This is proved by the reckoning being given, not only of those who told their lineage, but also of those who were unable to do so. Is it not equally clear from Nehemiah vii:5, that the writer merely there copies the list given in Ezra? Those, therefore, who explain these passages otherwise, deny the plain meaning of Scripture — nay, they deny Scripture itself. They think it pious to reconcile one passage of Scripture with another — a pretty piety, forsooth, which accommodates the clear passages to the obscure, the correct to the faulty, the sound to the corrupt.

Far be it from me to call such commentators blasphemers, if their motives be pure: for to err is human. But I return to my subject.

Besides these errors in numerical details, there are others in the genealogies, in the history, and, I fear also in the prophecies. The prophecy of Jeremiah (chap. xxii.), concerning Jechoniah, evidently does not agree with his history, as given in I Chronicles iii:17-19, and especially with the last words of the chapter, nor do I see how the prophecy, “thou shalt die in peace,” can be applied to Zedekiah,

whose eyes were dug out after his sons had been slain before him. If prophecies are to be interpreted by their issue, we must make a change of name, and read Jechoniah for Zedekiah, and vice versa. This, however, would be too paradoxical a proceeding; so I prefer to leave the matter unexplained, especially as the error, if error there be, must be set down to the historian, and not to any fault in the authorities.

Other difficulties I will not touch upon, as I should only weary the reader, and, moreover, be repeating the remarks of other writers. For R. Selomo, in face of the manifest contradiction in the above-mentioned genealogies, is compelled to break forth into these words (see his commentary on 1 Chron. viii.): “Ezra (whom he supposes to be the author of the book of Chronicles) gives different names and a different genealogy to the sons of Benjamin from those which we find in Genesis, and describes most of the Levites differently from Joshua, because he found original discrepancies.” And, again, a little later: “The genealogy of Gibeon and others is described twice in different ways, from different tables of each genealogy, and in writing them down Ezra adopted the version given in the majority of the texts, and when the authority was equal he gave both.” Thus granting that these books were compiled from sources originally incorrect and uncertain.

In fact the commentators, in seeking to harmonize difficulties, generally do no more than indicate their causes: for I suppose no sane person supposes that the sacred historians deliberately wrote with the object of appearing to contradict themselves freely. Perhaps I shall be told that I am overthrowing the authority of Scripture, for that, according to me, anyone may suspect it of error in any passage; but, on the contrary, I have shown that my object has been to prevent the clear and uncorrupted passages being accommodated to and corrupted by the faulty ones; neither does the fact that some passages are corrupt warrant us in suspecting all. No book ever was completely free from faults, yet I would ask, who suspects all books to be everywhere faulty? Surely no one, especially when the phraseology is clear and the intention of the author plain.

I have now finished the task I set myself with respect to the books of the Old Testament. We may easily conclude from what has been said, that before the time of the Maccabees there was no canon of sacred books, ²³, but that those which we now possess were selected from a multitude of others at the period of the restoration of the Temple by the Pharisees (who also instituted the set form of prayers), who are alone responsible for their acceptance. Those, therefore, who would demonstrate the authority of Holy Scripture, are bound to show the authority of each separate book; it is not enough to prove the Divine origin of a single book in order to infer the Divine origin of the rest. In that case we should have to assume that the council of Pharisees was, in its choice of books, infallible, and this could never be proved. I am led to assert that the Pharisees alone selected the books of the Old Testament, and inserted them in the canon, from the fact that in Daniel ii. is proclaimed the doctrine of the Resurrection, which the Sadducees denied; and, furthermore, the Pharisees plainly assert in the Talmud that they so selected them. For in the treatise of Sabbathus, chapter ii., folio 30, page 2, it is written: R. Jehuda, surnamed Rabbi, reports that the experts wished to conceal the book of Ecclesiastes because they found therein words opposed to the law (that is, to the book of the law of Moses). Why did they not hide it? "Because it begins in accordance with the law, and ends according to the law;" and a little further on we read: "They sought also to conceal the book of Proverbs." And in the first chapter of the same treatise, fol. 13, page 2: "Verily, name one man for good, even he who was called Neghunja, the son of Hezekiah: for, save for him, the book of Ezekiel would been concealed, because it agreed not with the words of the law."

It is thus abundantly clear that men expert in the law summoned a council to decide which books should be received into the canon, and which excluded. If any man, therefore, wishes to be certified as to the authority of all the books, let him call a fresh council, and ask every member his reasons.

The time has now come for examining in the same manner the books in the New Testament; but as I learn that the task has been already performed by men highly skilled in science and languages, and as I do not myself possess a

knowledge of Greek sufficiently exact for the task; lastly, as we have lost the originals of those books which were written in Hebrew, I prefer to decline the undertaking. However, I will touch on those points which have most bearing on my subject in the following chapter.

[19](#) “After the restoration of the Temple by Judas Maccaboeus.” This conjecture, if such it be, is founded on the genealogy of King Jeconiah, given in 1 Chron. iii., which finishes at the sons of Elieoenai, the thirteenth in direct descent from him: whereon we must observe that Jeconiah, before his captivity, had no children; but it is probable that he had two while he was in prison, if we may draw any inference from the names he gave them. As to his grandchildren, it is evident that they were born after his deliverance, if the names be any guide, for his grandson, Pedaiah (a name meaning God hath delivered me), who, according to this chapter, was the father of Zerubbabel, was born in the thirty-seventh or thirty-eighth year of Jeconiah’s life, that is thirty-three years before the restoration of liberty to the Jews by Cyrus. Therefore Zerubbabel, to whom Cyrus gave the principality of Judaea, was thirteen or fourteen years old. But we need not carry the inquiry so far: we need only read attentively the chapter of 1 Chron., already quoted, where (v. 17, sqq.) mention is made of all the posterity of Jeconiah, and compare it with the Septuagint version to see clearly that these books were not published, till after Maccabaeus had restored the Temple, the sceptre no longer belonging to the house of Jeconiah.

[20](#) “Zedekiah should be taken to Babylon.” No one could then have suspected that the prophecy of Ezekiel contradicted that of Jeremiah, but the suspicion occurs to everyone who reads the narrative of Josephus. The event proved that both prophets were in the right.

[21](#) “And who wrote Nehemiah.” That the greater part of the book of Nehemiah was taken from the work composed by the prophet Nehemiah himself, follows from the testimony of its author. (See chap. i.). But it is obvious that the whole of the passage contained between chap. viii. and chap. xii. verse 26, together with the two last verses of chap. xii., which form a sort of parenthesis to Nehemiah’s words, were added by the historian himself, who outlived Nehemiah.

[22](#) “I suppose no one thinks” that Ezra was the uncle of the first high priest, named Joshua (see Ezra vii., and 1 Chron. vi:14), and went to Jerusalem from Babylon with Zerubbabel (see Nehemiah xii:1). But it appears

that when he saw, that the Jews were in a state of anarchy, he returned to Babylon, as also did others (Nehem. i;2), and remained there till the reign of Artaxerxes, when his requests were granted and he went a second time to Jerusalem. Nehemiah also went to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel in the time of Cyrus (Ezra ii:2 and 63, cf. x:9, and Nehemiah x:1). The version given of the Hebrew word, translated “ambassador,” is not supported by any authority, while it is certain that fresh names were given to those Jews who frequented the court. Thus Daniel was named Balteshazzar, and Zerubbabel Sheshbazzar (Dan. i:7). Nehemiah was called Atirsata, while in virtue of his office he was styled governor, or president. (Nehem. v. 24, xii:26.)

23 “Before the time of the Maccabees there was no canon of sacred books.” The synagogue styled “the great” did not begin before the subjugation of Asia by the Macedonians. The contention of Maimonides, Rabbi Abraham, Ben-David, and others, that the presidents of this synagogue were Ezra, Daniel, Nehemiah, Haggai, Zechariah, &c., is a pure fiction, resting only on rabbinical tradition. Indeed they assert that the dominion of the Persians only lasted thirty-four years, and this is their chief reason for maintaining that the decrees of the “great synagogue,” or synod (rejected by the Sadducees, but accepted by the Pharisees) were ratified by the prophets, who received them from former prophets, and so in direct succession from Moses, who received them from God Himself. Such is the doctrine which the Pharisees maintain with their wonted obstinacy. Enlightened persons, however, who know the reasons for the convoking of councils, or synods, and are no strangers to the differences between Pharisees and Sadducees, can easily divine the causes which led to the assembling of this great synagogue. It is very certain that no prophet was there present, and that the decrees of the Pharisees, which they style their traditions, derive all their authority from it.

CHAPTER XI.

An Inquiry whether the Apostles wrote their Epistles as Apostles and Prophets, or merely as Teachers; and an explanation of what is meant by an Apostle.



NO READER OF the New Testament can doubt that the Apostles were prophets; but as a prophet does not always speak by revelation, but only, at rare intervals, as we showed at the end of Chap. I., we may fairly inquire whether the Apostles wrote their Epistles as prophets, by revelation and express mandate, as Moses, Jeremiah, and others did, or whether only as private individuals or teachers, especially as Paul, in Corinthians xiv:6, mentions two sorts of preaching.

If we examine the style of the Epistles, we shall find it totally different from that employed by the prophets.

The prophets are continually asserting that they speak by the command of God: “Thus saith the Lord,” “The Lord of hosts saith,” “The command of the Lord,” &c.; and this was their habit not only in assemblies of the prophets, but also in their epistles containing revelations, as appears from the epistle of Elijah to Jehoram, 2 Chron. xxi:12, which begins, “Thus saith the Lord.”

In the Apostolic Epistles we find nothing of the sort. Contrariwise, in I Cor. vii:40 Paul speaks according to his own opinion and in many passages we come across doubtful and perplexed phrase; such as, “We think, therefore,” Rom. iii:28; “Now I think,” [24](#), Rom. viii:18, and so on. Besides these, other expressions are met with very different from those used by the prophets. For instance, 1 Cor. vii:6, “But I speak this by permission, not by commandment,” “I give my judgment as one that hath obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful” (1 Cor. vii:25), and so on in many other passages. We must also remark that in the aforesaid chapter the Apostle says that when he states that he has or has not the

precept or commandment of God, he does not mean the precept or commandment of God revealed to himself, but only the words uttered by Christ in His Sermon on the Mount. Furthermore, if we examine the manner in which the Apostles give out evangelical doctrine, we shall see that it differs materially from the method adopted by the prophets. The Apostles everywhere reason as if they were arguing rather than prophesying; the prophecies, on the other hand, contain only dogmas and commands. God is therein introduced not as speaking to reason, but as issuing decrees by His absolute fiat. The authority of the prophets does not submit to discussion, for whosoever wishes to find rational ground for his arguments, by that very wish submits them to everyone's private judgment. This Paul, inasmuch as he uses reason, appears to have done, for he says in 1 Cor. x:15, "I speak as to wise men, judge ye what I say." The prophets, as we showed at the end of Chapter I., did not perceive what was revealed by virtue of their natural reason, and though there are certain passages in the Pentateuch which seem to be appeals to induction, they turn out, on nearer examination, to be nothing but peremptory commands. For instance, when Moses says, Deut. xxxi:27, "Behold, while I am yet alive with you, this day ye have been rebellious against the Lord; and how much more after my death," we must by no means conclude that Moses wished to convince the Israelites by reason that they would necessarily fall away from the worship of the Lord after his death; for the argument would have been false, as Scripture itself shows: the Israelites continued faithful during the lives of Joshua and the elders, and afterwards during the time of Samuel, David, and Solomon. Therefore the words of Moses are merely a moral injunction, in which he predicts rhetorically the future backsliding of the people so as to impress it vividly on their imagination. I say that Moses spoke of himself in order to lend likelihood to his prediction, and not as a prophet by revelation, because in verse 21 of the same chapter we are told that God revealed the same thing to Moses in different words, and there was no need to make Moses certain by argument of God's prediction and decree; it was only necessary that it should be vividly impressed on his imagination, and this could not be better accomplished than by imagining the

existing contumacy of the people, of which he had had frequent experience, as likely to extend into the future.

All the arguments employed by Moses in the five books are to be understood in a similar manner; they are not drawn from the armoury of reason, but are merely, modes of expression calculated to instil with efficacy, and present vividly to the imagination the commands of God. However, I do not wish absolutely to deny that the prophets ever argued from revelation; I only maintain that the prophets made more legitimate use of argument in proportion as their knowledge approached more nearly to ordinary knowledge, and by this we know that they possessed a knowledge above the ordinary, inasmuch as they proclaimed absolute dogmas, decrees, or judgments. Thus Moses, the chief of the prophets, never used legitimate argument, and, on the other hand, the long deductions and arguments of Paul, such as we find in the Epistle to the Romans, are in nowise written from supernatural revelation.

The modes of expression and discourse adopted by the Apostles in the Epistles, show very clearly that the latter were not written by revelation and Divine command, but merely by the natural powers and judgment of the authors. They consist in brotherly admonitions and courteous expressions such as would never be employed in prophecy, as for instance, Paul's excuse in Romans xv:15, "I have written the more boldly unto you in some sort, my brethren."

We may arrive at the same conclusion from observing that we never read that the Apostles were commanded to write, but only that they went everywhere preaching, and confirmed their words with signs. Their personal presence and signs were absolutely necessary for the conversion and establishment in religion of the Gentiles; as Paul himself expressly states in Rom. i:11, "But I long to see you, that I may impart to you some spiritual gift, to the end that ye may be established."

It may be objected that we might prove in similar fashion that the Apostles did not preach as prophets, for they did not go to particular places, as the prophets did, by the command of God. We read in the Old Testament that Jonah went to

Nineveh to preach, and at the same time that he was expressly sent there, and told that he must preach. So also it is related, at great length, of Moses that he went to Egypt as the messenger of God, and was told at the same time what he should say to the children of Israel and to king Pharaoh, and what wonders he should work before them to give credit to his words. Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel were expressly commanded to preach to the Israelites. Lastly, the prophets only preached what we are assured by Scripture they had received from God, whereas this is hardly ever said of the Apostles in the New Testament, when they went about to preach. On the contrary, we find passages expressly implying that the Apostles chose the places where they should preach on their own responsibility, for there was a difference amounting to a quarrel between Paul and Barnabas on the subject (Acts xv:37, 38). Often they wished to go to a place, but were prevented, as Paul writes, Rom. i:13, "Oftentimes I purposed to come to you, but was let hitherto;" and in I Cor. xvi:12, "As touching our brother Apollos, I greatly desired him to come unto you with the brethren, but his will was not at all to come at this time: but he will come when he shall have convenient time."

From these expressions and differences of opinion among the Apostles, and also from the fact that Scripture nowhere testifies of them, as of the ancient prophets, that they went by the command of God, one might conclude that they preached as well as wrote in their capacity of teachers, and not as prophets: but the question is easily solved if we observe the difference between the mission of an Apostle and that of an Old Testament prophet. The latter were not called to preach and prophesy to all nations, but to certain specified ones, and therefore an express and peculiar mandate was required for each of them; the Apostles, on the other hand, were called to preach to all men absolutely, and to turn all men to religion. Therefore, whithersoever they went, they were fulfilling Christ's commandment; there was no need to reveal to them beforehand what they should preach, for they were the disciples of Christ to whom their Master Himself said (Matt. X:19, 20): "But, when they deliver you up, take no thought how or what ye shall speak, for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak." We

therefore conclude that the Apostles were only indebted to special revelation in what they orally preached and confirmed by signs (see the beginning of Chap. 11.); that which they taught in speaking or writing without any confirmatory signs and wonders they taught from their natural knowledge. (See I Cor. xiv:6.) We need not be deterred by the fact that all the Epistles begin by citing the imprimatur of the Apostleship, for the Apostles, as I will shortly show, were granted, not only the faculty of prophecy, but also the authority to teach. We may therefore admit that they wrote their Epistles as Apostles, and for this cause every one of them began by citing the Apostolic imprimatur, possibly with a view to the attention of the reader by asserting that they were the persons who had made such mark among the faithful by their preaching, and had shown by many marvelous works that they were teaching true religion and the way of salvation. I observe that what is said in the Epistles with regard to the Apostolic vocation and the Holy Spirit of God which inspired them, has reference to their former preaching, except in those passages where the expressions of the Spirit of God and the Holy Spirit are used to signify a mind pure, upright, and devoted to God. For instance, in 1 Cor. vii:40, Paul says: But she is happier if she so abide, after my judgment, and I think also that I have the Spirit of God.” By the Spirit of God the Apostle here refers to his mind, as we may see from the context: his meaning is as follows: “I account blessed a widow who does not wish to marry a second husband; such is my opinion, for I have settled to live unmarried, and I think that I am blessed.” There are other similar passages which I need not now quote.

As we have seen that the Apostles wrote their Epistles solely by the light of natural reason, we must inquire how they were enabled to teach by natural knowledge matters outside its scope. However, if we bear in mind what we said in Chap. VII. of this treatise our difficulty will vanish: for although the contents of the Bible entirely surpass our understanding, we may safely discourse of them, provided we assume nothing not told us in Scripture: by the same method the Apostles, from what they saw and heard, and from what was revealed to them,

were enabled to form and elicit many conclusions which they would have been able to teach to men had it been permissible.

Further, although religion, as preached by the Apostles, does not come within the sphere of reason, in so far as it consists in the narration of the life of Christ, yet its essence, which is chiefly moral, like the whole of Christ's doctrine, can readily, be apprehended by the natural faculties of all.

Lastly, the Apostles had no lack of supernatural illumination for the purpose of adapting the religion they had attested by signs to the understanding of everyone so that it might be readily received; nor for exhortations on the subject: in fact, the object of the Epistles is to teach and exhort men to lead that manner of life which each of the Apostles judged best for confirming them in religion. We may here repeat our former remark, that the Apostles had received not only the faculty of preaching the history, of Christ as prophets, and confirming it with signs, but also authority for teaching and exhorting according as each thought best. Paul (2 Tim. i:11), "Whereunto I am appointed a preacher, and an apostle, and a teacher of the Gentiles;" and again (I Tim. ii:7), "Whereunto I am ordained a preacher and an apostle (I speak the truth in Christ and lie not), a teacher of the Gentiles in faith and verity." These passages, I say, show clearly the stamp both of the apostleship and the teachership: the authority for admonishing whomsoever and wheresoever he pleased is asserted by Paul in the Epistle to Philemon, v:8: "Wherefore, though I might be much bold in Christ to enjoin thee that which is convenient, yet," &c., where we may remark that if Paul had received from God as a prophet what he wished to enjoin Philemon, and had been bound to speak in his prophetic capacity, he would not have been able to change the command of God into entreaties. We must therefore understand him to refer to the permission to admonish which he had received as a teacher, and not as a prophet. We have not yet made it quite clear that the Apostles might each choose his own way of teaching, but only that by virtue of their Apostleship they were teachers as well as prophets; however, if we call reason to our aid we shall clearly see that an authority to teach implies authority to choose the method. It will nevertheless be,

perhaps, more satisfactory to draw all our proofs from Scripture; we are there plainly told that each Apostle chose his particular method (Rom. xv: 20): “Yea, so have I strived to preach the gospel, not where Christ was named, lest I should build upon another man’s foundation.” If all the Apostles had adopted the same method of teaching, and had all built up the Christian religion on the same foundation, Paul would have had no reason to call the work of a fellow-Apostle “another man’s foundation,” inasmuch as it would have been identical with his own: his calling it another man’s proved that each Apostle built up his religious instruction on different foundations, thus resembling other teachers who have each their own method, and prefer instructing quite ignorant people who have never learnt under another master, whether the subject be science, languages, or even the indisputable truths of mathematics. Furthermore, if we go through the Epistles at all attentively, we shall see that the Apostles, while agreeing about religion itself, are at variance as to the foundations it rests on. Paul, in order to strengthen men’s religion, and show them that salvation depends solely on the grace of God, teaches that no one can boast of works, but only of faith, and that no one can be justified by works (Rom. iii:27,28); in fact, he preaches the complete doctrine of predestination. James, on the other hand, states that man is justified by works, and not by faith only (see his Epistle, ii:24), and omitting all the disputations of Paul, confines religion to a very few elements.

Lastly, it is indisputable that from these different ground; for religion selected by the Apostles, many quarrels and schisms distracted the Church, even in the earliest times, and doubtless they will continue so to distract it for ever, or at least till religion is separated from philosophical speculations, and reduced to the few simple doctrines taught by Christ to His disciples; such a task was impossible for the Apostles, because the Gospel was then unknown to mankind, and lest its novelty should offend men’s ears it had to be adapted to the disposition of contemporaries (2 Cor. ix:19, 20), and built up on the groundwork most familiar and accepted at the time. Thus none of the Apostles philosophized more than did Paul, who was called to preach to the Gentiles; other Apostles preaching to the

Jews, who despised philosophy, similarly, adapted themselves to the temper of their hearers (see Gal. ii. 11), and preached a religion free from all philosophical speculations. How blest would our age be if it could witness a religion freed also from all the trammels of superstition!

24 “Now I think.” The translators render the {Greek} word “I infer”, and assert that Paul uses it as synonymous with {a Greek word}. But the former word has, in Greek, the same meaning as the Hebrew word rendered to think, to esteem, to judge. And this signification would be in entire agreement with the Syriac translation. This Syriac translation (if it be a translation, which is very doubtful, for we know neither the time of its appearance, nor the translators and Syriac was the vernacular of the Apostles) renders the text before us in a way well explained by Tremellius as “we think, therefore.”

CHAPTER XII.

Of the true original of the Divine Law, and wherefore Scripture is called Sacred, and the Word of God. How that, in so far as it contains the Word of God, it has come down to us uncorrupted.



THOSE WHO LOOK upon the Bible as a message sent down by God from Heaven to men, will doubtless cry out that I have committed the sin against the Holy Ghost because I have asserted that the Word of God is faulty, mutilated, tampered with, and inconsistent; that we possess it only in fragments, and that the original of the covenant which God made with the Jews has been lost. However, I have no doubt that a little reflection will cause them to desist from their uproar: for not only reason but the expressed opinions of prophets and apostles openly proclaim that God's eternal Word and covenant, no less than true religion, is Divinely inscribed in human hearts, that is, in the human mind, and that this is the true original of God's covenant, stamped with His own seal, namely, the idea of Himself, as it were, with the image of His Godhood.

Religion was imparted to the early Hebrews as a law written down, because they were at that time in the condition of children, but afterwards Moses (Deut. xxx:6) and Jeremiah (xxxi:33) predicted a time coming when the Lord should write His law in their hearts. Thus only the Jews, and amongst them chiefly the Sadducees, struggled for the law written on tablets; least of all need those who bear it inscribed on their hearts join in the contest. Those, therefore, who reflect, will find nothing in what I have written repugnant either to the Word of God or to true religion and faith, or calculated to weaken either one or the other: contrariwise, they will see that I have strengthened religion, as I showed at the end of Chapter X.; indeed, had it not been so, I should certainly have decided to hold my peace, nay, I would even have asserted as a way out of all difficulties that

the Bible contains the most profound hidden mysteries; however, as this doctrine has given rise to gross superstition and other pernicious results spoken of at the beginning of Chapter V., I have thought such a course unnecessary, especially as religion stands in no need of superstitious adornments, but is, on the contrary, deprived by such trappings of some of her splendour.

Still, it will be said, though the law of God is written in the heart, the Bible is none the less the Word of God, and it is no more lawful to say of Scripture than of God's Word that it is mutilated and corrupted. I fear that such objectors are too anxious to be pious, and that they are in danger of turning religion into superstition, and worshipping paper and ink in place of God's Word.

I am certified of thus much: I have said nothing unworthy of Scripture or God's Word, and I have made no assertions which I could not prove by most plain argument to be true. I can, therefore, rest assured that I have advanced nothing which is impious or even savours of impiety.

from what I have said, assume a licence to sin, and without any reason, at I confess that some profane men, to whom religion is a burden, may, the simple dictates of their lusts conclude that Scripture is everywhere faulty and falsified, and that therefore its authority is null; but such men are beyond the reach of help, for nothing, as the pro verb has it, can be said so rightly that it cannot be twisted into wrong. Those who wish to give rein to their lusts are at no loss for an excuse, nor were those men of old who possessed the original Scriptures, the ark of the covenant, nay, the prophets and apostles in person among them, any better than the people of today. Human nature, Jew as well as Gentile, has always been the same, and in every age virtue has been exceedingly rare.

Nevertheless, to remove every scruple, I will here show in what sense the Bible or any inanimate thing should be called sacred and Divine; also wherein the law of God consists, and how it cannot be contained in a certain number of books; and, lastly, I will show that Scripture, in so far as it teaches what is necessary for obedience and salvation, cannot have been corrupted. From these considerations

everyone will be able to judge that I have neither said anything against the Word of God nor given any foothold to impiety.

A thing is called sacred and Divine when it is designed for promoting piety, and continues sacred so long as it is religiously used: if the users cease to be pious, the thing ceases to be sacred: if it be turned to base uses, that which was formerly sacred becomes unclean and profane. For instance, a certain spot was named by the patriarch Jacob the house of God, because he worshipped God there revealed to him: by the prophets the same spot was called the house of iniquity (see Amos v:5, and Hosea x:5), because the Israelites were wont, at the instigation of Jeroboam, to sacrifice there to idols. Another example puts the matter in the plainest light. Words gain their meaning solely from their usage, and if they are arranged according to their accepted signification so as to move those who read them to devotion, they will become sacred, and the book so written will be sacred also. But if their usage afterwards dies out so that the words have no meaning, or the book becomes utterly neglected, whether from unworthy motives, or because it is no longer needed, then the words and the book will lose both their use and their sanctity: lastly, if these same words be otherwise arranged, or if their customary meaning becomes perverted into its opposite, then both the words and the book containing them become, instead of sacred, impure and profane.

From this it follows that nothing is in itself absolutely sacred, or profane, and unclean, apart from the mind, but only relatively thereto. Thus much is clear from many passages in the Bible. Jeremiah (to select one case out of many) says (chap. vii:4), that the Jews of his time were wrong in calling Solomon's Temple, the Temple of God, for, as he goes on to say in the same chapter, God's name would only be given to the Temple so long as it was frequented by men who worshipped Him, and defended justice, but that, if it became the resort of murderers, thieves, idolaters, and other wicked persons, it would be turned into a den of malefactors.

Scripture, curiously enough, nowhere tells us what became of the Ark of the Covenant, though there is no doubt that it was destroyed, or burnt together with the Temple; yet there was nothing which the Hebrews considered more sacred, or

held in greater reverence. Thus Scripture is sacred, and its words Divine so long as it stirs mankind to devotion towards God: but if it be utterly neglected, as it formerly was by the Jews, it becomes nothing but paper and ink, and is left to be desecrated or corrupted: still, though Scripture be thus corrupted or destroyed, we must not say that the Word of God has suffered in like manner, else we shall be like the Jews, who said that the Temple which would then be the Temple of God had perished in the flames. Jeremiah tells us this in respect to the law, for he thus chides the ungodly of his time, “Wherefore, say you we are masters, and the law of the Lord is with us? Surely it has been given in vain, it is in vain that the pen of the scribes” (has been made) — that is, you say falsely that the Scripture is in your power, and that you possess the law of God; for ye have made it of none effect.

So also, when Moses broke the first tables of the law, he did not by any means cast the Word of God from his hands in anger and shatter it — such an action would be inconceivable, either of Moses or of God’s Word — he only broke the tables of stone, which, though they had before been holy from containing the covenant wherewith the Jews had bound themselves in obedience to God, had entirely lost their sanctity when the covenant had been violated by the worship of the calf, and were, therefore, as liable to perish as the ark of the covenant. It is thus scarcely to be wondered at, that the original documents of Moses are no longer extant, nor that the books we possess met with the fate we have described, when we consider that the true original of the Divine covenant, the most sacred object of all, has totally perished.

Let them cease, therefore, who accuse us of impiety, inasmuch as we have said nothing against the Word of God, neither have we corrupted it, but let them keep their anger, if they would wreak it justly, for the ancients whose malice desecrated the Ark, the Temple, and the Law of God, and all that was held sacred, subjecting them to corruption. Furthermore, if, according to the saying of the Apostle in 2 Cor. iii:3, they possessed “the Epistle of Christ, written not with ink, but with the

Spirit of the living God, not in tables of stone, but in the fleshy tables of the heart,” let them cease to worship the letter, and be so anxious concerning it.

I think I have now sufficiently shown in what respect Scripture should be accounted sacred and Divine; we may now see what should rightly be understood by the expression, the Word of the Lord; *debar* (the Hebrew original) signifies word, speech, command, and thing. The causes for which a thing is in Hebrew said to be of God, or is referred to Him, have been already detailed in Chap. I., and we can therefrom easily gather what meaning Scripture attaches to the phrases, the word, the speech, the command, or the thing of God. I need not, therefore, repeat what I there said, nor what was shown under the third head in the chapter on miracles. It is enough to mention the repetition for the better understanding of what I am about to say — viz., that the Word of the Lord when it has reference to anyone but God Himself, signifies that Divine law treated of in Chap. IV.; in other words, religion, universal and catholic to the whole human race, as Isaiah describes it (chap. i:10), teaching that the true way of life consists, not in ceremonies, but in charity, and a true heart, and calling it indifferently God’s Law and God’s Word.

The expression is also used metaphorically for the order of nature and destiny (which, indeed, actually depend and follow from the eternal mandate of the Divine nature), and especially for such parts of such order as were foreseen by the prophets, for the prophets did not perceive future events as the result of natural causes, but as the fiats and decrees of God. Lastly, it is employed for the command of any prophet, in so far as he had perceived it by his peculiar faculty or prophetic gift, and not by the natural light of reason; this use springs chiefly from the usual prophetic conception of God as a legislator, which we remarked in Chap. IV. There are, then, three causes for the Bible’s being called the Word of God: because it teaches true religion, of which God is the eternal Founder; because it narrates predictions of future events as though they were decrees of God; because its actual authors generally perceived things not by their ordinary

natural faculties, but by a power peculiar to themselves, and introduced these things perceived, as told them by God.

Although Scripture contains much that is merely historical and can be perceived by natural reason, yet its name is acquired from its chief subject matter.

We can thus easily see how God can be said to be the Author of the Bible: it is because of the true religion therein contained, and not because He wished to communicate to men a certain number of books. We can also learn from hence the reason for the division into Old and New Testament. It was made because the prophets who preached religion before Christ, preached it as a national law in virtue of the covenant entered into under Moses; while the Apostles who came after Christ, preached it to all men as a universal religion solely in virtue of Christ's Passion: the cause for the division is not that the two parts are different in doctrine, nor that they were written as originals of the covenant, nor, lastly, that the catholic religion (which is in entire harmony with our nature) was new except in relation to those who had not known it: "it was in the world," as John the Evangelist says, "and the world knew it not."

Thus, even if we had fewer books of the Old and New Testament than we have, we should still not be deprived of the Word of God (which, as we have said, is identical with true religion), even as we do not now hold ourselves to be deprived of it, though we lack many cardinal writings such as the Book of the Law, which was religiously guarded in the Temple as the original of the Covenant, also the Book of Wars, the Book of Chronicles, and many others, from whence the extant Old Testament was taken and compiled. The above conclusion may be supported by many reasons.

I. Because the books of both Testaments were not written by express command at one place for all ages, but are a fortuitous collection of the works of men, writing each as his period and disposition dictated. So much is clearly shown by the call of the prophets who were bade to admonish the ungodly of their time, and also by the Apostolic Epistles.

II. Because it is one thing to understand the meaning of Scripture and the prophets, and quite another thing to understand the meaning of God, or the actual truth. This follows from what we said in Chap. II. We showed, in Chap. VI., that it applied to historic narratives, and to miracles: but it by no means applies to questions concerning true religion and virtue.

III. Because the books of the Old Testament were selected from many, and were collected and sanctioned by a council of the Pharisees, as we showed in Chap. X. The books of the New Testament were also chosen from many by councils which rejected as spurious other books held sacred by many. But these councils, both Pharisee and Christian, were not composed of prophets, but only of learned men and teachers. Still, we must grant that they were guided in their choice by a regard for the Word of God; and they must, therefore, have known what the law of God was.

IV. Because the Apostles wrote not as prophets, but as teachers (see last Chapter), and chose whatever method they thought best adapted for those whom they addressed: and consequently, there are many things in the Epistles (as we showed at the end of the last Chapter) which are not necessary to salvation.

V. Lastly, because there are four Evangelists in the New Testament, and it is scarcely credible that God can have designed to narrate the life of Christ four times over, and to communicate it thus to mankind. For though there are some details related in one Gospel which are not in another, and one often helps us to understand another, we cannot thence conclude that all that is set down is of vital importance to us, and that God chose the four Evangelists in order that the life of Christ might be better understood; for each one preached his Gospel in a separate locality, each wrote it down as he preached it, in simple language, in order that the history of Christ might be clearly told, not with any view of explaining his fellow-Evangelists.

If there are some passages which can be better, and more easily understood by comparing the various versions, they are the result of chance, and are not

numerous: their continuance in obscurity would have impaired neither the clearness of the narrative nor the blessedness of mankind.

We have now shown that Scripture can only be called the Word of God in so far as it affects religion, or the Divine law; we must now point out that, in respect to these questions, it is neither faulty, tampered with, nor corrupt. By faulty, tampered with, and corrupt, I here mean written so incorrectly, that the meaning cannot be arrived at by a study of the language, nor from the authority of Scripture. I will not go to such lengths as to say that the Bible, in so far as it contains the Divine law, has always preserved the same vowel-points, the same letters, or the same words (I leave this to be proved by, the Massoretes and other worshippers of the letter), I only, maintain that the meaning by, which alone an utterance is entitled to be called Divine, has come down to us uncorrupted, even though the original wording may have been more often changed than we suppose. Such alterations, as I have said above, detract nothing from the Divinity of the Bible, for the Bible would have been no less Divine had it been written in different words or a different language. That the Divine law has in this sense come down to us uncorrupted, is an assertion which admits of no dispute. For from the Bible itself we learn, without the smallest difficulty or ambiguity,, that its cardinal precept is: To love God above all things, and one's neighbour as one's self. This cannot be a spurious passage, nor due to a hasty and mistaken scribe, for if the Bible had ever put forth a different doctrine it would have had to change the whole of its teaching, for this is the corner-stone of religion, without which the whole fabric would fall headlong to the ground. The Bible would not be the work we have been examining, but something quite different.

We remain, then, unshaken in our belief that this has always been the doctrine of Scripture, and, consequently, that no error sufficient to vitiate it can have crept in without being instantly, observed by all; nor can anyone have succeeded in tampering with it and escaped the discovery of his malice.

As this corner-stone is intact, we must perforce admit the same of whatever other passages are indisputably dependent on it, and are also fundamental, as, for

instance, that a God exists, that He foresees all things, that He is Almighty, that by His decree the good prosper and the wicked come to naught, and, finally, that our salvation depends solely on His grace.

These are doctrines which Scripture plainly teaches throughout, and which it is bound to teach, else all the rest would be empty and baseless; nor can we be less positive about other moral doctrines, which plainly are built upon this universal foundation — for instance, to uphold justice, to aid the weak, to do no murder, to covet no man's goods, &c. Precepts, I repeat, such as these, human malice and the lapse of ages are alike powerless to destroy, for if any part of them perished, its loss would immediately be supplied from the fundamental principle, especially the doctrine of charity, which is everywhere in both Testaments extolled above all others. Moreover, though it be true that there is no conceivable crime so heinous that it has never been committed, still there is no one who would attempt in excuse for his crimes to destroy, the law, or introduce an impious doctrine in the place of what is eternal and salutary; men's nature is so constituted that everyone (be he king or subject) who has committed a base action, tries to deck out his conduct with spurious excuses, till he seems to have done nothing but what is just and right.

We may conclude, therefore, that the whole Divine law, as taught by Scripture, has come down to us uncorrupted. Besides this there are certain facts which we may be sure have been transmitted in good faith. For instance, the main facts of Hebrew history, which were perfectly well known to everyone. The Jewish people were accustomed in former times to chant the ancient history of their nation in psalms. The main facts, also, of Christ's life and passion were immediately spread abroad through the whole Roman empire. It is therefore scarcely credible, unless nearly everybody, consented thereto, which we cannot suppose, that successive generations have handed down the broad outline of the Gospel narrative otherwise than as they received it.

Whatsoever, therefore, is spurious or faulty can only have reference to details — some circumstances in one or the other history or prophecy designed to stir the

people to greater devotion; or in some miracle, with a view of confounding philosophers; or, lastly, in speculative matters after they had become mixed up with religion, so that some individual might prop up his own inventions with a pretext of Divine authority. But such matters have little to do with salvation, whether they be corrupted little or much, as I will show in detail in the next chapter, though I think the question sufficiently plain from what I have said already, especially in Chapter II.

CHAPTER XIII.

It is shown that Scripture teaches only very simple Doctrines, such as suffice for Right Conduct.



IN THE SECOND chapter of this treatise we pointed out that the prophets were gifted with extraordinary powers of imagination, but not of understanding; also that God only revealed to them such things as are very simple — not philosophic mysteries, — and that He adapted His communications to their previous opinions. We further showed in Chap. V. that Scripture only transmits and teaches truths which can readily be comprehended by all; not deducing and concatenating its conclusions from definitions and axioms, but narrating quite simply, and confirming its statements, with a view to inspiring belief, by an appeal to experience as exemplified in miracles and history, and setting forth its truths in the style and phraseology which would most appeal to the popular mind (cf. Chap. VI., third division).

Lastly, we demonstrated in Chap. VIII. that the difficulty of understanding Scripture lies in the language only, and not in the abstruseness of the argument.

To these considerations we may add that the Prophets did not preach only to the learned, but to all Jews, without exception, while the Apostles were wont to teach the gospel doctrine in churches where there were public meetings; whence it follows that Scriptural doctrine contains no lofty speculations nor philosophic reasoning, but only very simple matters, such as could be understood by the slowest intelligence.

I am consequently lost in wonder at the ingenuity of those whom I have already mentioned, who detect in the Bible mysteries so profound that they cannot be explained in human language, and who have introduced so many

philosophic speculations into religion that the Church seems like an academy, and religion like a science, or rather a dispute.

It is not to be wondered at that men, who boast of possessing supernatural intelligence, should be unwilling to yield the palm of knowledge to philosophers who have only their ordinary, faculties; still I should be surprised if I found them teaching any new speculative doctrine, which was not a commonplace to those Gentile philosophers whom, in spite of all, they stigmatize as blind; for, if one inquires what these mysteries lurking in Scripture may be, one is confronted with nothing but the reflections of Plato or Aristotle, or the like, which it would often be easier for an ignorant man to dream than for the most accomplished scholar to wrest out of the Bible.

However, I do not wish to affirm absolutely that Scripture contains no doctrines in the sphere of philosophy, for in the last chapter I pointed out some of the kind, as fundamental principles; but I go so far as to say that such doctrines are very few and very simple. Their precise nature and definition I will now set forth. The task will be easy, for we know that Scripture does not aim at imparting scientific knowledge, and, therefore, it demands from men nothing but obedience, and censures obstinacy, but not ignorance.

Furthermore, as obedience to God consists solely in love to our neighbour — for whosoever loveth his neighbour, as a means of obeying God, hath, as St. Paul says (Rom. xiii:8), fulfilled the law, — it follows that no knowledge is commended in the Bible save that which is necessary for enabling all men to obey God in the manner stated, and without which they would become rebellious, or without the discipline of obedience.

Other speculative questions, which have no direct bearing on this object, or are concerned with the knowledge of natural events, do not affect Scripture, and should be entirely separated from religion.

Now, though everyone, as we have said, is now quite able to see this truth for himself, I should nevertheless wish, considering that the whole of Religion depends thereon, to explain the entire question more accurately and clearly. To

this end I must first prove that the intellectual or accurate knowledge of God is not a gift, bestowed upon all good men like obedience; and, further, that the knowledge of God, required by Him through His prophets from everyone without exception, as needful to be known, is simply a knowledge of His Divine justice and charity. Both these points are easily proved from Scripture. The first plainly follows from Exodus vi:2, where God, in order to show the singular grace bestowed upon Moses, says to him: “And I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob by the name of El Sadai (A. V. God Almighty); but by my name Jehovah was I not known to them” — for the better understanding of which passage I may remark that El Sadai, in Hebrew, signifies the God who suffices, in that He gives to every man that which suffices for him; and, although Sadai is often used by itself, to signify God, we cannot doubt that the word El (God, {power, might}) is everywhere understood. Furthermore, we must note that Jehovah is the only word found in Scripture with the meaning of the absolute essence of God, without reference to created things. The Jews maintain, for this reason, that this is, strictly speaking, the only name of God; that the rest of the words used are merely titles; and, in truth, the other names of God, whether they be substantives or adjectives, are merely attributive, and belong to Him, in so far as He is conceived of in relation to created things, or manifested through them. Thus El, or Eloah, signifies powerful, as is well known, and only applies to God in respect to His supremacy, as when we call Paul an apostle; the faculties of his power are set forth in an accompanying adjective, as El, great, awful, just, merciful, &c., or else all are understood at once by the use of El in the plural number, with a singular signification, an expression frequently adopted in Scripture.

Now, as God tells Moses that He was not known to the patriarchs by the name of Jehovah, it follows that they were not cognizant of any attribute of God which expresses His absolute essence, but only of His deeds and promises that is, of His power, as manifested in visible things. God does not thus speak to Moses in order to accuse the patriarchs of infidelity, but, on the contrary, as a means of extolling

their belief and faith, inasmuch as, though they possessed no extraordinary knowledge of God (such as Moses had), they yet accepted His promises as fixed and certain; whereas Moses, though his thoughts about God were more exalted, nevertheless doubted about the Divine promises, and complained to God that, instead of the promised deliverance, the prospects of the Israelites had darkened.

As the patriarchs did not know the distinctive name of God, and as God mentions the fact to Moses, in praise of their faith and single-heartedness, and in contrast to the extraordinary grace granted to Moses, it follows, as we stated at first, that men are not bound by decree to have knowledge of the attributes of God, such knowledge being only granted to a few of the faithful: it is hardly worth while to quote further examples from Scripture, for everyone must recognize that knowledge of God is not equal among all good men. Moreover, a man cannot be ordered to be wise any more than he can be ordered to live and exist. Men, women, and children are all alike able to obey by, commandment, but not to be wise. If any tell us that it is not necessary to understand the Divine attributes, but that we must believe them simply, without proof, he is plainly, trifling. For what is invisible and can only, be perceived by the mind, cannot be apprehended by any, other means than proofs; if these are absent the object remains ungrasped; the repetition of what has been heard on such subjects no more indicates or attains to their meaning than the words of a parrot or a puppet speaking without sense or signification.

Before I proceed I ought to explain how it comes that we are often told in Genesis that the patriarchs preached in the name of Jehovah, this being in plain contradiction to the text above quoted. A reference to what was said in Chap. VIII. will readily explain the difficulty. It was there shown that the writer of the Pentateuch did not always speak of things and places by the names they bore in the times of which he was writing, but by the names best known to his contemporaries. God is thus said in the Pentateuch to have been preached by the patriarchs under the name of Jehovah, not because such was the name by which the patriarchs knew Him, but because this name was the one most revered by

the Jews. This point, I say, must necessarily be noticed, for in Exodus it is expressly stated that God was not known to the patriarchs by this name; and in chap. iii:13, it is said that Moses desired to know the name of God. Now, if this name had been already known it would have been known to Moses. We must therefore draw the conclusion indicated, namely, that the faithful patriarchs did not know this name of God, and that the knowledge of God is bestowed and not commanded by the Deity.

It is now time to pass on to our second point, and show that God through His prophets required from men no other knowledge of Himself than is contained in a knowledge of His justice and charity — that is, of attributes which a certain manner of life will enable men to imitate. Jeremiah states this in so many words (xxii:15, 16): “Did not thy father eat, and drink, and do judgment and justice? and then it was well with him. He judged the cause of the poor and needy; then it was well with him: was not this to know Me? saith the Lord.” The words in chap. ix:24 of the same book are equally, clear. “But let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth Me, that I am the Lord which exercise loving-kindness, judgment, and righteousness in the earth; for in these things I delight, saith the Lord.” The same doctrine maybe gathered from Exod. xxxiv:6, where God revealed to Moses only, those of His attributes which display the Divine justice and charity. Lastly, we may call attention to a passage in John which we shall discuss at more length hereafter; the Apostle explains the nature of God (inasmuch as no one has beheld Him) through charity only, and concludes that he who possesses charity possesses, and in very, truth knows God.

We have thus seen that Moses, Jeremiah, and John sum up in a very short compass the knowledge of God needful for all, and that they state it to consist in exactly what we said, namely, that God is supremely just, and supremely merciful — in other words, the one perfect pattern of the true life. We may add that Scripture nowhere gives an express definition of God, and does not point out any other of His attributes which should be apprehended save these, nor does it in set terms praise any others. Wherefore we may draw the general conclusion that an

intellectual knowledge of God, which takes cognizance of His nature in so far as it actually is, and which cannot by any manner of living be imitated by mankind or followed as an example, has no bearing whatever on true rules of conduct, on faith, or on revealed religion; consequently that men may be in complete error on the subject without incurring the charge of sinfulness. We need now no longer wonder that God adapted Himself to the existing opinions and imaginations of the prophets, or that the faithful held different ideas of God, as we showed in Chap. II.; or, again, that the sacred books speak very inaccurately of God, attributing to Him hands, feet, eyes, ears, a mind, and motion from one place to another; or that they ascribe to Him emotions, such as jealousy, mercy, &c., or, lastly, that they describe Him as a Judge in heaven sitting on a royal throne with Christ on His right hand. Such expressions are adapted to the understanding of the multitude, it being the object of the Bible to make men not learned but obedient.

In spite of this the general run of theologians, when they come upon any of these phrases which they cannot rationally harmonize with the Divine nature, maintain that they should be interpreted metaphorically, passages they cannot understand they say should be interpreted literally. But if every expression of this kind in the Bible is necessarily to be interpreted and understood metaphorically, Scripture must have been written, not for the people and the unlearned masses, but chiefly for accomplished experts and philosophers.

If it were indeed a sin to hold piously and simply the ideas about God we have just quoted, the prophets ought to have been strictly on their guard against the use of such expressions, seeing the weak-mindedness of the people, and ought, on the other hand, to have set forth first of all, duly and clearly, those attributes of God which are needful to be understood.

This they have nowhere done; we cannot, therefore, think that opinions taken in themselves without respect to actions are either pious or impious, but must maintain that a man is pious or impious in his beliefs only in so far as he is thereby incited to obedience, or derives from them license to sin and rebel. If a man, by believing what is true, becomes rebellious, his creed is impious; if by

believing what is false he becomes obedient, his creed is pious; for the true knowledge of God comes not by commandment, but by Divine gift. God has required nothing from man but a knowledge of His Divine justice and charity, and that not as necessary to scientific accuracy, but to obedience.

CHAPTER XIV.

Definitions of Faith, the Faith, and the Foundations of Faith, which is once for all separated from

Philosophy.



FOR A TRUE knowledge of faith it is above all things necessary to understand that the Bible was adapted to the intelligence, not only of the prophets, but also of the diverse and fickle Jewish multitude. This will be recognized by all who give any thought to the subject, for they will see that a person who accepted promiscuously everything in Scripture as being the universal and absolute teaching of God, without accurately defining what was adapted to the popular intelligence, would find it impossible to escape confounding the opinions of the masses with the Divine doctrines, praising the judgments and comments of man as the teaching of God, and making a wrong use of Scriptural authority. Who, I say, does not perceive that this is the chief reason why so many sectaries teach contradictory opinions as Divine documents, and support their contentions with numerous Scriptural texts, till it has passed in Belgium into a proverb, *geen ketter sonder letter* — no heretic without a text? The sacred books were not written by one man, nor for the people of a single period, but by many authors of different temperaments, at times extending from first to last over nearly two thousand years, and perhaps much longer. We will not, however, accuse the sectaries of impiety because they have adapted the words of Scripture to their own opinions; it is thus that these words were adapted to the understanding of the masses originally, and everyone is at liberty so to treat them if he sees that he can thus obey God in matters relating to justice and charity with a more full consent: but we do accuse those who will not grant this freedom to their fellows, but who persecute all who differ from them, as God's enemies, however honourable and

virtuous be their lives; while, on the other hand, they cherish those who agree with them, however foolish they may be, as God's elect. Such conduct is as wicked and dangerous to the state as any that can be conceived.

In order, therefore, to establish the limits to which individual freedom should extend, and to decide what persons, in spite of the diversity of their opinions, are to be looked upon as the faithful, we must define faith and its essentials. This task I hope to accomplish in the present chapter, and also to separate faith from philosophy, which is the chief aim of the whole treatise.

In order to proceed duly to the demonstration let us recapitulate the chief aim and object of Scripture; this will indicate a standard by which we may define faith.

We have said in a former chapter that the aim and object of Scripture is only to teach obedience. Thus much, I think, no one can question. Who does not see that both Testaments are nothing else but schools for this object, and have neither of them any aim beyond inspiring mankind with a voluntary obedience? For (not to repeat what I said in the last chapter) I will remark that Moses did not seek to convince the Jews by reason, but bound them by a covenant, by oaths, and by conferring benefits; further, he threatened the people with punishment if they should infringe the law, and promised rewards if they should obey it. All these are not means for teaching knowledge, but for inspiring obedience. The doctrine of the Gospels enjoins nothing but simple faith, namely, to believe in God and to honour Him, which is the same thing as to obey him. There is no occasion for me to throw further light on a question so plain by citing Scriptural texts commending obedience, such as may be found in great numbers in both Testaments. Moreover, the Bible teaches very clearly in a great many passages what everyone ought to do in order to obey God; the whole duty is summed up in love to one's neighbour. It cannot, therefore, be denied that he who by God's command loves his neighbour as himself is truly obedient and blessed according to the law, whereas he who hates his neighbour or neglects him is rebellious and obstinate.

Lastly, it is plain to everyone that the Bible was not written and disseminated only, for the learned, but for men of every age and race; wherefore we may, rest assured that we are not bound by Scriptural command to believe anything beyond what is absolutely necessary, for fulfilling its main precept.

This precept, then, is the only standard of the whole Catholic faith, and by it alone all the dogmas needful to be believed should be determined. So much being abundantly manifest, as is also the fact that all other doctrines of the faith can be legitimately deduced therefrom by reason alone, I leave it to every man to decide for himself how it comes to pass that so many divisions have arisen in the Church: can it be from any other cause than those suggested at the beginning of Chap. VIII.? It is these same causes which compel me to explain the method of determining the dogmas of the faith from the foundation we have discovered, for if I neglected to do so, and put the question on a regular basis, I might justly be said to have promised too lavishly, for that anyone might, by my showing, introduce any doctrine he liked into religion, under the pretext that it was a necessary means to obedience: especially would this be the case in questions respecting the Divine attributes.

In order, therefore, to set forth the whole matter methodically, I will begin with a definition of faith, which on the principle above given, should be as follows: —

Faith consists in a knowledge of God, without which obedience to Him would be impossible, and which the mere fact of obedience to Him implies. This definition is so clear, and follows so plainly from what we have already proved, that it needs no explanation. The consequences involved therein I will now briefly show.

(I.) Faith is not salutary in itself, but only in respect to the obedience it implies, or as James puts it in his Epistle, ii:17, “Faith without works is dead” (see the whole of the chapter quoted).

(II.) He who is truly obedient necessarily possesses true and saving faith; for if obedience be granted, faith must be granted also, as the same Apostle expressly says in these words (ii:18), “Show me thy faith without thy works, and I will

show thee my faith by my works.” So also John, I Ep. iv:7: “Everyone that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God: he that loveth not, knoweth not God; for God is love.” From these texts, I repeat, it follows that we can only judge a man faithful or unfaithful by his works. If his works be good, he is faithful, however much his doctrines may differ from those of the rest of the faithful: if his works be evil, though he may verbally conform, he is unfaithful. For obedience implies faith, and faith without works is dead.

John, in the 13th verse of the chapter above quoted, expressly teaches the same doctrine: “Hereby,” he says, “know we that we dwell in Him and He in us, because He hath given us of His Spirit,” i.e. love. He had said before that God is love, and therefore he concludes (on his own received principles), that whoso possesses love possesses truly the Spirit of God. As no one has beheld God he infers that no one has knowledge or consciousness of God, except from love towards his neighbour, and also that no one can have knowledge of any of God’s attributes, except this of love, in so far as we participate therein.

If these arguments are not conclusive, they, at any rate, show the Apostle’s meaning, but the words in chap. ii:3, 4, of the same Epistle are much clearer, for they state in so many words our precise contention: “And hereby we do know that we know Him, if we keep His commandments. He that saith, I know Him, and keepeth not His commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him.”

From all this, I repeat, it follows that they are the true enemies of Christ who persecute honourable and justice-loving men because they differ from them, and do not uphold the same religious dogmas as themselves: for whosoever loves justice and charity we know, by that very fact, to be faithful: whosoever persecutes the faithful, is an enemy to Christ.

Lastly, it follows that faith does not demand that dogmas should be true as that they should be pious — that is, such as will stir up the heart to obey; though there be many such which contain not a shadow of truth, so long as they be held in good faith, otherwise their adherents are disobedient, for how can anyone, desirous of loving justice and obeying God, adore as Divine what he knows to be

alien from the Divine nature? However, men may err from simplicity of mind, and Scripture, as we have seen, does not condemn ignorance, but obstinacy. This is the necessary result of our definition of faith, and all its branches should spring from the universal rule above given, and from the evident aim and object of the Bible, unless we choose to mix our own inventions therewith. Thus it is not true doctrines which are expressly required by the Bible, so much as doctrines necessary for obedience, and to confirm in our hearts the love of our neighbour, wherein (to adopt the words of John) we are in God, and God in us.

As, then, each man's faith must be judged pious or impious only in respect of its producing obedience or obstinacy, and not in respect of its truth; and as no one will dispute that men's dispositions are exceedingly varied, that all do not acquiesce in the same things, but are ruled some by one opinion some by another, so that what moves one to devotion moves another to laughter and contempt, it follows that there can be no doctrines in the Catholic, or universal, religion, which can give rise to controversy among good men. Such doctrines might be pious to some and impious to others, whereas they should be judged solely by their fruits.

To the universal religion, then, belong only such dogmas as are absolutely required in order to attain obedience to God, and without which such obedience would be impossible; as for the rest, each man — seeing that he is the best judge of his own character should adopt whatever he thinks best adapted to strengthen his love of justice. If this were so, I think there would be no further occasion for controversies in the Church.

I have now no further fear in enumerating the dogmas of universal faith or the fundamental dogmas of the whole of Scripture, inasmuch as they all tend (as may be seen from what has been said) to this one doctrine, namely, that there exists a God, that is, a Supreme Being, Who loves justice and charity, and Who must be obeyed by whosoever would be saved; that the worship of this Being consists in the practice of justice and love towards one's neighbour, and that they contain nothing beyond the following doctrines: —

I. That God or a Supreme Being exists, sovereignly just and merciful, the Exemplar of the true life; that whosoever is ignorant of or disbelieves in His existence cannot obey Him or know Him as a Judge.

II. That He is One. Nobody will dispute that this doctrine is absolutely necessary for entire devotion, admiration, and love towards God. For devotion, admiration, and love spring from the superiority of one over all else.

III. That He is omnipresent, or that all things are open to Him, for if anything could be supposed to be concealed from Him, or to be unnoticed by, Him, we might doubt or be ignorant of the equity of His judgment as directing all things.

IV. That He has supreme right and dominion over all things, and that He does nothing under compulsion, but by His absolute fiat and grace. All things are bound to obey Him, He is not bound to obey any.

V. That the worship of God consists only in justice and charity, or love towards one's neighbour.

VI. That all those, and those only, who obey God by their manner of life are saved; the rest of mankind, who live under the sway of their pleasures, are lost. If we did not believe this, there would be no reason for obeying God rather than pleasure.

VII. Lastly, that God forgives the sins of those who repent. No one is free from sin, so that without this belief all would despair of salvation, and there would be no reason for believing in the mercy of God. He who firmly believes that God, out of the mercy and grace with which He directs all things, forgives the sins of men, and who feels his love of God kindled thereby, he, I say, does really, know Christ according to the Spirit, and Christ is in him.

No one can deny that all these doctrines are before all things necessary, to be believed, in order that every man, without exception, may be able to obey God according to the bidding of the Law above explained, for if one of these precepts be disregarded obedience is destroyed. But as to what God, or the Exemplar of the true life, may be, whether fire, or spirit, or light, or thought, or what not, this, I say, has nothing to do with faith any more than has the question how He comes to

be the Exemplar of the true life, whether it be because He has a just and merciful mind, or because all things exist and act through Him, and consequently that we understand through Him, and through Him see what is truly just and good. Everyone may think on such questions as he likes,

Furthermore, faith is not affected, whether we hold that God is omnipresent essentially or potentially; that He directs all things by absolute fiat, or by the necessity of His nature; that He dictates laws like a prince, or that He sets them forth as eternal truths; that man obeys Him by virtue of free will, or by virtue of the necessity of the Divine decree; lastly, that the reward of the good and the punishment of the wicked is natural or supernatural: these and such like questions have no bearing on faith, except in so far as they are used as means to give us license to sin more, or to obey God less. I will go further, and maintain that every man is bound to adapt these dogmas to his own way of thinking, and to interpret them according as he feels that he can give them his fullest and most unhesitating assent, so that he may the more easily obey God with his whole heart.

Such was the manner, as we have already pointed out, in which the faith was in old time revealed and written, in accordance with the understanding and opinions of the prophets and people of the period; so, in like fashion, every man is bound to adapt it to his own opinions, so that he may accept it without any hesitation or mental repugnance. We have shown that faith does not so much require truth as piety, and that it is only quickening and pious through obedience, consequently no one is faithful save by obedience alone. The best faith is not necessarily possessed by him who displays the best reasons, but by him who displays the best fruits of justice and charity. How salutary and necessary this doctrine is for a state, in order that men may dwell together in peace and concord; and how many and how great causes of disturbance and crime are thereby cut off, I leave everyone to judge for himself!

Before we go further, I may remark that we can, by means of what we have just proved, easily answer the objections raised in Chap. I., when we were discussing God's speaking with the Israelites on Mount Sinai. For, though the

voice heard by the Israelites could not give those men any philosophical or mathematical certitude of God's existence, it was yet sufficient to thrill them with admiration for God, as they already knew Him, and to stir them up to obedience: and such was the object of the display. God did not wish to teach the Israelites the absolute attributes of His essence (none of which He then revealed), but to break down their hardness of heart, and to draw them to obedience: therefore He did not appeal to them with reasons, but with the sound of trumpets, thunder, and lightnings.

It remains for me to show that between faith or theology, and philosophy, there is no connection, nor affinity. I think no one will dispute the fact who has knowledge of the aim and foundations of the two subjects, for they are as wide apart as the poles.

Philosophy has no end in view save truth: faith, as we have abundantly proved, looks for nothing but obedience and piety. Again, philosophy is based on axioms which must be sought from nature alone: faith is based on history and language, and must be sought for only in Scripture and revelation, as we showed in Chap. VII. Faith, therefore, allows the greatest latitude in philosophic speculation, allowing us without blame to think what we like about anything, and only condemning, as heretics and schismatics, those who teach opinions which tend to produce obstinacy, hatred, strife, and anger; while, on the other hand, only considering as faithful those who persuade us, as far as their reason and faculties will permit, to follow justice and charity.

Lastly, as what we are now setting forth are the most important subjects of my treatise, I would most urgently beg the reader, before I proceed, to read these two chapters with especial attention, and to take the trouble to weigh them well in his mind: let him take for granted that I have not written with a view to introducing novelties, but in order to do away with abuses, such as I hope I may, at some future time, at last see reformed.

CHAPTER XV.

*Theology is shown not to be Subservient to Reason, nor Reason to Theology: a Definition of the Reason
which enables us to accept the authority of the Bible.*



THOSE WHO KNOW not that philosophy and reason are distinct, dispute whether Scripture should be made subservient to reason, or reason to Scripture: that is, whether the meaning of Scripture should be made to agreed with reason; or whether reason should be made to agree with Scripture: the latter position is assumed by the sceptics who deny the certitude of reason, the former by the dogmatists. Both parties are, as I have shown, utterly in the wrong, for either doctrine would require us to tamper with reason or with Scripture.

We have shown that Scripture does not teach philosophy, but merely obedience, and that all it contains has been adapted to the understanding and established opinions of the multitude. Those, therefore, who wish to adapt it to philosophy, must needs ascribe to the prophets many ideas which they never even dreamed of, and give an extremely forced interpretation to their words: those on the other hand, who would make reason and philosophy subservient to theology, will be forced to accept as Divine utterances the prejudices of the ancient Jews, and to fill and confuse their mind therewith. In short, one party will run wild with the aid of reason, and the other will run wild without the aid of reason.

The first among the Pharisees who openly maintained that Scripture should be made to agree with reason, was Maimonides, whose opinion we reviewed, and abundantly refuted in Chap. VIII.: now, although this writer had much authority among his contemporaries, he was deserted on this question by almost all, and the majority went straight over to the opinion of a certain R. Jehuda Alpakhar, who, in his anxiety to avoid the error of Maimonides, fell into another, which was its

exact contrary. He held that reason should be made subservient, and entirely give way to Scripture. He thought that a passage should not be interpreted metaphorically, simply because it was repugnant to reason, but only in the cases when it is inconsistent with Scripture itself — that is, with its clear doctrines. Therefore he laid down the universal rule, that whatsoever Scripture teaches dogmatically, and affirms expressly, must on its own sole authority be admitted as absolutely true: that there is no doctrine in the Bible which directly contradicts the general tenour of the whole: but only some which appear to involve a difference, for the phrases of Scripture often seem to imply something contrary to what has been expressly taught. Such phrases, and such phrases only, we may interpret metaphorically.

For instance, Scripture clearly teaches the unity of God (see Deut. vi:4), nor is there any text distinctly asserting a plurality of gods; but in several passages God speaks of Himself, and the prophets speak of Him, in the plural number; such phrases are simply a manner of speaking, and do not mean that there actually are several gods: they are to be explained metaphorically, not because a plurality of gods is repugnant to reason, but because Scripture distinctly asserts that there is only one.

So, again, as Scripture asserts (as Alpakhar thinks) in Deut. iv:15, that God is incorporeal, we are bound, solely by the authority of this text, and not by reason, to believe that God has no body: consequently we must explain metaphorically, on the sole authority of Scripture, all those passages which attribute to God hands, feet, &c., and take them merely as figures of speech. Such is the opinion of Alpakhar. In so far as he seeks to explain Scripture by Scripture, I praise him, but I marvel that a man gifted with reason should wish to debase that faculty. It is true that Scripture should be explained by Scripture, so long as we are in difficulties about the meaning and intention of the prophets, but when we have elicited the true meaning, we must of necessity make use of our judgment and reason in order to assent thereto. If reason, however, much as she rebels, is to be entirely subjected to Scripture, I ask, are we to effect her submission by her own aid, or

without her, and blindly? If the latter, we shall surely act foolishly and injudiciously; if the former, we assent to Scripture under the dominion of reason, and should not assent to it without her. Moreover, I may ask now, is a man to assent to anything against his reason? What is denial if it be not reason's refusal to assent? In short, I am astonished that anyone should wish to subject reason, the greatest of gifts and a light from on high, to the dead letter which may have been corrupted by human malice; that it should be thought no crime to speak with contempt of mind, the true handwriting of God's Word, calling it corrupt, blind, and lost, while it is considered the greatest of crimes to say the same of the letter, which is merely the reflection and image of God's Word. Men think it pious to trust nothing to reason and their own judgment, and impious to doubt the faith of those who have transmitted to us the sacred books. Such conduct is not piety, but mere folly. And, after all, why are they so anxious? What are they afraid of? Do they think that faith and religion cannot be upheld unless — men purposely keep themselves in ignorance, and turn their backs on reason? If this be so, they have but a timid trust in Scripture.

However, be it far from me to say that religion should seek to enslave reason, or reason religion, or that both should not be able to keep their sovereignty in perfect harmony. I will revert to this question presently, for I wish now to discuss Alpakhar's rule.

He requires, as we have stated, that we should accept as true, or reject as false, everything asserted or denied by Scripture, and he further states that Scripture never expressly asserts or denies anything which contradicts its assertions or negations elsewhere. The rashness of such a requirement and statement can escape no one. For (passing over the fact that he does not notice that Scripture consists of different books, written at different times, for different people, by different authors: and also that his requirement is made on his own authority without any corroboration from reason or Scripture) he would be bound to show that all passages which are indirectly contradictory of the rest, can be satisfactorily explained metaphorically through the nature of the language and the

context: further, that Scripture has come down to us untampered with. However, we will go into the matter at length.

Firstly, I ask what shall we do if reason prove recalcitrant? Shall we still be bound to affirm whatever Scripture affirms, and to deny whatever Scripture denies? Perhaps it will be answered that Scripture contains nothing repugnant to reason. But I insist that it expressly affirms and teaches that God is jealous (namely, in the decalogue itself, and in Exod. xxxiv:14, and in Deut. iv:24, and in many other places), and I assert that such a doctrine is repugnant to reason. It must, I suppose, in spite of all, be accepted as true. If there are any passages in Scripture which imply that God is not jealous, they must be taken metaphorically as meaning nothing of the kind. So, also, Scripture expressly states (Exod. xix:20, &c.) that God came down to Mount Sinai, and it attributes to Him other movements from place to place, nowhere directly stating that God does not so move. Wherefore, we must take the passage literally, and Solomon's words (I Kings viii:27), "But will God dwell on the earth? Behold the heavens and earth cannot contain thee," inasmuch as they do not expressly state that God does not move from place to place, but only imply it, must be explained away till they have no further semblance of denying locomotion to the Deity. So also we must believe that the sky is the habitation and throne of God, for Scripture expressly says so; and similarly many passages expressing the opinions of the prophets or the multitude, which reason and philosophy, but not Scripture, tell us to be false, must be taken as true if we are to follow the guidance of our author, for according to him, reason has nothing to do with the matter. Further, it is untrue that Scripture never contradicts itself directly, but only by implication. For Moses says, in so many words (Deut. iv:24), "The Lord thy God is a consuming fire," and elsewhere expressly denies that God has any likeness to visible things. (Deut. iv. 12.) If it be decided that the latter passage only contradicts the former by implication, and must be adapted thereto, lest it seem to negative it, let us grant that God is a fire; or rather, lest we should seem to have taken leave of our senses, let us pass the matter over and take another example.

Samuel expressly denies that God ever repents, “for he is not a man that he should repent” (I Sam. xv:29). Jeremiah, on the other hand, asserts that God does repent, both of the evil and of the good which He had intended to do (Jer. xviii:8-10). What? Are not these two texts directly contradictory? Which of the two, then, would our author want to explain metaphorically? Both statements are general, and each is the opposite of the other — what one flatly affirms, the other flatly denies. So, by his own rule, he would be obliged at once to reject them as false, and to accept them as true.

Again, what is the point of one passage, not being contradicted by another directly, but only by implication, if the implication is clear, and the nature and context of the passage preclude metaphorical interpretation? There are many such instances in the Bible, as we saw in Chap. II. (where we pointed out that the prophets held different and contradictory opinions), and also in Chaps. IX. and X., where we drew attention to the contradictions in the historical narratives. There is no need for me to go through them all again, for what I have said sufficiently exposes the absurdities which would follow from an opinion and rule such as we are discussing, and shows the hastiness of its propounder.

We may, therefore, put this theory, as well as that of Maimonides, entirely out of court; and we may, take it for indisputable that theology is not bound to serve reason, nor reason theology, but that each has her own domain.

The sphere of reason is, as we have said, truth and wisdom; the sphere of theology, is piety and obedience. The power of reason does not extend so far as to determine for us that men may be blessed through simple obedience, without understanding. Theology, tells us nothing else, enjoins on us no command save obedience, and has neither the will nor the power to oppose reason: she defines the dogmas of faith (as we pointed out in the last chapter) only in so far as they may be necessary, for obedience, and leaves reason to determine their precise truth: for reason is the light of the mind, and without her all things are dreams and phantoms.

By theology, I here mean, strictly speaking, revelation, in so far as it indicates the object aimed at by Scripture namely, the scheme and manner of obedience, or the true dogmas of piety and faith. This may truly be called the Word of God, which does not consist in a certain number of books (see Chap. XII.). Theology thus understood, if we regard its precepts or rules of life, will be found in accordance with reason; and, if we look to its aim and object, will be seen to be in nowise repugnant thereto, wherefore it is universal to all men.

As for its bearing on Scripture, we have shown in Chap. VII. that the meaning of Scripture should be gathered from its own history, and not from the history of nature in general, which is the basis of philosophy.

We ought not to be hindered if we find that our investigation of the meaning of Scripture thus conducted shows us that it is here and there repugnant to reason; for whatever we may find of this sort in the Bible, which men may be in ignorance of, without injury to their charity, has, we may be sure, no bearing on theology or the Word of God, and may, therefore, without blame, be viewed by every one as he pleases.

To sum up, we may draw the absolute conclusion that the Bible must not be accommodated to reason, nor reason to the Bible.

Now, inasmuch as the basis of theology — the doctrine that man may be saved by obedience alone — cannot be proved by reason whether it be true or false, we may be asked, Why, then, should we believe it? If we do so without the aid of reason, we accept it blindly, and act foolishly and injudiciously; if, on the other hand, we settle that it can be proved by reason, theology becomes a part of philosophy, and inseparable therefrom. But I make answer that I have absolutely established that this basis of theology cannot be investigated by the natural light of reason, or, at any rate, that no one ever has proved it by such means, and, therefore, revelation was necessary. We should, however, make use of our reason, in order to grasp with moral certainty what is revealed — I say, with moral certainty, for we cannot hope to attain greater certainty, than the prophets: yet their certainty was only, moral, as I showed in Chap. II.

Those, therefore, who attempt to set forth the authority of Scripture with mathematical demonstrations are wholly in error: for the authority, of the Bible is dependent on the authority of the prophets, and can be supported by no stronger arguments than those employed in old time by the prophets for convincing the people of their own authority. Our certainty on the same subject can be founded on no other basis than that which served as foundation for the certainty of the prophets.

Now the certainty of the prophets consisted (as we pointed out) in these elements: — (I.) A distinct and vivid imagination. (II.) A sign. (III.) Lastly, and chiefly, a mind turned to what is just and good. It was based on no other reasons than these, and consequently they cannot prove their authority by any other reasons, either to the multitude whom they addressed orally, nor to us whom they address in writing.

The first of these reasons, namely, the vivid imagination, could be valid only for the prophets; therefore, our certainty concerning revelation must, and ought to be, based on the remaining two — namely, the sign and the teaching. Such is the express doctrine of Moses, for (in Deut. xviii.) he bids the people obey the prophet who should give a true sign in the name of the Lord, but if he should predict falsely, even though it were in the name of the Lord, he should be put to death, as should also he who strives to lead away the people from the true religion, though he confirm his authority with signs and portents. We may compare with the above Deut. xiii. Whence it follows that a true prophet could be distinguished from a false one, both by his doctrine and by the miracles he wrought, for Moses declares such an one to be a true prophet, and bids the people trust him without fear of deceit. He condemns as false, and worthy, of death, those who predict anything falsely even in the name of the Lord, or who preach false gods, even though their miracles be real.

The only reason, then, which we have for belief in Scripture or the writings of the prophets, is the doctrine we find therein, and the signs by which it is confirmed. For as we see that the prophets extol charity and justice above all

things, and have no other object, we conclude that they did not write from unworthy motives, but because they really thought that men might become blessed through obedience and faith: further, as we see that they confirmed their teaching with signs and wonders, we become persuaded that they did not speak at random, nor run riot in their prophecies. We are further strengthened in our conclusion by the fact that the morality they teach is in evident agreement with reason, for it is no accidental coincidence that the Word of God which we find in the prophets coincides with the Word of God written in our hearts. We may, I say, conclude this from the sacred books as certainly as did the Jews of old from the living voice of the prophets: for we showed in Chap. XII. that Scripture has come down to us intact in respect to its doctrine and main narratives.

Therefore this whole basis of theology and Scripture, though it does not admit of mathematical proof, may yet be accepted with the approval of our judgment. It would be folly to refuse to accept what is confirmed by such ample prophetic testimony, and what has proved such a comfort to those whose reason is comparatively weak, and such a benefit to the state; a doctrine, moreover, which we may believe in without the slightest peril or hurt, and should reject simply because it cannot be mathematically proved: it is as though we should admit nothing as true, or as a wise rule of life, which could ever, in any possible way, be called in question; or as though most of our actions were not full of uncertainty and hazards.

I admit that those who believe that theology and philosophy are mutually contradictory, and that therefore either one or the other must be thrust from its throne — I admit, I say, that such persons are not unreasonable in attempting to put theology on a firm basis, and to demonstrate its truth mathematically. Who, unless he were desperate or mad, would wish to bid an incontinent farewell to reason, or to despise the arts and sciences, or to deny reason's certitude? But, in the meanwhile, we cannot wholly absolve them from blame, inasmuch as they invoke the aid of reason for her own defeat, and attempt infallibly to prove her fallible. While they are trying to prove mathematically the authority and truth of

theology, and to take away the authority of natural reason, they are in reality only bringing theology under reason's dominion, and proving that her authority has no weight unless natural reason be at the back of it.

If they boast that they themselves assent because of the inward testimony of the Holy Spirit, and that they only invoke the aid of reason because of unbelievers, in order to convince them, not even so can this meet with our approval, for we can easily show that they have spoken either from emotion or vain-glory. It most clearly follows from the last chapter that the Holy Spirit only gives its testimony in favour of works, called by Paul (in Gal. v:22) the fruits of the Spirit, and is in itself really nothing but the mental acquiescence which follows a good action in our souls. No spirit gives testimony concerning the certitude of matters within the sphere of speculation, save only reason, who is mistress, as we have shown, of the whole realm of truth. If then they assert that they possess this Spirit which makes them certain of truth, they speak falsely, and according to the prejudices of the emotions, or else they are in great dread lest they should be vanquished by philosophers and exposed to public ridicule, and therefore they flee, as it were, to the altar; but their refuge is vain, for what altar will shelter a man who has outraged reason? However, I pass such persons over, for I think I have fulfilled my purpose, and shown how philosophy should be separated from theology, and wherein each consists; that neither should be subservient to the other, but that each should keep her unopposed dominion. Lastly, as occasion offered, I have pointed out the absurdities, the inconveniences, and the evils following from the extraordinary confusion which has hitherto prevailed between the two subjects, owing to their not being properly distinguished and separated. Before I go further I would expressly state (though I have said it before) that I consider the utility and the need for Holy Scripture or Revelation to be very great. For as we cannot perceive by the natural light of reason that simple obedience is the path of salvation [25](#), and are taught by revelation only that it is so by the special grace of God, which our reason cannot attain, it follows that the Bible has brought a very great consolation to mankind.

All are able to obey, whereas there are but very few, compared with the aggregate of humanity, who can acquire the habit of virtue under the unaided guidance of reason. Thus if we had not the testimony of Scripture, we should doubt of the salvation of nearly all men.

25 “That simple obedience is the path of salvation.” In other words, it is enough for salvation or blessedness, that we should embrace the Divine decrees as laws or commands; there is no need to conceive them as eternal truths. This can be taught us by Revelation, not Reason, as appears from the demonstrations given in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER XVI.

Of the Foundations of a State; of the Natural and Civil Rights of Individuals; and of the Rights of the Sovereign Power.



HITHERTO OUR CARE has been to separate philosophy from theology, and to show the freedom of thought which such separation insures to both. It is now time to determine the limits to which such freedom of thought and discussion may extend itself in the ideal state. For the due consideration of this question we must examine the foundations of a State, first turning our attention to the natural rights of individuals, and afterwards to religion and the state as a whole.

By the right and ordinance of nature, I merely mean those natural laws wherewith we conceive every individual to be conditioned by nature, so as to live and act in a given way. For instance, fishes are naturally conditioned for swimming, and the greater for devouring the less; therefore fishes enjoy the water, and the greater devour the less by sovereign natural right. For it is certain that nature, taken in the abstract, has sovereign right to do anything, she can; in other words, her right is co-extensive with her power. The power of nature is the power of God, which has sovereign right over all things; and, inasmuch as the power of nature is simply the aggregate of the powers of all her individual components, it follows that every, individual has sovereign right to do all that he can; in other words, the rights of an individual extend to the utmost limits of his power as it has been conditioned. Now it is the sovereign law and right of nature that each individual should endeavour to preserve itself as it is, without regard to anything but itself; therefore this sovereign law and right belongs to every individual, namely, to exist and act according to its natural conditions. We do not here acknowledge any difference between mankind and other individual natural

entities, nor between men endowed with reason and those to whom reason is unknown; nor between fools, madmen, and sane men. Whatsoever an individual does by the laws of its nature it has a sovereign right to do, inasmuch as it acts as it was conditioned by nature, and cannot act otherwise. Wherefore among men, so long as they are considered as living under the sway of nature, he who does not yet know reason, or who has not yet acquired the habit of virtue, acts solely according to the laws of his desire with as sovereign a right as he who orders his life entirely by the laws of reason.

That is, as the wise man has sovereign right to do all that reason dictates, or to live according to the laws of reason, so also the ignorant and foolish man has sovereign right to do all that desire dictates, or to live according to the laws of desire. This is identical with the teaching of Paul, who acknowledges that previous to the law — that is, so long as men are considered of as living under the sway of nature, there is no sin.

The natural right of the individual man is thus determined, not by sound reason, but by desire and power. All are not naturally conditioned so as to act according to the laws and rules of reason; nay, on the contrary, all men are born ignorant, and before they can learn the right way of life and acquire the habit of virtue, the greater part of their life, even if they have been well brought up, has passed away. Nevertheless, they are in the meanwhile bound to live and preserve themselves as far as they can by the unaided impulses of desire. Nature has given them no other guide, and has denied them the present power of living according to sound reason; so that they are no more bound to live by the dictates of an enlightened mind, than a cat is bound to live by the laws of the nature of a lion.

Whatsoever, therefore, an individual (considered as under the sway of nature) thinks useful for himself, whether led by sound reason or impelled by the passions, that he has a sovereign right to seek and to take for himself as he best can, whether by force, cunning, entreaty, or any other means; consequently he may regard as an enemy anyone who hinders the accomplishment of his purpose.

It follows from what we have said that the right and ordinance of nature, under which all men are born, and under which they mostly live, only prohibits such things as no one desires, and no one can attain: it does not forbid strife, nor hatred, nor anger, nor deceit, nor, indeed, any of the means suggested by desire.

This we need not wonder at, for nature is not bounded by the laws of human reason, which aims only at man's true benefit and preservation; her limits are infinitely wider, and have reference to the eternal order of nature, wherein man is but a speck; it is by the necessity of this alone that all individuals are conditioned for living and acting in a particular way. If anything, therefore, in nature seems to us ridiculous, absurd, or evil, it is because we only know in part, and are almost entirely ignorant of the order and interdependence of nature as a whole, and also because we want everything to be arranged according to the dictates of our human reason; in reality that which reason considers evil, is not evil in respect to the order and laws of nature as a whole, but only in respect to the laws of our reason.

Nevertheless, no one can doubt that it is much better for us to live according to the laws and assured dictates of reason, for, as we said, they have men's true good for their object. Moreover, everyone wishes to live as far as possible securely beyond the reach of fear, and this would be quite impossible so long as everyone did everything he liked, and reason's claim was lowered to a par with those of hatred and anger; there is no one who is not ill at ease in the midst of enmity, hatred, anger, and deceit, and who does not seek to avoid them as much as he can. When we reflect that men without mutual help, or the aid of reason, must needs live most miserably, as we clearly proved in Chap. V., we shall plainly see that men must necessarily come to an agreement to live together as securely and well as possible if they are to enjoy as a whole the rights which naturally belong to them as individuals, and their life should be no more conditioned by the force and desire of individuals, but by the power and will of the whole body. This end they will be unable to attain if desire be their only guide (for by the laws of desire each man is drawn in a different direction); they must, therefore, most firmly decree and establish that they will be guided in everything by reason (which nobody will

dare openly to repudiate lest he should be taken for a madman), and will restrain any desire which is injurious to a man's fellows, that they will do to all as they would be done by, and that they will defend their neighbour's rights as their own.

How such a compact as this should be entered into, how ratified and established, we will now inquire.

Now it is a universal law of human nature that no one ever neglects anything which he judges to be good, except with the hope of gaining a greater good, or from the fear of a greater evil; nor does anyone endure an evil except for the sake of avoiding a greater evil, or gaining a greater good. That is, everyone will, of two goods, choose that which he thinks the greatest; and, of two evils, that which he thinks the least. I say advisedly that which he thinks the greatest or the least, for it does not necessarily follow that he judges right. This law is so deeply implanted in the human mind that it ought to be counted among eternal truths and axioms.

As a necessary consequence of the principle just enunciated, no one can honestly promise to forego the right which he has over all things [26](#), and in general no one will abide by his promises, unless under the fear of a greater evil, or the hope of a greater good. An example will make the matter clearer. Suppose that a robber forces me to promise that I will give him my goods at his will and pleasure. It is plain (inasmuch as my natural right is, as I have shown, co-extensive with my power) that if I can free myself from this robber by stratagem, by assenting to his demands, I have the natural right to do so, and to pretend to accept his conditions. Or again, suppose I have genuinely promised someone that for the space of twenty days I will not taste food or any nourishment; and suppose I afterwards find that was foolish, and cannot be kept without very great injury to myself; as I am bound by natural law and right to choose the least of two evils, I have complete right to break my compact, and act as if my promise had never been uttered. I say that I should have perfect natural right to do so, whether I was actuated by true and evident reason, or whether I was actuated by mere opinion in thinking I had promised rashly; whether my reasons were true or false, I should

be in fear of a greater evil, which, by the ordinance of nature, I should strive to avoid by every means in my power.

We may, therefore, conclude that a compact is only made valid by its utility, without which it becomes null and void. It is, therefore, foolish to ask a man to keep his faith with us for ever, unless we also endeavour that the violation of the compact we enter into shall involve for the violator more harm than good. This consideration should have very great weight in forming a state. However, if all men could be easily led by reason alone, and could recognize what is best and most useful for a state, there would be no one who would not forswear deceit, for everyone would keep most religiously to their compact in their desire for the chief good, namely, the shield and buckler of the commonwealth. However, it is far from being the case that all men can always be easily led by reason alone; everyone is drawn away by his pleasure, while avarice, ambition, envy, hatred, and the like so engross the mind that, reason has no place therein. Hence, though men make — promises with all the appearances of good faith, and agree that they will keep to their engagement, no one can absolutely rely on another man's promise unless there is something behind it. Everyone has by nature a right to act deceitfully. and to break his compacts, unless he be restrained by the hope of some greater good, or the fear of some greater evil.

However, as we have shown that the natural right of the individual is only limited by his power, it is clear that by transferring, either willingly or under compulsion, this power into the hands of another, he in so doing necessarily cedes also a part of his right; and further, that the Sovereign right over all men belongs to him who has sovereign power, wherewith he can compel men by force, or restrain them by threats of the universally feared punishment of death; such sovereign right he will retain only so long as he can maintain his power of enforcing his will; otherwise he will totter on his throne, and no one who is stronger than he will be bound unwillingly to obey him.

In this manner a society can be formed without any violation of natural right, and the covenant can always be strictly kept — that is, if each individual hands

over the whole of his power to the body politic, the latter will then possess sovereign natural right over all things; that is, it will have sole and unquestioned dominion, and everyone will be bound to obey, under pain of the severest punishment. A body politic of this kind is called a Democracy, which may be defined as a society which wields all its power as a whole. The sovereign power is not restrained by any laws, but everyone is bound to obey it in all things; such is the state of things implied when men either tacitly or expressly handed over to it all their power of self-defence, or in other words, all their right. For if they had wished to retain any right for themselves, they ought to have taken precautions for its defence and preservation; as they have not done so, and indeed could not have done so without dividing and consequently ruining the state, they placed themselves absolutely at the mercy of the sovereign power; and, therefore, having acted (as we have shown) as reason and necessity demanded, they are obliged to fulfil the commands of the sovereign power, however absurd these may be, else they will be public enemies, and will act against reason, which urges the preservation of the state as a primary duty. For reason bids us choose the least of two evils.

Furthermore, this danger of submitting absolutely to the dominion and will of another, is one which may be incurred with a light heart: for we have shown that sovereigns only possess this right of imposing their will, so long as they have the full power to enforce it: if such power be lost their right to command is lost also, or lapses to those who have assumed it and can keep it. Thus it is very rare for sovereigns to impose thoroughly irrational commands, for they are bound to consult their own interests, and retain their power by consulting the public good and acting according to the dictates of reason, as Seneca says, “*violenta imperia nemo continuit diu.*” No one can long retain a tyrant’s sway.

In a democracy, irrational commands are still less to be feared: for it is almost impossible that the majority of a people, especially if it be a large one, should agree in an irrational design: and, moreover, the basis and aim of a democracy is to avoid the desires as irrational, and to bring men as far as possible under the

control of reason, so that they may live in peace and harmony: if this basis be removed the whole fabric falls to ruin.

Such being the ends in view for the sovereign power, the duty of subjects is, as I have said, to obey its commands, and to recognize no right save that which it sanctions.

It will, perhaps, be thought that we are turning subjects into slaves: for slaves obey commands and free men live as they like; but this idea is based on a misconception, for the true slave is he who is led away by his pleasures and can neither see what is good for him nor act accordingly: he alone is free who lives with free consent under the entire guidance of reason.

Action in obedience to orders does take away freedom in a certain sense, but it does not, therefore, make a man a slave, all depends on the object of the action. If the object of the action be the good of the state, and not the good of the agent, the latter is a slave and does himself no good: but in a state or kingdom where the weal of the whole people, and not that of the ruler, is the supreme law, obedience to the sovereign power does not make a man a slave, of no use to himself, but a subject. Therefore, that state is the freest whose laws are founded on sound reason, so that every member of it may, if he will, be free [27](#); that is, live with full consent under the entire guidance of reason.

Children, though they are bound to obey all the commands of their parents, are yet not slaves: for the commands of parents look generally to the children's benefit.

We must, therefore, acknowledge a great difference between a slave, a son, and a subject; their positions may be thus defined. A slave is one who is bound to obey his master's orders, though they are given solely in the master's interest: a son is one who obeys his father's orders, given in his own interest; a subject obeys the orders of the sovereign power, given for the common interest, wherein he is included.

I think I have now shown sufficiently clearly the basis of a democracy: I have especially desired to do so, for I believe it to be of all forms of government the

most natural, and the most consonant with individual liberty. In it no one transfers his natural right so absolutely that he has no further voice in affairs, he only hands it over to the majority of a society, whereof he is a unit. Thus all men remain as they were in the state of nature, equals.

This is the only form of government which I have treated of at length, for it is the one most akin to my purpose of showing the benefits of freedom in a state.

I may pass over the fundamental principles of other forms of government, for we may gather from what has been said whence their right arises without going into its origin. The possessor of sovereign power, whether he be one, or many, or the whole body politic, has the sovereign right of imposing any commands he pleases: and he who has either voluntarily, or under compulsion, transferred the right to defend him to another, has, in so doing, renounced his natural right and is therefore bound to obey, in all things, the commands of the sovereign power; and will be bound so to do so long as the king, or nobles, or the people preserve the sovereign power which formed the basis of the original transfer. I need add no more.

The bases and rights of dominion being thus displayed, we shall readily be able to define private civil right, wrong, justice, and injustice, with their relations to the state; and also to determine what constitutes an ally, or an enemy, or the crime of treason.

By private civil right we can only mean the liberty every man possesses to preserve his existence, a liberty limited by the edicts of the sovereign power, and preserved only by its authority: for when a man has transferred to another his right of living as he likes, which was only limited by his power, that is, has transferred his liberty and power of self-defence, he is bound to live as that other dictates, and to trust to him entirely for his defence. Wrong takes place when a citizen, or subject, is forced by another to undergo some loss or pain in contradiction to the authority of the law, or the edict of the sovereign power.

Wrong is conceivable only in an organized community: nor can it ever accrue to subjects from any act of the sovereign, who has the right to do what he likes. It

can only arise, therefore, between private persons, who are bound by law and right not to injure one another. Justice consists in the habitual rendering to every man his lawful due: injustice consists in depriving a man, under the pretence of legality, of what the laws, rightly interpreted, would allow him. These last are also called equity and iniquity, because those who administer the laws are bound to show no respect of persons, but to account all men equal, and to defend every man's right equally, neither envying the rich nor despising the poor.

The men of two states become allies, when for the sake of avoiding war, or for some other advantage, they covenant to do each other no hurt, but on the contrary, to assist each other if necessity arises, each retaining his independence. Such a covenant is valid so long as its basis of danger or advantage is in force: no one enters into an engagement, or is bound to stand by his compacts unless there be a hope of some accruing good, or the fear of some evil: if this basis be removed the compact thereby becomes void: this has been abundantly shown by experience. For although different states make treaties not to harm one another, they always take every possible precaution against such treaties being broken by the stronger party, and do not rely on the compact, unless there is a sufficiently obvious object and advantage to both parties in observing it. Otherwise they would fear a breach of faith, nor would there be any wrong done thereby: for who in his proper senses, and aware of the right of the sovereign power, would trust in the promises of one who has the will and the power to do what he likes, and who aims solely at the safety and advantage of his dominion? Moreover, if we consult loyalty and religion, we shall see that no one in possession of power ought to abide by his promises to the injury of his dominion; for he cannot keep such promises without breaking the engagement he made with his subjects, by which both he and they are most solemnly bound. An enemy is one who lives apart from the state, and does not recognize its authority either as a subject or as an ally. It is not hatred which makes a man an enemy, but the rights of the state. The rights of the state are the same in regard to him who does not recognize by any compact the state

authority, as they are against him who has done the state an injury: it has the right to force him as best it can, either to submit, or to contract an alliance.

Lastly, treason can only be committed by subjects, who by compact, either tacit or expressed, have transferred all their rights to the state: a subject is said to have committed this crime when he has attempted, for whatever reason, to seize the sovereign power, or to place it in different hands. I say, has attempted, for if punishment were not to overtake him till he had succeeded, it would often come too late, the sovereign rights would have been acquired or transferred already.

I also say, has attempted, for whatever reason, to seize the sovereign power, and I recognize no difference whether such an attempt should be followed by public loss or public gain. Whatever be his reason for acting, the crime is treason, and he is rightly condemned: in war, everyone would admit the justice of his sentence. If a man does not keep to his post, but approaches the enemy without the knowledge of his commander, whatever may be his motive, so long as he acts on his own motion, even if he advances with the design of defeating the enemy, he is rightly put to death, because he has violated his oath, and infringed the rights of his commander. That all citizens are equally bound by these rights in time of peace, is not so generally recognized, but the reasons for obedience are in both cases identical. The state must be preserved and directed by the sole authority of the sovereign, and such authority and right have been accorded by universal consent to him alone: if, therefore, anyone else attempts, without his consent, to execute any public enterprise, even though the state might (as we said) reap benefit therefrom, such person has none the less infringed the sovereigns right, and would be rightly punished for treason.

In order that every scruple may be removed, we may now answer the inquiry, whether our former assertion that everyone who has not the practice of reason, may, in the state of nature, live by sovereign natural right, according to the laws of his desires, is not in direct opposition to the law and right of God as revealed. For as all men absolutely (whether they be less endowed with reason or more) are equally bound by the Divine command to love their neighbour as themselves, it

may be said that they cannot, without wrong, do injury to anyone, or live according to their desires.

This objection, so far as the state of nature is concerned, can be easily answered, for the state of nature is, both in nature and in time, prior to religion. No one knows by nature that he owes any obedience to God [28](#), nor can he attain thereto by any exercise of his reason, but solely by revelation confirmed by signs. Therefore, previous to revelation, no one is bound by a Divine law and right of which he is necessarily in ignorance. The state of nature must by no means be confounded with a state of religion, but must be conceived as without either religion or law, and consequently without sin or wrong: this is how we have described it, and we are confirmed by the authority of Paul. It is not only in respect of ignorance that we conceive the state of nature as prior to, and lacking the Divine revealed law and right; but in respect of freedom also, wherewith all men are born endowed.

If men were naturally bound by the Divine law and right, or if the Divine law and right were a natural necessity, there would have been no need for God to make a covenant with mankind, and to bind them thereto with an oath and agreement.

We must, then, fully grant that the Divine law and right originated at the time when men by express covenant agreed to obey God in all things, and ceded, as it were, their natural freedom, transferring their rights to God in the manner described in speaking of the formation of a state.

However, I will treat of these matters more at length presently.

It may be insisted that sovereigns are as much bound by the Divine law as subjects: whereas we have asserted that they retain their natural rights, and may do whatever they like.

In order to clear up the whole difficulty, which arises rather concerning the natural right than the natural state, I maintain that everyone is bound, in the state of nature, to live according to Divine law, in the same way as he is bound to live according to the dictates of sound reason; namely, inasmuch as it is to his

advantage, and necessary for his salvation; but, if he will not so live, he may do otherwise at his own risk. He is thus bound to live according to his own laws, not according to anyone else's, and to recognize no man as a judge, or as a superior in religion. Such, in my opinion, is the position of a sovereign, for he may take advice from his fellow-men, but he is not bound to recognize any as a judge, nor anyone besides himself as an arbitrator on any question of right, unless it be a prophet sent expressly by God and attesting his mission by indisputable signs. Even then he does not recognize a man, but God Himself as His judge.

If a sovereign refuses to obey God as revealed in His law, he does so at his own risk and loss, but without violating any civil or natural right. For the civil right is dependent on his own decree; and natural right is dependent on the laws of nature, which latter are not adapted to religion, whose sole aim is the good of humanity, but to the order of nature — that is, to God's eternal decree unknown to us.

This truth seems to be adumbrated in a somewhat obscurer form by those who maintain that men can sin against God's revelation, but not against the eternal decree by which He has ordained all things.

We may be asked, what should we do if the sovereign commands anything contrary to religion, and the obedience which we have expressly vowed to God? should we obey the Divine law or the human law? I shall treat of this question at length hereafter, and will therefore merely say now, that God should be obeyed before all else, when we have a certain and indisputable revelation of His will: but men are very prone to error on religious subjects, and, according to the diversity of their dispositions, are wont with considerable stir to put forward their own inventions, as experience more than sufficiently attests, so that if no one were bound to obey the state in matters which, in his own opinion concern religion, the rights of the state would be dependent on every man's judgment and passions. No one would consider himself bound to obey laws framed against his faith or superstition; and on this pretext he might assume unbounded license. In this way, the rights of the civil authorities would be utterly set at nought, so that we must

conclude that the sovereign power, which alone is bound both by Divine and natural right to preserve and guard the laws of the state, should have supreme authority for making any laws about religion which it thinks fit; all are bound to obey its behests on the subject in accordance with their promise which God bids them to keep.

However, if the sovereign power be heathen, we should either enter into no engagements therewith, and yield up our lives sooner than transfer to it any of our rights; or, if the engagement be made, and our rights transferred, we should (inasmuch as we should have ourselves transferred the right of defending ourselves and our religion) be bound to obey them, and to keep our word: we might even rightly be bound so to do, except in those cases where God, by indisputable revelation, has promised His special aid against tyranny, or given us special exemption from obedience. Thus we see that, of all the Jews in Babylon, there were only three youths who were certain of the help of God, and, therefore, refused to obey Nebuchadnezzar. All the rest, with the sole exception of Daniel, who was beloved by the king, were doubtless compelled by right to obey, perhaps thinking that they had been delivered up by God into the hands of the king, and that the king had obtained and preserved his dominion by God's design. On the other hand, Eleazar, before his country had utterly fallen, wished to give a proof of his constancy to his compatriots, in order that they might follow in his footsteps, and go to any lengths, rather than allow their right and power to be transferred to the Greeks, or brave any torture rather than swear allegiance to the heathen. Instances are occurring every day in confirmation of what I here advance. The rulers of Christian kingdoms do not hesitate, with a view to strengthening their dominion, to make treaties with Turks and heathen, and to give orders to their subjects who settle among such peoples not to assume more freedom, either in things secular or religious, than is set down in the treaty, or allowed by the foreign government. We may see this exemplified in the Dutch treaty with the Japanese, which I have already mentioned.

26 “No one can honestly promise to forego the right which he has over all things.” In the state of social life, where general right determines what is good or evil, stratagem is rightly distinguished as of two kinds, good and evil. But in the state of Nature, where every man is his own judge, possessing the absolute right to lay down laws for himself, to interpret them as he pleases, or to abrogate them if he thinks it convenient, it is not conceivable that stratagem should be evil.

27 “Every member of it may, if he will, be free.” Whatever be the social state a man finds; himself in, he may be free. For certainly a man is free, in so far as he is led by reason. Now reason (though Hobbes thinks otherwise) is always on the side of peace, which cannot be attained unless the general laws of the state be respected. Therefore the more he is free, the more constantly will he respect the laws of his country, and obey the commands of the sovereign power to which he is subject.

28 “No one knows by nature that he owes any obedience to God.” When Paul says that men have in themselves no refuge, he speaks as a man: for in the ninth chapter of the same epistle he expressly teaches that God has mercy on whom He will, and that men are without excuse, only because they are in God’s power like clay in the hands of a potter, who out of the same lump makes vessels, some for honour and some for dishonour, not because they have been forewarned. As regards the Divine natural law whereof the chief commandment is, as we have said, to love God, I have called it a law in the same sense, as philosophers style laws those general rules of nature, according to which everything happens. For the love of God is not a state of obedience: it is a virtue which necessarily exists in a man who knows God rightly. Obedience has regard to the will of a ruler, not to necessity and truth. Now as we are ignorant of the nature of God’s will, and on the other hand know that everything happens solely by God’s power, we cannot, except through revelation, know whether God wishes in any way to be honoured as a sovereign.

Again; we have shown that the Divine rights appear to us in the light of rights or commands, only so long as we are ignorant of their cause: as soon as their cause is known, they cease to be rights, and we embrace them no longer as rights but as eternal truths; in other words, obedience passes into love of God, which emanates from true knowledge as necessarily as light emanates from the sun. Reason then leads us to love God, but cannot lead us to obey Him; for we cannot embrace the commands of God as Divine, while we are in ignorance of their cause, neither can we rationally conceive God as a sovereign laying down laws as a sovereign.

CHAPTER XVII.

It is shown that no one can, or need, transfer all his Rights to the Sovereign Power. Of the Hebrew Republic, as it was during the lifetime of Moses, and after his death, till the foundation of the Monarchy; and of its Excellence. Lastly, of the causes why the Theocratic Republic fell, and why it could hardly have continued without Dissension.



THE THEORY PUT forward in the last chapter, of the universal rights of the sovereign power, and of the natural rights of the individual transferred thereto, though it corresponds in many respects with actual practice, and though practice may be so arranged as to conform to it more and more, must nevertheless always remain in many respects purely ideal. No one can ever so utterly transfer to another his power and, consequently, his rights, as to cease to be a man; nor can there ever be a power so sovereign that it can carry out every possible wish. It will always be vain to order a subject to hate what he believes brings him advantage, or to love what brings him loss, or not to be offended at insults, or not to wish to be free from fear, or a hundred other things of the sort, which necessarily follow from the laws of human nature. So much, I think, is abundantly shown by experience: for men have never so far ceded their power as to cease to be an object of fear to the rulers who received such power and right; and dominions have always been in as much danger from their own subjects as from external enemies. If it were really the case, that men could be deprived of their natural rights so utterly as never to have any further influence on affairs [29](#), except with the permission of the holders of sovereign right, it would then be possible to maintain with impunity the most violent tyranny, which, I suppose, no one would for an instant admit.

We must, therefore, grant that every man retains some part of his right, in dependence on his own decision, and no one else's.

However, in order correctly to understand the extent of the sovereign's right and power, we must take notice that it does not cover only those actions to which it can compel men by fear, but absolutely every action which it can induce men to perform: for it is the fact of obedience, not the motive for obedience, which makes a man a subject.

Whatever be the cause which leads a man to obey the commands of the sovereign, whether it be fear or hope, or love of his country, or any other emotion — the fact remains that the man takes counsel with himself, and nevertheless acts as his sovereign orders. We must not, therefore, assert that all actions resulting from a man's deliberation with himself are done in obedience to the rights of the individual rather than the sovereign: as a matter of fact, all actions spring from a man's deliberation with himself, whether the determining motive be love or fear of punishment; therefore, either dominion does not exist, and has no rights over its subjects, or else it extends over every instance in which it can prevail on men to decide to obey it. Consequently, every action which a subject performs in accordance with the commands of the sovereign, whether such action springs from love, or fear, or (as is more frequently the case) from hope and fear together, or from reverence. compounded of fear and admiration, or, indeed, any motive whatever, is performed in virtue of his submission to the sovereign, and not in virtue of his own authority.

This point is made still more clear by the fact that obedience does not consist so much in the outward act as in the mental state of the person obeying; so that he is most under the dominion of another who with his whole heart determines to obey another's commands; and consequently the firmest dominion belongs to the sovereign who has most influence over the minds of his subjects; if those who are most feared possessed the firmest dominion, the firmest dominion would belong to the subjects of a tyrant, for they are always greatly feared by their ruler. Furthermore, though it is impossible to govern the mind as completely as the

tongue, nevertheless minds are, to a certain extent, under the control of the sovereign, for he can in many ways bring about that the greatest part of his subjects should follow his wishes in their beliefs, their loves, and their hates. Though such emotions do not arise at the express command of the sovereign they often result (as experience shows) from the authority of his power, and from his direction; in other words, in virtue of his right; we may, therefore, without doing violence to our understanding, conceive men who follow the instigation of their sovereign in their beliefs, their loves, their hates, their contempt, and all other emotions whatsoever.

Though the powers of government, as thus conceived, are sufficiently ample, they can never become large enough to execute every possible wish of their possessors. This, I think, I have already shown clearly enough. The method of forming a dominion which should prove lasting I do not, as I have said, intend to discuss, but in order to arrive at the object I have in view, I will touch on the teaching of Divine revelation to Moses in this respect, and we will consider the history and the success of the Jews, gathering therefrom what should be the chief concessions made by sovereigns to their subjects with a view to the security and increase of their dominion.

That the preservation of a state chiefly depends on the subjects' fidelity and constancy in carrying out the orders they receive, is most clearly taught both by reason and experience; how subjects ought to be guided so as best to preserve their fidelity and virtue is not so obvious. All, both rulers and ruled, are men, and prone to follow after their lusts. The fickle disposition of the multitude almost reduces those who have experience of it to despair, for it is governed solely by emotions, not by reason: it rushes headlong into every enterprise, and is easily corrupted either by avarice or luxury: everyone thinks himself omniscient and wishes to fashion all things to his liking, judging a thing to be just or unjust, lawful or unlawful, according as he thinks it will bring him profit or loss: vanity leads him to despise his equals, and refuse their guidance: envy of superior fame or fortune (for such gifts are never equally distributed) leads him to desire and

rejoice in his neighbour's downfall. I need not go through the whole list, everyone knows already how much crime. results from disgust at the present — desire for change, headlong anger, and contempt for poverty — and how men's minds are engrossed and kept in turmoil thereby.

To guard against all these evils, and form a dominion where no room is left for deceit; to frame our institutions so that every man, whatever his disposition, may prefer public right to private advantage, this is the task and this the toil. Necessity is often the mother of invention, but she has never yet succeeded in framing a dominion that was in less danger from its own citizens than from open enemies, or whose rulers did not fear the latter less than the former. Witness the state of Rome, invincible by her enemies, but many times conquered and sorely oppressed by her own citizens, especially in the war between Vespasian and Vitellius. (See Tacitus, *Hist.* bk. iv. for a description of the pitiable state of the city.)

Alexander thought prestige abroad more easy to acquire than prestige at home, and believed that his greatness could be destroyed by his own followers. Fearing such a disaster, he thus addressed his friends: "Keep me safe from internal treachery and domestic plots, and I will front without fear the dangers of battle and of war. Philip was more secure in the battle array than in the theatre: he often escaped from the hands of the enemy, he could not escape from his own subjects. If you think over the deaths of kings, you will count up more who have died by the assassin than by the open foe." (Q. Curtius, chap. vi.)

For the sake of making themselves secure, kings who seized the throne in ancient times used to try to spread the idea that they were descended from the immortal gods, thinking that if their subjects and the rest of mankind did not look on them as equals, but believed them to be gods, they would willingly submit to their rule, and obey their commands. Thus Augustus persuaded the Romans that he was descended from Aeneas, who was the son of Venus, and numbered among the gods. "He wished himself to be worshipped in temples, like the gods, with flamens and priests." (Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 10.)

Alexander wished to be saluted as the son of Jupiter, not from motives of pride but of policy, as he showed by his answer to the invective of Hermolaus: “It is almost laughable,” said he, that Hermolaus asked me to contradict Jupiter, by whose oracle I am recognized. Am I responsible for the answers of the gods? It offered me the name of son; acquiescence was by no means foreign to my present designs. Would that the Indians also would believe me to be a god! Wars are carried through by prestige, falsehoods that are believed often gain the force of truth.” (Curtius, viii,. Para, 8.) In these few words he cleverly contrives to palm off a fiction on the ignorant, and at the same time hints at the motive for the deception.

Cleon, in his speech persuading the Macedonians to obey their king, adopted a similar device: for after going through the praises of Alexander with admiration, and recalling his merits, he proceeds, “the Persians are not only pious, but prudent in worshipping their kings as gods: for kingship is the shield of public safety,” and he ends thus, “I, myself, when the king enters a banquet hall, should prostrate my body on the ground; other men should do the like, especially those who are wise “ (Curtius, viii. Para. 66). However, the Macedonians were more prudent — indeed, it is only complete barbarians who can be so openly cajoled, and can suffer themselves to be turned from subjects into slaves without interests of their own. Others, notwithstanding, have been able more easily to spread the belief that kingship is sacred, and plays the part of God on the earth, that it has been instituted by God, not by the suffrage and consent of men; and that it is preserved and guarded by Divine special providence and aid. Similar fictions have been promulgated by monarchs, with the object of strengthening their dominion, but these I will pass over, and in order to arrive at my main purpose, will merely recall and discuss the teaching on the subject of Divine revelation to Moses in ancient times.

We have said in Chap. V. that after the Hebrews came up out of Egypt they were not bound by the law and right of any other nation, but were at liberty to institute any new rites at their pleasure, and to occupy whatever territory they

chose. After their liberation from the intolerable bondage of the Egyptians, they were bound by no covenant to any man; and, therefore, every man entered into his natural right, and was free to retain it or to give it up, and transfer it to another. Being, then, in the state of nature, they followed the advice of Moses, in whom they chiefly trusted, and decided to transfer their right to no human being, but only to God; without further delay they all, with one voice, promised to obey all the commands of the Deity, and to acknowledge no right that He did not proclaim as such by prophetic revelation. This promise, or transference of right to God, was effected in the same manner as we have conceived it to have been in ordinary societies, when men agree to divest themselves of their natural rights. It is, in fact, in virtue of a set covenant, and an oath (see Exod. xxxiv:10), that the Jews freely, and not under compulsion or threats, surrendered their rights and transferred them to God. Moreover, in order that this covenant might be ratified and settled, and might be free from all suspicion of deceit, God did not enter into it till the Jews had had experience of His wonderful power by which alone they had been, or could be, preserved in a state of prosperity (Exod. xix:4, 5). It is because they believed that nothing but God's power could preserve them that they surrendered to God the natural power of self-preservation, which they formerly, perhaps, thought they possessed, and consequently they surrendered at the same time all their natural right.

God alone, therefore, held dominion over the Hebrews, whose state was in virtue of the covenant called God's kingdom, and God was said to be their king; consequently the enemies of the Jews were said to be the enemies of God, and the citizens who tried to seize the dominion were guilty of treason against God; and, lastly, the laws of the state were called the laws and commandments of God. Thus in the Hebrew state the civil and religious authority, each consisting solely of obedience to God, were one and the same. The dogmas of religion were not precepts, but laws and ordinances; piety was regarded as the same as loyalty, impiety as the same as disaffection. Everyone who fell away from religion ceased to be a citizen, and was, on that ground alone, accounted an enemy: those who

died for the sake of religion, were held to have died for their country; in fact, between civil and religious law and right there was no distinction whatever. {in Biblical Hebrew, there was no word for what we call Religion.” Modern Hebrew has selected a word whose root is “knowledge.”} For this reason the government could be called a Theocracy, inasmuch as the citizens were not bound by anything save the revelations of God.

However, this state of things existed rather in theory than in practice, for it will appear from what we are about to say, that the Hebrews, as a matter of fact, retained absolutely in their own hands the right of sovereignty: this is shown by the method and plan by which the government was carried on, as I will now explain.

Inasmuch as the Hebrews did not transfer their rights to any other person but, as in a democracy, all surrendered their rights equally, and cried out with one voice, “Whatsoever God shall speak (no mediator or mouthpiece being named) that will we do,” it follows that all were equally bound by the covenant, and that all had an equal right to consult the Deity, to accept and to interpret His laws, so that all had an exactly equal share in the government. Thus at first they all approached God together, so that they might learn His commands, but in this first salutation, they were so thoroughly terrified and so astounded to hear God speaking, that they thought their last hour was at hand: full of fear, therefore, they went afresh to Moses, and said, “Lo, we have heard God speaking in the fire, and there is no cause why we should wish to die: surely this great fire will consume us: if we hear again the voice of God, we shall surely die. Thou, therefore, go near, and hear all the words of our God, and thou (not God) shalt speak with us: all that God shall tell us, that will we hearken to and perform.”

They thus clearly abrogated their former covenant, and absolutely transferred to Moses their right to consult God and interpret His commands: for they do not here promise obedience to all that God shall tell them, but to all that God shall tell Moses (see Deut. v:20 after the Decalogue, and chap. xviii:15, 16). Moses, therefore, remained the sole promulgator and interpreter of the Divine laws, and

consequently also the sovereign judge, who could not be arraigned himself, and who acted among the Hebrews the part, of God; in other words, held the sovereign kingship: he alone had the right to consult God, to give the Divine answers to the people, and to see that they were carried out. I say he alone, for if anyone during the life of Moses was desirous of preaching anything in the name of the Lord, he was, even if a true prophet, considered guilty and a usurper of the sovereign right (Numb. xi:28) [30](#). We may here notice, that though the people had elected Moses, they could not rightfully elect Moses's successor; for having transferred to Moses their right of consulting God, and absolutely promised to regard him as a Divine oracle, they had plainly forfeited the whole of their right, and were bound to accept as chosen by God anyone proclaimed by Moses as his successor. If Moses had so chosen his successor, who like him should wield the sole right of government, possessing the sole right of consulting God, and consequently of making and abrogating laws, of deciding on peace or war, of sending ambassadors, appointing judges — in fact, discharging all the functions of a sovereign, the state would have become simply a monarchy, only differing from other monarchies in the fact, that the latter are, or should be, carried on in accordance with God's decree, unknown even to the monarch, whereas the Hebrew monarch would have been the only person to whom the decree was revealed. A difference which increases, rather than diminishes the monarch's authority. As far as the people in both cases are concerned, each would be equally subject, and equally ignorant of the Divine decree, for each would be dependent on the monarch's words, and would learn from him alone, what was lawful or unlawful: nor would the fact that the people believed that the monarch was only issuing commands in accordance with God's decree revealed to him, make it less in subjection, but rather more. However, Moses elected no such successor, but left the dominion to those who came after him in a condition which could not be called a popular government, nor an aristocracy, nor a monarchy, but a Theocracy. For the right of interpreting laws was vested in one man, while the right and

power of administering the state according to the laws thus interpreted, was vested in another man (see Numb. xxvii:21) [31](#).

In order that the question may be thoroughly understood, I will duly set forth the administration of the whole state.

First, the people were commanded to build a tabernacle, which should be, as it were, the dwelling of God — that is, of the sovereign authority of the state. This tabernacle was to be erected at the cost of the whole people, not of one man, in order that the place where God was consulted might be public property. The Levites were chosen as courtiers and administrators of this royal abode; while Aaron, the brother of Moses, was chosen to be their chief and second, as it were, to God their King, being succeeded in the office by his legitimate sons.

He, as the nearest to God, was the sovereign interpreter of the Divine laws; he communicated the answers of the Divine oracle to the people, and entreated God's favour for them. If, in addition to these privileges, he had possessed the right of ruling, he would have been neither more nor less than an absolute monarch; but, in respect to government, he was only a private citizen: the whole tribe of Levi was so completely divested of governing rights that it did not even take its share with the others in the partition of territory. Moses provided for its support by inspiring the common people with great reverence for it, as the only tribe dedicated to God.

Further, the army, formed from the remaining twelve tribes, was commanded to invade the land of Canaan, to divide it into twelve portions, and to distribute it among the tribes by lot. For this task twelve captains were chosen, one from every tribe, and were, together with Joshua and Eleazar, the high priest, empowered to divide the land into twelve equal parts, and distribute it by lot. Joshua was chosen for the chief command of the army, inasmuch as none but he had the right to consult God in emergencies, not like Moses, alone in his tent, or in the tabernacle, but through the high priest, to whom only the answers of God were revealed. Furthermore, he was empowered to execute, and cause the people to obey God's commands, transmitted through the high priests; to find, and to make use of,

means for carrying them out; to choose as many, army captains as he liked; to make whatever choice he thought best; to send ambassadors in his own name; and, in short, to have the entire control of the war. To his office there was no rightful successor — indeed, the post was only filled by the direct order of the Deity, on occasions of public emergency. In ordinary times, all the management of peace and war was vested in the captains of the tribes, as I will shortly point out. Lastly, all men between the ages of twenty and sixty were ordered to bear arms, and form a citizen army, owing allegiance, not to its general-in-chief, nor to the high priest, but to Religion and to God. The army, or the hosts, were called the army of God, or the hosts of God. For this reason God was called by the Hebrews the God of Armies; and the ark of the covenant was borne in the midst of the army in important battles, when the safety or destruction of the whole people hung upon the issue, so that the people might, as it were, see their King among them, and put forth all their strength.

From these directions, left by Moses to his successors, we plainly see that he chose administrators, rather than despots, to come after him; for he invested no one with the power of consulting God, where he liked and alone, consequently, no one had the power possessed by himself of ordaining and abrogating laws, of deciding on war or peace, of choosing men to fill offices both religious and secular: all these are the prerogatives of a sovereign. The high priest, indeed, had the right of interpreting laws, and communicating the answers of God, but he could not do so when he liked, as Moses could, but only when he was asked by the general-in-chief of the army, the council, or some similar authority. The general-in-chief and the council could consult God when they liked, but could only receive His answers through the high priest; so that the utterances of God, as reported by the high priest, were not decrees, as they were when reported by Moses, but only answers; they were accepted by Joshua and the council, and only then had the force of commands and decrees {Like the separation of powers in the United States of America.}

The high priest, both in the case of Aaron and of his son Eleazar, was chosen by Moses; nor had anyone, after Moses' death, a right to elect to the office, which became hereditary . The general-inchief of the army was also chosen by Moses, and assumed his functions in virtue of the commands, not of the high priest, but of Moses: indeed, after the death of Joshua, the high priest did not appoint anyone in his place, and the captains did not consult God afresh about a general-inchief, but each retained Joshua's power in respect to the contingent of his own tribe, and all retained it collectively, in respect to the whole army. There seems to have been no need of a general-inchief, except when they were obliged to unite their forces against a common enemy. This occurred most frequently during the time of Joshua, when they had no fixed dwelling. place, and possessed all things in common. After all the tribes had gained their territories by right of conquest, and had divided their allotted gains, they, became separated, having no longer their possessions in common, so that the need for a single commander ceased, for the different tribes should be considered rather in the light of confederated states than of bodies of fellow-citizens. In respect to their God and their religion, they, were fellow-citizens; but, in respect to the rights which one possessed with regard to another, they were only confederated: they, were, in fact, in much the same position (if one excepts the Temple common to all) as the United States of the Netherlands {or United States of America}. The division of property, held in common is only another phrase for the possession of his share by each of the owners singly, and the surrender by the others of their rights over such share. This is why Moses elected captains of the tribes — namely, that when the dominion was divided, each might take care of his own part; consulting God through the high priest on the affairs of his tribe, ruling over his army, building and fortifying cities, appointing judges, attacking the enemies of his own dominion, and having complete control over all civil and military affairs. He was not bound to acknowledge any superior judge save God [32](#), or a prophet whom God should expressly send. If he departed from the worship of God, the rest of the tribes did not arraign him as a subject, but attacked him as an enemy. Of this we have

examples in Scripture. When Joshua was dead, the children of Israel (not a fresh general-in-chief) consulted God; it being decided that the tribe of Judah should be the first to attack its enemies, the tribe in question contracted a single alliance with the tribe of Simeon, for uniting their forces, and attacking their common enemy, the rest of the tribes not being included in the alliance (Judges i:1, 2, 3). Each tribe separately made war against its own enemies, and, according to its pleasure, received them as subjects or allies, though it had been commanded not to spare them on any conditions, but to destroy them utterly. Such disobedience met with reproof from the rest of the tribes, but did not cause the offending tribe to be arraigned: it was not considered a sufficient reason for proclaiming a civil war, or interfering in one another's affairs. But when the tribe of Benjamin offended against the others, and so loosened the bonds of peace that none of the confederated tribes could find refuge within its borders, they attacked it as an enemy, and gaining the victory over it after three battles, put to death both guilty and innocent, according to the laws of war: an act which they subsequently bewailed with tardy repentance.

These examples plainly confirm what we have said concerning the rights of each tribe. Perhaps we shall be asked who elected the successors to the captains of each tribe; on this point I can gather no positive information in Scripture, but I conjecture that as the tribes were divided into families, each headed by its senior member, the senior of all these heads of families succeeded by right to the office of captain, for Moses chose from among these seniors his seventy coadjutors, who formed with himself the supreme council. Those who administered the government after the death of Joshua were called elders, and elder is a very common Hebrew expression in the sense of judge, as I suppose everyone knows; however, it is not very important for us to make up our minds on this point. It is enough to have shown that after the death of Moses no one man wielded all the power of a sovereign; as affairs were not all managed by one man, nor by a single council, nor by the popular vote, but partly by one tribe, partly by the rest in equal shares, it is most evident that the government, after the death of Moses, was

neither monarchic, nor aristocratic, nor popular, but, as we have said, Theocratic. The reasons for applying this name are:

I. Because the royal seat of government was the Temple, and in respect to it alone, as we have shown, all the tribes were fellow-citizens,

II. Because all the people owed allegiance to God, their supreme Judge, to whom only they had promised implicit obedience in all things.

III. Because the general-in-chief or dictator, when there was need of such, was elected by none save God alone. This was expressly commanded by Moses in the name of God (Deut. xix:15), and witnessed by the actual choice of Gideon, of Samson, and of Samuel; wherefrom we may conclude that the other faithful leaders were chosen in the same manner, though it is not expressly told us.

These preliminaries being stated, it is now time to inquire the effects of forming a dominion on this plan, and to see whether it so effectually kept within bounds both rulers and ruled, that the former were never tyrannical and the latter never rebellious.

Those who administer or possess governing power, always try to surround their high-handed actions with a cloak of legality, and to persuade the people that they act from good motives; this they are easily able to effect when they are the sole interpreters of the law; for it is evident that they are thus able to assume a far greater freedom to carry out their wishes and desires than if the interpretation of the law is vested in someone else, or if the laws were so self-evident that no one could be in doubt as to their meaning. We thus see that the power of evil-doing was greatly curtailed for the Hebrew captains by the fact that the whole interpretation of the law was vested in the Levites (Deut. xxi:5), who, on their part, had no share in the government, and depended for all their support and consideration on a correct interpretation of the laws entrusted to them. Moreover, the whole people was commanded to come together at a certain place every seven years and be instructed in the law by the high-priest; further, each individual was bidden to read the book of the law through and through continually with scrupulous care. (Deut. xxxi:9, 10, and vi:7.) The captains were thus for their own

sakes bound to take great care to administer everything according to the laws laid down, and well known to all, if they, wished to be held in high honour by, the people, who would regard them as the administrators of God's dominion, and as God's vicegerents; otherwise they could not have escaped all the virulence of theological hatred. There was another very important check on the unbridled license of the captains, in the fact, that the army was formed from the whole body, of the citizens, between the ages of twenty and sixty, without exception, and that the captains were not able to hire any foreign soldiery. This I say was very, important, for it is well known that princes can oppress their peoples with the single aid of the soldiery in their pay; while there is nothing more formidable to them than the freedom of citizen soldiers, who have established the freedom and glory of their country, by their valour, their toil, and their blood. Thus Alexander, when he was about to make war on Darius, a second time, after hearing the advice of Parmenio, did not chide him who gave the advice, but Polysperchon, who was standing by. For, as Curtius says (iv. Para. 13), he did not venture to reproach Parmenio again after having shortly, before reproofed him too sharply. This freedom of the Macedonians, which he so dreaded, he was not able to subdue till after the number of captives enlisted in the army, surpassed that of his own people: then, but not till then, he gave rein to his anger so long checked by, the independence of his chief fellow-countrymen.

If this independence of citizen soldiers can restrain the princes of ordinary states who are wont to usurp the whole glory of victories, it must have been still more effectual against the Hebrew captains, whose soldiers were fighting, not for the glory of a prince, but for the glory of God, and who did not go forth to battle till the Divine assent had been given.

We must also remember that the Hebrew captains were associated only by the bonds of religion: therefore, if any one of them had transgressed, and begun to violate the Divine right, he might have been treated by the rest as an enemy and lawfully subdued.

An additional check may be found in the fear of a new prophet arising, for if a man of unblemished life could show by certain signs that he was really a prophet, he ipso facto obtained the sovereign right to rule, which was given to him, as to Moses formerly, in the name of God, as revealed to himself alone; not merely through the high priest, as in the case of the captains. There is no doubt that such an one would easily be able to enlist an oppressed people in his cause, and by trifling signs persuade them of anything he wished: on the other hand, if affairs were well ordered, the captain would be able to make provision in time; that the prophet should be submitted to his approval, and be examined whether he were really of unblemished life, and possessed indisputable signs of his mission: also, whether the teaching he proposed to set forth in the name of the Lord agreed with received doctrines, and the general laws of the country; if his credentials were insufficient, or his doctrines new, he could lawfully be put to death, or else received on the captain's sole responsibility and authority.

Again, the captains were not superior to the others in nobility or birth, but only administered the government in virtue of their age and personal qualities. Lastly, neither captains nor army had any reason for preferring war to peace. The army, as we have stated, consisted entirely of citizens, so that affairs were managed by the same persons both in peace and war. The man who was a soldier in the camp was a citizen in the market-place, he who was a leader in the camp was a judge in the law courts, he who was a general in the camp was a ruler in the state. Thus no one could desire war for its own sake, but only for the sake of preserving peace and liberty; possibly the captains avoided change as far as possible, so as not to be obliged to consult the high priest and submit to the indignity of standing in his presence.

So much for the precautions for keeping the captains within bounds. We must now look for the restraints upon the people: these, however, are very clearly indicated in the very groundwork of the social fabric.

Anyone who gives the subject the slightest attention, will see that the state was so ordered as to inspire the most ardent patriotism in the hearts of the citizens, so

that the latter would be very hard to persuade to betray their country, and be ready to endure anything rather than submit to a foreign yoke. After they had transferred their right to God, they thought that their kingdom belonged to God, and that they themselves were God's children. Other nations they looked upon as God's enemies, and regarded with intense hatred (which they took to be piety, see Psalm cxxxix:21, 22): nothing would have been more abhorrent to them than swearing allegiance to a foreigner, and promising him obedience: nor could they conceive any greater or more execrable crime than the betrayal of their country, the kingdom of the God whom they adored.

It was considered wicked for anyone to settle outside of the country, inasmuch as the worship of God by which they were bound could not be carried on elsewhere: their own land alone was considered holy, the rest of the earth unclean and profane.

David, who was forced to live in exile, complained before Saul as follows: "But if they be the children of men who have stirred thee up against me, cursed be they before the Lord; for they have driven me out this day from abiding in the inheritance of the Lord, saying, Go, serve other gods." (I Sam. xxvi:19.) For the same reason no citizen, as we should especially remark, was ever sent into exile: he who sinned was liable to punishment, but not to disgrace.

Thus the love of the Hebrews for their country was not only patriotism, but also piety, and was cherished and nurtured by daily rites till, like their hatred of other nations, it must have passed into their nature. Their daily worship was not only different from that of other nations (as it might well be, considering that they were a peculiar people and entirely apart from the rest), it was absolutely contrary. Such daily reprobation naturally gave rise to a lasting hatred, deeply implanted in the heart: for of all hatreds none is more deep and tenacious than that which springs from extreme devoutness or piety, and is itself cherished as pious. Nor was a general cause lacking for inflaming such hatred more and more, inasmuch as it was reciprocated; the surrounding nations regarding the Jews with a hatred just as intense.

How great was the effect of all these causes, namely, freedom from man's dominion; devotion to their country; absolute rights over all other men; a hatred not only permitted but pious; a contempt for their fellow-men; the singularity of their customs and religious rites; the effect, I repeat, of all these causes in strengthening the hearts of the Jews to bear all things for their country, with extraordinary constancy and valour, will at once be discerned by reason and attested by experience. Never, so long as the city was standing, could they endure to remain under foreign dominion; and therefore they called Jerusalem "a rebellious city" (Ezra iv:12). Their state after its reestablishment (which was a mere shadow of the first, for the high priests had usurped the rights of the tribal captains) was, with great difficulty, destroyed by the Romans, as Tacitus bears witness (Hist. ii:4):—"Vespasian had closed the war against the Jews, abandoning the siege of Jerusalem as an enterprise difficult and arduous rather from the character of the people and the obstinacy of their superstition, than from the strength left to the besieged for meeting their necessities." But besides these characteristics, which are merely ascribed by an individual opinion, there was one feature peculiar to this state and of great importance in retaining the affections of the citizens, and checking all thoughts of desertion, or abandonment of the country: namely, self-interest, the strength and life of all human action. This was peculiarly engaged in the Hebrew state, for nowhere else did citizens possess their goods so securely, as did the subjects of this community, for the latter possessed as large a share in the land and the fields as did their chiefs, and were owners of their plots of ground in perpetuity; for if any man was compelled by poverty to sell his farm or his pasture, he received it back again intact at the year of jubilee: there were other similar enactments against the possibility of alienating real property.

Again, poverty was nowhere more endurable than in a country where duty towards one's neighbour, that is, one's fellow-citizen, was practised with the utmost piety, as a means of gaining the favour of God the King. Thus the Hebrew

citizens would nowhere be so well off as in their own country; outside its limits they met with nothing but loss and disgrace.

The following considerations were of weight, not only in keeping them at home, but also in preventing civil war and removing causes of strife; no one was bound to serve his equal, but only to serve God, while charity and love towards fellow-citizens was accounted the highest piety; this last feeling was not a little fostered by the general hatred with which they regarded foreign nations and were regarded by them. Furthermore, the strict discipline of obedience in which they were brought up, was a very important factor; for they were bound to carry on all their actions according to the set rules of the law: a man might not plough when he liked, but only at certain times, in certain years, and with one sort of beast at a time; so, too, he might only sow and reap in a certain method and season — in fact, his whole life was one long school of obedience (see Chap. V. on the use of ceremonies); such a habit was thus engendered, that conformity seemed freedom instead of servitude, and men desired what was commanded rather than what was forbidden. This result was not a little aided by the fact that the people were bound, at certain seasons of the year, to give themselves up to rest and rejoicing, not for their own pleasure, but in order that they might worship God cheerfully.

Three times in the year they feasted before the Lord; on the seventh day of every week they were bidden to abstain from all work and to rest; besides these, there were other occasions when innocent rejoicing and feasting were not only allowed but enjoined. I do not think any better means of influencing men's minds could be devised; for there is no more powerful attraction than joy springing from devotion, a mixture of admiration and love. It was not easy to be wearied by constant repetition, for the rites on the various festivals were varied and recurred seldom. We may add the deep reverence for the Temple which all most religiously fostered, on account of the peculiar rites and duties that they were obliged to perform before approaching thither. Even now, Jews cannot read without horror of the crime of Manasseh, who dared to place an idol in the Temple. The laws, scrupulously preserved in the inmost sanctuary, were objects of equal reverence to

the people. Popular reports and misconceptions were, therefore, very little to be feared in this quarter, for no one dared decide on sacred matters, but all felt bound to obey, without consulting their reason, all the commands given by the answers of God received in the Temple, and all the laws which God had ordained.

I think I have now explained clearly, though briefly, the main features of the Hebrew commonwealth. I must now inquire into the causes which led the people so often to fall away from the law, which brought about their frequent subjection, and, finally, the complete destruction of their dominion. Perhaps I shall be told that it sprang from their hardness of heart; but this is childish, for why should this people be more hard of heart than others; was it by nature?

But nature forms individuals, not peoples; the latter are only distinguishable by the difference of their language, their customs, and their laws; while from the two last — i.e., customs and laws, — it may arise that they have a peculiar disposition, a peculiar manner of life, and peculiar prejudices. If, then, the Hebrews were harder of heart than other nations, the fault lay with their laws or customs.

This is certainly true, in the sense that, if God had wished their dominion to be more lasting, He would have given them other rites and laws, and would have instituted a different form of government. We can, therefore, only say that their God was angry with them, not only, as Jeremiah says, from the building of the city, but even from the founding of their laws.

This is borne witness to by Ezekiel xx:25: “Wherefore I gave them also statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live; and I polluted them in their own gifts, in that they caused to pass through the fire all that openeth the womb; that I might make them desolate, to the end that they might know that I am the Lord.”

In order that we may understand these words, and the destruction of the Hebrew commonwealth, we must bear in mind that it had at first been intended to entrust the whole duties of the priesthood to the firstborn, and not to the Levites (see Numb. viii:17). It was only when all the tribes, except the Levites,

worshipped the golden calf, that the firstborn were rejected and defiled, and the Levites chosen in their stead (Deut. x:8). When I reflect on this change, I feel disposed to break forth with the words of Tacitus. God's object at that time was not the safety of the Jews, but vengeance. I am greatly astonished that the celestial mind was so inflamed with anger that it ordained laws, which always are supposed to promote the honour, well-being, and security of a people, with the purpose of vengeance, for the sake of punishment; so that the laws do not seem so much laws — that is, the safeguard of the people — as pains and penalties.

The gifts which the people were obliged to bestow on the Levites and priests — the redemption of the firstborn, the poll-tax due to the Levites, the privilege possessed by the latter of the sole performance of sacred rites — all these, I say, were a continual reproach to the people, a continual reminder of their defilement and rejection. Moreover, we may be sure that the Levites were for ever heaping reproaches upon them: for among so many thousands there must have been many importunate dabblers in theology. Hence the people got into the way of watching the acts of the Levites, who were but human; of accusing the whole body of the faults of one member, and continually murmuring.

Besides this, there was the obligation to keep in idleness men hateful to them, and connected by no ties of blood. Especially would this seem grievous when provisions were dear. What wonder, then, if in times of peace, when striking miracles had ceased, and no men of paramount authority were forthcoming, the irritable and greedy temper of the people began to wax cold, and at length to fall away from a worship, which, though Divine, was also humiliating, and even hostile, and to seek after something fresh; or can we be surprised that the captains, who always adopt the popular course, in order to gain the sovereign power for themselves by enlisting the sympathies of the people, and alienating the high priest, should have yielded to their demands, and introduced a new worship? If the state had been formed according to the original intention, the rights and honour of all the tribes would have been equal, and everything would have rested on a firm basis. Who is there who would willingly violate the religious rights of

his kindred? What could a man desire more than to support his own brothers and parents, thus fulfilling the duties of religion? Who would not rejoice in being taught by them the interpretation of the laws, and receiving through them the answers of God?

The tribes would thus have been united by a far closer bond, if all alike had possessed the right to the priesthood. All danger would have been obviated, if the choice of the Levites had not been dictated by anger and revenge. But, as we have said, the Hebrews had offended their God, Who, as Ezekiel says, polluted them in their own gifts by rejecting all that openeth the womb, so that He might destroy them.

This passage is also confirmed by their history. As soon as the people in the wilderness began to live in ease and plenty, certain men of no mean birth began to rebel against the choice of the Levites, and to make it a cause for believing that Moses had not acted by the commands of God, but for his own good pleasure, inasmuch as he had chosen his own tribe before all the rest, and had bestowed the high priesthood in perpetuity on his own brother. They, therefore, stirred up a tumult, and came to him, crying out that all men were equally sacred, and that he had exalted himself above his fellows wrongfully. Moses was not able to pacify them with reasons; but by the intervention of a miracle in proof of the faith, they all perished. A fresh sedition then arose among the whole people, who believed that their champions had not been put to death by the judgment of God, but by the device of Moses. After a great slaughter, or pestilence, the rising subsided from inanition, but in such a manner that all preferred death to life under such conditions.

We should rather say that sedition ceased than that harmony was re-established. This is witnessed by Scripture (Deut. xxxi:21), where God, after predicting to Moses that the people after his death will fall away from the Divine worship, speaks thus: "For I know their imagination which they go about, even now before I have brought them into the land which I swear;" and, a little while after (xxx:27), Moses says: For I know thy rebellion and thy stiff neck: behold

while I am yet alive with you this day, ye have been rebellious against the Lord; and how much more after my death!”

Indeed, it happened according to his words, as we all know. Great changes, extreme license, luxury, and hardness of heart grew up; things went from bad to worse, till at last the people, after being frequently conquered, came to an open rupture with the Divine right, and wished for a mortal king, so that the seat of government might be the Court, instead of the Temple, and that the tribes might remain fellow-citizens in respect to their king, instead of in respect to Divine right and the high priesthood.

A vast material for new seditions was thus produced, eventually resulting in the ruin of the entire state. Kings are above all things jealous of a precarious rule, and can in nowise brook a dominion within their own. The first monarchs, being chosen from the ranks of private citizens, were content with the amount of dignity to which they had risen; but their sons, who obtained the throne by right of inheritance, began gradually to introduce changes, so as to get all the sovereign rights into their own hands. This they were generally unable to accomplish, so long as the right of legislation did not rest with them, but with the high priest, who kept the laws in the sanctuary, and interpreted them to the people. The kings were thus bound to obey the laws as much as were the subjects, and were unable to abrogate them, or to ordain new laws of equal authority; moreover, they were prevented by the Levites from administering the affairs of religion, king and subject being alike unclean. Lastly, the whole safety of their dominion depended on the will of one man, if that man appeared to be a prophet; and of this they had seen an example, namely, how completely Samuel had been able to command Saul, and how easily, because of a single disobedience, he had been able to transfer the right of sovereignty to David. Thus the kings found a dominion within their own, and wielded a precarious sovereignty.

In order to surmount these difficulties, they allowed other temples to be dedicated to the gods, so that there might be no further need of consulting the Levites; they also sought out many who prophesied in the name of God, so that

they might have creatures of their own to oppose to the true prophets. However, in spite of all their attempts, they never attained their end. For the prophets, prepared against every emergency, waited for a favourable opportunity, such as the beginning of a new reign, which is always precarious, while the memory of the previous reign remains green. At these times they could easily pronounce by Divine authority that the king was tyrannical, and could produce a champion of distinguished virtue to vindicate the Divine right, and lawfully to claim dominion, or a share in it. Still, not even so could the prophets effect much. They could, indeed, remove a tyrant; but there were reasons which prevented them from doing more than setting up, at great cost of civil bloodshed, another tyrant in his stead. Of discords and civil wars there was no end, for the causes for the violation of Divine right remained always the same, and could only be removed by a complete remodelling of the state.

We have now seen how religion was introduced into the Hebrew commonwealth, and how the dominion might have lasted for ever, if the just wrath of the Lawgiver had allowed it. As this was impossible, it was bound in time to perish. I am now speaking only of the first commonwealth, for the second was a mere shadow of the first, inasmuch as the people were bound by the rights of the Persians to whom they were subject. After the restoration of freedom, the high priests usurped the rights of the secular chiefs, and thus obtained absolute dominion. The priests were inflamed with an intense desire to wield the powers of the sovereignty and the high priesthood at the same time. I have, therefore, no need to speak further of the second commonwealth. Whether the first, in so far as we deem it to have been durable, is capable of imitation, and whether it would be pious to copy it as far as possible, will appear from what follows. I wish only to draw attention, as a crowning conclusion, to the principle indicated already — namely, that it is evident, from what we have stated in this chapter, that the Divine right, or the right of religion, originates in a compact: without such compact, none but natural rights exist. The Hebrews were not bound by their religion to evince

any pious care for other nations not included in the compact, but only for their own fellow-citizens.

29 “If men could lose their natural rights so as to be absolutely unable for the future to oppose the will of the sovereign” Two common soldiers undertook to change the Roman dominion, and did change it. (Tacitus, Hist. i:7.)

30 See Numbers xi. 28. In this passage it is written that two men prophesied in the camp, and that Joshua wished to punish them. This he would not have done, if it had been lawful for anyone to deliver the Divine oracles to the people without the consent of Moses. But Moses thought good to pardon the two men, and rebuked Joshua for exhorting him to use his royal prerogative, at a time when he was so weary of reigning, that he preferred death to holding undivided sway (Numb. xi:14). For he made answer to Joshua, “Enviest thou for my sake? Would God that all the Lord’s people were prophets, and that the Lord would put His spirit upon them.” That is to say, would God that the right of taking counsel of God were general, and the power were in the hands of the people. Thus Joshua was not mistaken as to the right, but only as to the time for using it, for which he was rebuked by Moses, in the same way as Abishai was rebuked by David for counselling that Shimei, who had undoubtedly been guilty of treason, should be put to death. See 2 Sam. xix:22, 23.

31 See Numbers xxvii:21. The translators of the Bible have rendered incorrectly verses 19 and 23 of this chapter. The passage does not mean that Moses gave precepts or advice to Joshua, but that he made or established him chief of the Hebrews. The phrase is very frequent in Scripture (see Exodus, xviii:23; 1 Sam. xiii:15; Joshua i:9; 1 Sam. xxv:80).

32 “There was no judge over each of the captains save God.” The Rabbis and some Christians equally foolish pretend that the Sanhedrin, called “the great” was instituted by Moses. As a matter of fact, Moses chose seventy colleagues to assist him in governing, because he was not able to bear alone the burden of the whole people; but he never passed any law for forming a college of seventy members; on the contrary he ordered every tribe to appoint for itself, in the cities which God had given it, judges to settle disputes according to the laws which he himself had laid down. In cases where the opinions of the judges differed as to the interpretation of these laws, Moses bade them take counsel of the High Priest (who was the chief interpreter

of the law), or of the chief judge, to whom they were then subordinate (who had the right of consulting the High Priest), and to decide the dispute in accordance with the answer obtained. If any subordinate judge should assert, that he was not bound by the decision of the High Priest, received either directly or through the chief of his state, such an one was to be put to death (Deut. xvii:9) by the chief judge, whoever he might be, to whom he was a subordinate. This chief judge would either be Joshua, the supreme captain of the whole people, or one of the tribal chiefs who had been entrusted, after the division of the tribes, with the right of consulting the high priest concerning the affairs of his tribe, of deciding on peace or war, of fortifying towns, of appointing inferior judges, &c. Or, again, it might be the king, in whom all or some of the tribes had vested their rights. I could cite many instances in confirmation of what I here advance. I will confine myself to one, which appears to me the most important of all. When the Shilomitish prophet anointed Jeroboam king, he, in so doing, gave him the right of consulting the high priest, of appointing judges, &c. In fact he endowed him with all the rights over the ten tribes, which Rehoboam retained over the two tribes. Consequently Jeroboam could set up a supreme council in his court with as much right as Jehoshaphat could at Jerusalem (2 Chron. xix:8). For it is plain that neither Jeroboam, who was king by God's command, nor Jeroboam's subjects, were bound by the Law of Moses to accept the judgments of Rehoboam, who was not their king. Still less were they under the jurisdiction of the judge, whom Rehoboam had set up in Jerusalem as subordinate to himself. According, therefore, as the Hebrew dominion was divided, so was a supreme council setup in each division. Those who neglect the variations in the constitution of the Hebrew States, and confuse them all together in one, fall into numerous difficulties.

CHAPTER XVIII.

From the Commonwealth of the Hebrews, and Their History, Certain Political Doctrines are Deduced.



ALTHOUGH THE COMMONWEALTH of the Hebrews, as we have conceived it, might have lasted for ever, it would be impossible to imitate it at the present day, nor would it be advisable so to do. If a people wished to transfer their rights to God it would be necessary to make an express covenant with Him, and for this would be needed not only the consent of those transferring their rights, but also the consent of God. God, however, has revealed through his Apostles that the covenant of God is no longer written in ink, or on tables of stone, but with the Spirit of God in the fleshy tables of the heart.

Furthermore, such a form of government would only be available for those who desire to have no foreign relations, but to shut themselves up within their own frontiers, and to live apart from the rest of the world; it would be useless to men who must have dealings with other nations; so that the cases where it could be adopted are very few indeed.

Nevertheless, though it could not be copied in its entirety, it possessed many excellent features which might be brought to our notice, and perhaps imitated with advantage. My intention, however, is not to write a treatise on forms of government, so I will pass over most of such points in silence, and will only touch on those which bear upon my purpose.

God's kingdom is not infringed upon by the choice of an earthly ruler endowed with sovereign rights; for after the Hebrews had transferred their rights to God, they conferred the sovereign right of ruling on Moses, investing him with the sole power of instituting and abrogating laws in the name of God, of choosing priests,

of judging, of teaching, of punishing — in fact, all the prerogatives of an absolute monarch.

Again, though the priests were the interpreters of the laws, they had no power to judge the citizens, or to excommunicate anyone: this could only be done by the judges and chiefs chosen from among the people. A consideration of the successes and the histories of the Hebrews will bring to light other considerations worthy of note. To wit:

I. That there were no religious sects, till after the high priests, in the second commonwealth, possessed the authority to make decrees, and transact the business of government. In order that such authority might last for ever, the high priests usurped the rights of secular rulers, and at last wished to be styled kings. The reason for this is ready to hand; in the first commonwealth no decrees could bear the name of the high priest, for he had no right to ordain laws, but only to give the answers of God to questions asked by the captains or the councils: he had, therefore, no motive for making changes in the law, but took care, on the contrary, to administer and guard what had already been received and accepted. His only means of preserving his freedom in safety against the will of the captains lay in cherishing the law intact. After the high priests had assumed the power of carrying on the government, and added the rights of secular rulers to those they already possessed, each one began both in things religious and in things secular, to seek for the glorification of his own name, settling everything by sacerdotal authority, and issuing every day, concerning ceremonies, faith, and all else, new decrees which he sought to make as sacred and authoritative as the laws of Moses. Religion thus sank into a degrading superstition, while the true meaning and interpretation of the laws became corrupted. Furthermore, while the high priests were paving their way to the secular rule just after the restoration, they attempted to gain popular favour by assenting to every demand; approving whatever the people did, however impious, and accommodating Scripture to the very depraved current morals. Malachi bears witness to this in no measured terms: he chides the priests of his time as despisers of the name of God, and then

goes on with his invective as follows (Mal ii:7, 8): “For the priest’s lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth: for he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts. But ye are departed out of the way; ye have caused many to stumble at the law, ye have corrupted the covenant of Levi, saith the Lord of hosts.” He further accuses them of interpreting the laws according to their own pleasure, and paying no respect to God but only to persons. It is certain that the high priests were never so cautious in their conduct as to escape the remark of the more shrewd among the people, for the latter were at length emboldened to assert that no laws ought to be kept save those that were written, and that the decrees which the Pharisees (consisting, as Josephus says in his “*Antiquities*,” chiefly, of the common people), were deceived into calling the traditions of the fathers, should not be observed at all. However this may be, we can in nowise doubt that flattery of the high priest, the corruption of religion and the laws, and the enormous increase of the extent of the last-named, gave very great and frequent occasion for disputes and altercations impossible to allay. When men begin to quarrel with all the ardour of superstition, and the magistracy to back up one side or the other, they can never come to a compromise, but are bound to split into sects.

II. It is worthy of remark that the prophets, who were in a private station of life, rather irritated than reformed mankind by their freedom of warning, rebuke, and censure; whereas the kings, by their reproofs and punishments, could always produce an effect. The prophets were often intolerable even to pious kings, on account of the authority they assumed for judging whether an action was right or wrong, or for reproving the kings themselves if they dared to transact any business, whether public or private, without prophetic sanction. King Asa who, according to the testimony of Scripture, reigned piously, put the prophet Hanani into a prison-house because he had ventured freely to chide and reprove him for entering into a covenant with the king of Armenia.

Other examples might be cited, tending to prove that religion gained more harm than good by such freedom, not to speak of the further consequence, that if

the prophets had retained their rights, great civil wars would have resulted.

III. It is remarkable that during all the period, during which the people held the reins of power, there was only one civil war, and that one was completely extinguished, the conquerors taking such pity on the conquered, that they endeavoured in every way to reinstate them in their former dignity and power. But after that the people, little accustomed to kings, changed its first form of government into a monarchy, civil war raged almost continuously; and battles were so fierce as to exceed all others recorded; in one engagement (taxing our faith to the utmost) five hundred thousand Israelites were slaughtered by the men of Judah, and in another the Israelites slew great numbers of the men of Judah (the figures are not given in Scripture), almost razed to the ground the walls of Jerusalem, and sacked the Temple in their unbridled fury. At length, laden with the spoils of their brethren, satiated with blood, they took hostages, and leaving the king in his well-nigh devastated kingdom, laid down their arms, relying on the weakness rather than the good faith of their foes. A few years after, the men of Judah, with recruited strength, again took the field, but were a second time beaten by the Israelites, and slain to the number of a hundred and twenty thousand, two hundred thousand of their wives and children were led into captivity, and a great booty again seized. Worn out with these and similar battles set forth at length in their histories, the Jews at length fell a prey to their enemies.

Furthermore, if we reckon up the times during which peace prevailed under each form of government, we shall find a great discrepancy. Before the monarchy forty years and more often passed, and once eighty years (an almost unparalleled period), without any war, foreign or civil. After the kings acquired sovereign power, the fighting was no longer for peace and liberty, but for glory; accordingly we find that they all, with the exception of Solomon (whose virtue and wisdom would be better displayed in peace than in war) waged war, and finally a fatal desire for power gained ground, which, in many cases, made the path to the throne a bloody one.

Lastly, the laws, during the rule of the people, remained uncorrupted and were studiously observed. Before the monarchy there were very, few prophets to admonish the people, but after the establishment of kings there were a great number at the same time. Obadiah saved a hundred from death and hid them away, lest they should be slain with the rest. The people, so far as we can see, were never deceived by false prophets till after the power had been vested in kings, whose creatures many of the prophets were. Again, the people, whose heart was generally proud or humble according to its circumstances, easily corrected itself under misfortune, turned again to God, restored His laws, and so freed itself from all peril; but the kings, whose hearts were always equally puffed up, and who could not be corrected without humiliation, clung pertinaciously to their vices, even till the last overthrow of the city.

We may now clearly see from what I have said: —

I. How hurtful to religion and the state is the concession to ministers of religion of any power of issuing decrees or transacting the business of government: how, on the contrary, far greater stability is afforded, if the said ministers are only allowed to give answers to questions duly put to them, and are, as a rule, obliged to preach and practise the received and accepted doctrines.

II How dangerous it is to refer to Divine right matters merely speculative and subject or liable to dispute. The most tyrannical governments are those which make crimes of opinions, for everyone has an inalienable right over his thoughts — nay, such a state of things leads to the rule of popular passion.

Pontius Pilate made concession to the passion of the Pharisees in consenting to the crucifixion of Christ, whom he knew to be innocent. Again, the Pharisees, in order to shake the position of men richer than themselves, began to set on foot questions of religion, and accused the Sadducees of impiety, and, following their example, the vilest — hypocrites, stirred, as they pretended, by the same holy wrath which they called zeal for the Lord, persecuted men whose unblemished character and distinguished virtue had excited the popular hatred, publicly

denounced their opinions, and inflamed the fierce passions of the people against them.

This wanton licence being cloaked with the specious garb of religion could not easily be repressed, especially when the sovereign authorities introduced a sect of which they, were not the head; they were then regarded not as interpreters of Divine right, but as sectarians — that is, as persons recognizing the right of Divine interpretation assumed by the leaders of the sect. The authority of the magistrates thus became of little account in such matters in comparison with the authority of sectarian leaders before whose interpretations kings were obliged to bow.

To avoid such evils in a state, there is no safer way, than to make piety and religion to consist in acts only — that is, in the practice of justice and charity, leaving everyone's judgment in other respects free. But I will speak of this more at length presently.

III. We see how necessary it is, both in the interests of the state and in the interests of religion, to confer on the sovereign power the right of deciding what is lawful or the reverse. If this right of judging actions could not be given to the very prophets of God without great injury, to the state and religion, how much less should it be entrusted to those who can neither foretell the future nor work miracles! But this again I will treat of more fully hereafter.

IV. Lastly, we see how disastrous it is for a people unaccustomed to kings, and possessing a complete code of laws, to set up a monarchy. Neither can the subjects brook such a sway, nor the royal authority submit to laws and popular rights set up by anyone inferior to itself. Still less can a king be expected to defend such laws, for they were not framed to support his dominion, but the dominion of the people, or some council which formerly ruled, so that in guarding the popular rights the king would seem to be a slave rather than a master. The representative of a new monarchy will employ all his zeal in attempting to frame new laws, so as to wrest the rights of dominion to his own use, and to reduce the people till they find it easier to increase than to curtail the royal prerogative. I

must not, however, omit to state that it is no less dangerous to remove a monarch, though he is on all hands admitted to be a tyrant. For his people are accustomed to royal authority and will obey no other, despising and mocking at any less august control.

It is therefore necessary, as the prophets discovered of old, if one king be removed, that he should be replaced by another, who will be a tyrant from necessity rather than choice. For how will he be able to endure the sight of the hands of the citizens reeking with royal blood, and to rejoice in their regicide as a glorious exploit? Was not the deed perpetrated as an example and warning for himself?

If he really wishes to be king, and not to acknowledge the people as the judge of kings and the master of himself, or to wield a precarious sway, he must avenge the death of his predecessor, making an example for his own sake, lest the people should venture to repeat a similar crime. He will not, however, be able easily to avenge the death of the tyrant by the slaughter of citizens unless he defends the cause of tyranny and approves the deeds of his predecessor, thus following in his footsteps.

Hence it comes to pass that peoples have often changed their tyrants, but never removed them or changed the monarchical form of government into any other.

The English people furnish us with a terrible example of this fact. They sought how to depose their monarch under the forms of law, but when he had been removed, they were utterly unable to change the form of government, and after much bloodshed only brought it about, that a new monarch should be hailed under a different name (as though it had been a mere question of names); this new monarch could only consolidate his power by completely destroying the royal stock, putting to death the king's friends, real or supposed, and disturbing with war the peace which might encourage discontent, in order that the populace might be engrossed with novelties and divert its mind from brooding over the slaughter of the king. At last, however, the people reflected that it had accomplished nothing for the good of the country beyond violating the rights of the lawful king

and changing everything for the worse. It therefore decided to retrace its steps as soon as possible, and never rested till it had seen a complete restoration of the original state of affairs.

It may perhaps be objected that the Roman people was easily able to remove its tyrants, but I gather from its history a strong confirmation of my contention. Though the Roman people was much more than ordinarily capable of removing their tyrants and changing their form of government, inasmuch as it held in its own hands the power of electing its king and his successor, said being composed of rebels and criminals had not long been used to the royal yoke (out of its six kings it had put to death three), nevertheless it could accomplish nothing beyond electing several tyrants in place of one, who kept it groaning under a continual state of war, both foreign and civil, till at last it changed its government again to a form differing from monarchy, as in England, only in name.

As for the United States of the Netherlands, they have never, as we know, had a king, but only counts, who never attained the full rights of dominion. The States of the Netherlands evidently acted as principals in the settlement made by them at the time of the Earl of Leicester's mission: they always reserved for themselves the authority to keep the counts up to their duties, and the power to preserve this authority and the liberty of the citizens. They had ample means of vindicating their rights if their rulers should prove tyrannical, and could impose such restraints that nothing could be done without their consent and approval.

Thus the rights of sovereign power have always been vested in the States, though the last count endeavoured to usurp them. It is therefore little likely that the States should give them up, especially as they have just restored their original dominion, lately almost lost.

These examples, then, confirm us in our belief, that every dominion should retain its original form, and, indeed, cannot change it without danger of the utter ruin of the whole state. Such are the points I have here thought worthy of remark.

CHAPTER XIX.

It is shown that the Right over matters Spiritual lies wholly with the Sovereign, and that the outward forms of Religion should be in accordance with Public Peace, if we would obey God aright.



WHEN I SAID that the possessors of sovereign power have rights over everything, and that all rights are dependent on their decree, I did not merely mean temporal rights, but also spiritual rights; of the latter, no less than the former, they ought to be the interpreters and the champions. I wish to draw special attention to this point, and to discuss it fully in this chapter, because many persons deny that the right of deciding religious questions belongs to the sovereign power, and refuse to acknowledge it as the interpreter of Divine right. They accordingly assume full licence to accuse and arraign it, nay, even to excommunicate it from the Church, as Ambrosius treated the Emperor Theodosius in old time. However, I will show later on in this chapter that they take this means of dividing the government, and paving the way to their own ascendancy. I wish, however, first to point out that religion acquires its force as law solely from the decrees of the sovereign. God has no special kingdom among men except in so far as He reigns through temporal rulers. Moreover, the rites of religion and the outward observances of piety should be in accordance with the public peace and well-being, and should therefore be determined by the sovereign power alone. I speak here only of the outward observances of piety and the external rites of religion, not of piety, itself, nor of the inward worship of God, nor the means by which the mind is inwardly led to do homage to God in singleness of heart.

Inward worship of God and piety in itself are within the sphere of everyone's private rights, and cannot be alienated (as I showed at the end of Chapter VII.). What I here mean by the kingdom of God is, I think, sufficiently clear from what

has been said in Chapter XIV. I there showed that a man best fulfils Gods law who worships Him, according to His command, through acts of justice and charity; it follows, therefore, that wherever justice and charity have the force of law and ordinance, there is God's kingdom.

I recognize no difference between the cases where God teaches and commands the practice of justice and charity through our natural faculties, and those where He makes special revelations; nor is the form of the revelation of importance so long as such practice is revealed and becomes a sovereign and supreme law to men. If, therefore, I show that justice and charity can only acquire the force of right and law through the rights of rulers, I shall be able readily to arrive at the conclusion (seeing that the rights of rulers are in the possession of the sovereign), that religion can only acquire the force of right by means of those who have the right to command, and that God only rules among men through the instrumentality of earthly potentates. It follows from what has been said, that the practice of justice and charity only acquires the force of law through the rights of the sovereign authority; for we showed in Chapter XVI. that in the state of nature reason has no more rights than desire, but that men living either by the laws of the former or the laws of the latter, possess rights co-extensive with their powers.

For this reason we could not conceive sin to exist in the state of nature, nor imagine God as a judge punishing man's transgressions; but we supposed all things to happen according to the general laws of universal nature, there being no difference between pious and impious, between him that was pure (as Solomon says) and him that was impure, because there was no possibility either of justice or charity.

In order that the true doctrines of reason, that is (as we showed in Chapter IV.), the true Divine doctrines might obtain absolutely the force of law and right, it was necessary that each individual should cede his natural right, and transfer it either to society as a whole, or to a certain body of men, or to one man. Then, and not till then, does it first dawn upon us what is justice and what is injustice, what is equity and what is iniquity.

Justice, therefore, and absolutely all the precepts of reason, including love towards one's neighbour, receive the force of laws and ordinances solely through the rights of dominion, that is (as we showed in the same chapter) solely on the decree of those who possess the right to rule. Inasmuch as the kingdom of God consists entirely in rights applied to justice and charity or to true religion, it follows that (as we asserted) the kingdom of God can only exist among men through the means of the sovereign powers; nor does it make any difference whether religion be apprehended by our natural faculties or by revelation: the argument is sound in both cases, inasmuch as religion is one and the same, and is equally revealed by God, whatever be the manner in which it becomes known to men.

Thus, in order that the religion revealed by the prophets might have the force of law among the Jews, it was necessary that every man of them should yield up his natural right, and that all should, with one accord, agree that they would only obey such commands as God should reveal to them through the prophets. Just as we have shown to take place in a democracy, where men with one consent agree to live according to the dictates of reason. Although the Hebrews furthermore transferred their right to God, they were able to do so rather in theory than in practice, for, as a matter of fact (as we pointed out above) they absolutely retained the right of dominion till they transferred it to Moses, who in his turn became absolute king, so that it was only through him that God reigned over the Hebrews. For this reason (namely, that religion only acquires the force of law by means of the sovereign power) Moses was not able to punish those who, before the covenant, and consequently while still in possession of their rights, violated the Sabbath (Exod. xvi:27), but was able to do so after the covenant (Numb. xv:36), because everyone had then yielded up his natural rights, and the ordinance of the Sabbath had received the force of law.

Lastly, for the same reason, after the destruction of the Hebrew dominion, revealed religion ceased to have the force of law; for we cannot doubt that as soon as the Jews transferred their right to the king of Babylon, the kingdom of God and

the Divine right forthwith ceased. For the covenant wherewith they promised to obey all the utterances of God was abrogated; God's kingdom, which was based thereupon, also ceased. The Hebrews could no longer abide thereby, inasmuch as their rights no longer belonged to them but to the king of Babylon, whom (as we showed in Chapter XVI.) they were bound to obey in all things. Jeremiah (chap. xxix:7) expressly admonishes them of this fact: "And seek the peace of the city, whither I have caused you to be carried away captives, and pray unto the Lord for it; for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace." Now, they could not seek the peace of the City as having a share in its government, but only as slaves, being, as they were, captives; by obedience in all things, with a view to avoiding seditions, and by observing all the laws of the country, however different from their own. It is thus abundantly evident that religion among the Hebrews only acquired the form of law through the right of the sovereign rule; when that rule was destroyed, it could no longer be received as the law of a particular kingdom, but only as the universal precept of reason. I say of reason, for the universal religion had not yet become known by revelation. We may therefore draw the general conclusion that religion, whether revealed through our natural faculties or through prophets, receives the force of a command solely through the decrees of the holders of sovereign power; and, further, that God has no special kingdom among men, except in so far as He reigns through earthly potentates.

We may now see in a clearer light what was stated in Chapter IV., namely, that all the decrees of God involve eternal truth and necessity, so that we cannot conceive God as a prince or legislator giving laws to mankind. For this reason the Divine precepts, whether revealed through our natural faculties, or through prophets, do not receive immediately from God the force of a command, but only from those, or through the mediation of those, who possess the right of ruling and legislating. It is only through these latter means that God rules among men, and directs human affairs with justice and equity.

This conclusion is supported by experience, for we find traces of Divine justice only in places where just men bear sway; elsewhere the same lot (to repeat, again

Solomon's words) befalls the just and the unjust, the pure and the impure: a state of things which causes Divine Providence to be doubted by many who think that God immediately reigns among men, and directs all nature for their benefit.

As, then, both reason and experience tell us that the Divine right is entirely dependent on the decrees of secular rulers, it follows that secular rulers are its proper interpreters. How this is so we shall now see, for it is time to show that the outward observances of religion, and all the external practices of piety should be brought into accordance with the public peace and well-being if we would obey God rightly. When this has been shown we shall easily understand how the sovereign rulers are the proper interpreters of religion and piety.

It is certain that duties towards one's country are the highest that man can fulfil; for, if government be taken away, no good thing can last, all falls into dispute, anger and anarchy reign unchecked amid universal fear. Consequently there can be no duty towards our neighbour which would not become an offence if it involved injury to the whole state, nor can there be any offence against our duty towards our neighbour, or anything but loyalty in what we do for the sake of preserving the state. For instance: it is in the abstract my duty when my neighbour quarrels with me and wishes to take my cloak, to give him my coat also; but if it be thought that such conduct is hurtful to the maintenance of the state, I ought to bring him to trial, even at the risk of his being condemned to death.

For this reason Manlius Torquatus is held up to honour, inasmuch as the public welfare outweighed with him his duty towards his children. This being so, it follows that the public welfare is the sovereign law to which all others, Divine and human, should be made to conform. Now, it is the function of the sovereign only to decide what is necessary for the public welfare and the safety of the state, and to give orders accordingly; therefore it is also the function of the sovereign only to decide the limits of our duty towards our neighbour — in other words, to determine how we should obey God. We can now clearly understand how the sovereign is the interpreter of religion, and further, that no one can obey God rightly, if the practices of his piety do not conform to the public welfare; or,

consequently, if he does not implicitly obey all the commands of the sovereign. For as by God's command we are bound to do our duty to all men without exception, and to do no man an injury, we are also bound not to help one man at another's loss, still less at a loss to the whole state. Now, no private citizen can know what is good for the state, except he learn it through the sovereign power, who alone has the right to transact public business: therefore no one can rightly practise piety or obedience to God, unless he obey the sovereign power's commands in all things. This proposition is confirmed by the facts of experience. For if the sovereign adjudge a man to be worthy of death or an enemy, whether he be a citizen or a foreigner, a private individual or a separate ruler, no subject is allowed to give him assistance. So also though the Jews were bidden to love their fellow-citizens as themselves (Levit. xix:17, 18), they were nevertheless bound, if a man offended against the law, to point him out to the judge (Levit. v:1, and Deut. xiii:8, 9), and, if he should be condemned to death, to slay him (Deut. xvii:7).

Further, in order that the Hebrews might preserve the liberty they had gained, and might retain absolute sway over the territory they had conquered, it was necessary, as we showed in Chapter XVII., that their religion should be adapted to their particular government, and that they should separate themselves from the rest of the nations: wherefore it was commanded to them, "Love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy" (Matt. v:43), but after they had lost their dominion and had gone into captivity in Babylon, Jeremiah bid them take thought for the safety of the state into which they had been led captive; and Christ when He saw that they would be spread over the whole world, told them to do their duty by all men without exception; all of which instances show that religion has always been made to conform to the public welfare. Perhaps someone will ask: By what right, then, did the disciples of Christ, being private citizens, preach a new religion? I answer that they did so by the right of the power which they had received from Christ against unclean spirits (see Matt. x:1). I have already stated in Chapter XVI. that all are bound to obey a tyrant, unless they have received from God

through undoubted revelation a promise of aid against him; so let no one take example from the Apostles unless he too has the power of working miracles. The point is brought out more clearly by Christ's command to His disciples, "Fear not those who kill the body" (Matt. x:28). If this command were imposed on everyone, governments would be founded in vain, and Solomon's words (Prov. xxiv:21), "My son, fear God and the king," would be impious, which they certainly are not; we must therefore admit that the authority which Christ gave to His disciples was given to them only, and must not be taken as an example for others.

I do not pause to consider the arguments of those who wish to separate secular rights from spiritual rights, placing the former under the control of the sovereign, and the latter under the control of the universal Church; such pretensions are too frivolous to merit refutation. I cannot however, pass over in silence the fact that such persons are woefully deceived when they seek to support their seditious opinions (I ask pardon for the somewhat harsh epithet) by the example of the Jewish high priest, who, in ancient times, had the right of administering the sacred offices. Did not the high priests receive their right by the decree of Moses (who, as I have shown, retained the sole right to rule), and could they not by the same means be deprived of it? Moses himself chose not only Aaron, but also his son Eleazar, and his grandson Phineas, and bestowed on them the right of administering the office of high priest. This right was retained by the high priests afterwards, but none the less were they delegates of Moses — that is, of the sovereign power. Moses, as we have shown, left no successor to his dominion, but so distributed his prerogatives, that those who came after him seemed, as it were, regents who administer the government when a king is absent but not dead.

In the second commonwealth the high priests held their right absolutely, after they had obtained the rights of principality in addition. Wherefore the rights of the high priesthood always depended on the edict of the sovereign, and the high priests did not possess them till they became sovereigns also. Rights in matters spiritual always remained under the control of the kings absolutely (as I will show

at the end of this chapter), except in the single particular that they were not allowed to administer in person the sacred duties in the Temple, inasmuch as they were not of the family of Aaron, and were therefore considered unclean, a reservation which would have no force in a Christian community.

We cannot, therefore, doubt that the daily sacred rites (whose performance does not require a particular genealogy but only a special mode of life, and from which the holders of sovereign power are not excluded as unclean) are under the sole control of the sovereign power; no one, save by the authority or concession of such sovereign, has the right or power of administering them, of choosing others to administer them, of defining or strengthening the foundations of the Church and her doctrines; of judging on questions of morality or acts of piety; of receiving anyone into the Church or excommunicating him therefrom, or, lastly, of providing for the poor.

These doctrines are proved to be not only true (as we have already pointed out), but also of primary necessity for the preservation of religion and the state. We all know what weight spiritual right and authority carries in the popular mind: how everyone hangs on the lips, as it were, of those who possess it. We may even say that those who wield such authority have the most complete sway over the popular mind.

Whosoever, therefore, wishes to take this right away from the sovereign power, is desirous of dividing the dominion; from such division, contentions, and strife will necessarily spring up, as they did of old between the Jewish kings and high priests, and will defy all attempts to allay them. Nay, further, he who strives to deprive the sovereign power of such authority, is aiming (as we have said), at gaining dominion for himself. What is left for the sovereign power to decide on, if this right be denied him? Certainly nothing concerning either war or peace, if he has to ask another man's opinion as to whether what he believes to be beneficial would be pious or impious. Everything would depend on the verdict of him who had the right of deciding and judging what was pious or impious, right or wrong.

When such a right was bestowed on the Pope of Rome absolutely, he gradually acquired complete control over the kings, till at last he himself mounted to the summits of dominion; however much monarchs, and especially the German emperors, strove to curtail his authority, were it only by a hairsbreadth, they effected nothing, but on the contrary by their very endeavours largely increased it. That which no monarch could accomplish with fire and sword, ecclesiastics could bring about with a stroke of the pen; whereby we may easily see the force and power at the command of the Church, and also how necessary it is for sovereigns to reserve such prerogatives for themselves.

If we reflect on what was said in the last chapter we shall see that such reservation conduced not a little to the increase of religion and piety; for we observed that the prophets themselves, though gifted with Divine efficacy, being merely private citizens, rather irritated than reformed the people by their freedom of warning, reproof, and denunciation, whereas the kings by warnings and punishments easily bent men to their will. Furthermore, the kings themselves, not possessing the right in question absolutely, very often fell away from religion and took with them nearly the whole people. The same thing has often happened from the same cause in Christian states.

Perhaps I shall be asked, “But if the holders of sovereign power choose to be wicked, who will be the rightful champion of piety? Should the sovereigns still be its interpreters? “I meet them with the counter-question, “But if ecclesiastics (who are also human, and private citizens, and who ought to mind only their own affairs), or if others whom it is proposed to entrust with spiritual authority, choose to be wicked, should they still be considered as piety’s rightful interpreters?” It is quite certain that when sovereigns wish to follow their own pleasure, whether they have control over spiritual matters or not, the whole state, spiritual and secular, will go to ruin, and it will go much faster if private citizens seditiously assume the championship of the Divine rights.

Thus we see that not only is nothing gained by denying such rights to sovereigns, but on the contrary, great evil ensues. For (as happened with the

Jewish kings who did not possess such rights absolutely) rulers are thus driven into wickedness, and the injury and loss to the state become certain and inevitable, instead of uncertain and possible. Whether we look to the abstract truth, or the security of states, or the increase of piety, we are compelled to maintain that the Divine right, or the right of control over spiritual matters, depends absolutely on the decree of the sovereign, who is its legitimate interpreter and champion. Therefore the true ministers of God's word are those who teach piety to the people in obedience to the authority of the sovereign rulers by whose decree it has been brought into conformity with the public welfare.

There remains for me to point out the cause for the frequent disputes on the subject of these spiritual rights in Christian states; whereas the Hebrews, so far as I know, never, had any doubts about the matter. It seems monstrous that a question so plain and vitally important should thus have remained undecided, and that the secular rulers could never obtain the prerogative without controversy, nay, nor without great danger of sedition and injury to religion. If no cause for this state of things were forthcoming, I could easily persuade myself that all I have said in this chapter is mere theorizing, or akind of speculative reasoning which can never be of any practical use. However, when we reflect on the beginnings of Christianity the cause at once becomes manifest. The Christian religion was not taught at first by kings, but by private persons, who, against the wishes of those in power, whose subjects they, were, were for a long time accustomed to hold meetings in secret churches, to institute and perform sacred rites, and on their own authority to settle and decide on their affairs without regard to the state, When, after the lapse of many years, the religion was taken up by the authorities, the ecclesiastics were obliged to teach it to the emperors themselves as they had defined it: wherefore they easily gained recognition as its teachers and interpreters, and the church pastors were looked upon as vicars of God. The ecclesiastics took good care that the Christian kings should not assume their authority, by prohibiting marriage to the chief ministers of religion and to its highest interpreter. They furthermore elected their purpose by multiplying the

dogmas of religion to such an extent and so blending them with philosophy that their chief interpreter was bound to be a skilled philosopher and theologian, and to have leisure for a host of idle speculations: conditions which could only be fulfilled by a private individual with much time on his hands.

Among the Hebrews things were very differently arranged: for their Church began at the same time as their dominion, and Moses, their absolute ruler, taught religion to the people, arranged their sacred rites, and chose their spiritual ministers. Thus the royal authority carried very great weight with the people, and the kings kept a firm hold on their spiritual prerogatives.

Although, after the death of Moses, no one held absolute sway, yet the power of deciding both in matters spiritual and matters temporal was in the hands of the secular chief, as I have already pointed out. Further, in order that it might be taught religion and piety, the people was bound to consult the supreme judge no less than the high priest (Deut. xvii:9, 11). Lastly, though the kings had not as much power as Moses, nearly the whole arrangement and choice of the sacred ministry depended on their decision. Thus David arranged the whole service of the Temple (see 1 Chron. xxviii:11, 12, &c.); from all the Levites he chose twenty-four thousand for the sacred psalms; six thousand of these formed the body from which were chosen the judges and proctors, four thousand were porters, and four thousand to play on instruments (see 1 Chron. xxiii:4, 5). He further divided them into companies (of whom he chose the chiefs), so that each in rotation, at the allotted time, might perform the sacred rites. The priests he also divided into as many companies; I will not go through the whole catalogue, but refer the reader to 2 Chron. viii:13, where it is stated, "Then Solomon offered burnt offerings to the Lord after a certain rate every day, offering according to the commandments of Moses;" and in verse 14, "And he appointed, according to the order of David his father, the courses of the priests to their service for so had David the man of God commanded." Lastly, the historian bears witness in verse 15: "And they departed not from the commandment of the king unto the priests and Levites concerning any matter, or concerning the treasuries."

From these and other histories of the kings it is abundantly evident, that the whole practice of religion and the sacred ministry depended entirely on the commands of the king.

When I said above that the kings had not the same right as Moses to elect the high priest, to consult God without intermediaries, and to condemn the prophets who prophesied during their reign; I said so simply because the prophets could, in virtue of their mission, choose a new king and give absolution for regicide, not because they could call a king who offended against the law to judgment, or could rightly act against him [33](#).

Wherefore if there had been no prophets who, in virtue of a special revelation, could give absolution for regicide, the kings would have possessed absolute rights over all matters both spiritual and temporal. Consequently the rulers of modern times, who have no prophets and would not rightly be bound in any case to receive them (for they are not subject to Jewish law), have absolute possession of the spiritual prerogative, although they are not celibates, and they will always retain it, if they will refuse to allow religious dogmas to be unduly multiplied or confounded with philosophy.

[33](#) I must here bespeak special attention for what was said in Chap. XVI. concerning rights.

CHAPTER XX.

That in a Free State Every Man May Think what he Likes, and Say what he Thinks.



IF MEN'S MINDS were as easily controlled as their tongues, every king would sit safely on his throne, and government by compulsion would cease; for every subject would shape his life according to the intentions of his rulers, and would esteem a thing true or false, good or evil, just or unjust, in obedience to their dictates. However, we have shown already (Chapter XVII.) that no man's mind can possibly lie wholly at the disposition of another, for no one can willingly transfer his natural right of free reason and judgment, or be compelled so to do. For this reason government which attempts to control minds is accounted tyrannical, and it is considered an abuse of sovereignty and a usurpation of the rights of subjects, to seek to prescribe what shall be accepted as true, or rejected as false, or what opinions should actuate men in their worship of God. All these questions fall within a man's natural right, which he cannot abdicate even with his own consent.

I admit that the judgment can be biassed in many ways, and to an almost incredible degree, so that while exempt from direct external control it may be so dependent on another man's words, that it may fitly be said to be ruled by him; but although this influence is carried to great lengths, it has never gone so far as to invalidate the statement, that every man's understanding is his own, and that brains are as diverse as palates.

Moses, not by fraud, but by Divine virtue, gained such a hold over the popular judgment that he was accounted superhuman, and believed to speak and act through the inspiration of the Deity; nevertheless, even he could not escape murmurs and evil interpretations. How much less then can other monarchs avoid

them! Yet such unlimited power, if it exists at all, must belong to a monarch, and least of all to a democracy, where the whole or a great part of the people wield authority collectively. This is a fact which I think everyone can explain for himself.

However unlimited, therefore, the power of a sovereign may be, however implicitly it is trusted as the exponent of law and religion, it can never prevent men from forming judgments according to their intellect, or being influenced by any given emotion. It is true that it has the right to treat as enemies all men whose opinions do not, on all subjects, entirely coincide with its own; but we are not discussing its strict rights, but its proper course of action. I grant that it has the right to rule in the most violent manner, and to put citizens to death for very trivial causes, but no one supposes it can do this with the approval of sound judgment. Nay, inasmuch as such things cannot be done without extreme peril to itself, we may even deny that it has the absolute power to do them, or, consequently, the absolute right; for the rights of the sovereign are limited by his power.

Since, therefore, no one can abdicate his freedom of judgment and feeling; since every man is by indefeasible natural right the master of his own thoughts, it follows that men thinking in diverse and contradictory fashions, cannot, without disastrous results, be compelled to speak only according to the dictates of the supreme power. Not even the most experienced, to say nothing of the multitude, know how to keep silence. Men's common failing is to confide their plans to others, though there be need for secrecy, so that a government would be most harsh which deprived the individual of his freedom of saying and teaching what he thought; and would be moderate if such freedom were granted. Still we cannot deny that authority may be as much injured by words as by actions; hence, although the freedom we are discussing cannot be entirely denied to subjects, its unlimited concession would be most baneful; we must, therefore, now inquire, how far such freedom can and ought to be conceded without danger to the peace of the state, or the power of the rulers; and this, as I said at the beginning of

Chapter XVI., is my principal object. It follows, plainly, from the explanation given above, of the foundations of a state, that the ultimate aim of government is not to rule, or restrain, by fear, nor to exact obedience, but contrariwise, to free every man from fear, that he may live in all possible security; in other words, to strengthen his natural right to exist and work — without injury to himself or others.

No, the object of government is not to change men from rational beings into beasts or puppets, but to enable them to develop their minds and bodies in security, and to employ their reason unshackled; neither showing hatred, anger, or deceit, nor watched with the eyes of jealousy and injustice. In fact, the true aim of government is liberty.

Now we have seen that in forming a state the power of making laws must either be vested in the body of the citizens, or in a portion of them, or in one man. For, although men's free judgments are very diverse, each one thinking that he alone knows everything, and although complete unanimity of feeling and speech is out of the question, it is impossible to preserve peace, unless individuals abdicate their right of acting entirely on their own judgment. Therefore, the individual justly cedes the right of free action, though not of free reason and judgment; no one can act against the authorities without danger to the state, though his feelings and judgment may be at variance therewith; he may even speak against them, provided that he does so from rational conviction, not from fraud, anger, or hatred, and provided that he does not attempt to introduce any change on his private authority.

For instance, supposing a man shows that a law is repugnant to sound reason, and should therefore be repealed; if he submits his opinion to the judgment of the authorities (who, alone, have the right of making and repealing laws), and meanwhile acts in nowise contrary to that law, he has deserved well of the state, and has behaved as a good citizen should; but if he accuses the authorities of injustice, and stirs up the people against them, or if he seditiously strives to abrogate the law without their consent, he is a mere agitator and rebel.

Thus we see how an individual may declare and teach what he believes, without injury to the authority of his rulers, or to the public peace; namely, by leaving in their hands the entire power of legislation as it affects action, and by doing nothing against their laws, though he be compelled often to act in contradiction to what he believes, and openly feels, to be best.

Such a course can be taken without detriment to justice and dutifulness, nay, it is the one which a just and dutiful man would adopt. We have shown that justice is dependent on the laws of the authorities, so that no one who contravenes their accepted decrees can be just, while the highest regard for duty, as we have pointed out in the preceding chapter, is exercised in maintaining public peace and tranquillity; these could not be preserved if every man were to live as he pleased; therefore it is no less than undutiful for a man to act contrary to his country's laws, for if the practice became universal the ruin of states would necessarily follow.

Hence, so long as a man acts in obedience to the laws of his rulers, he in nowise contravenes his reason, for in obedience to reason he transferred the right of controlling his actions from his own hands to theirs. This doctrine we can confirm from actual custom, for in a conference of great and small powers, schemes are seldom carried unanimously, yet all unite in carrying out what is decided on, whether they voted for or against. But I return to my proposition.

From the fundamental notions of a state, we have discovered how a man may exercise free judgment without detriment to the supreme power: from the same premises we can no less easily determine what opinions would be seditious. Evidently those which by their very nature nullify the compact by which the right of free action was ceded. For instance, a man who holds that the supreme power has no rights over him, or that promises ought not to be kept, or that everyone should live as he pleases, or other doctrines of this nature in direct opposition to the above-mentioned contract, is seditious, not so much from his actual opinions and judgment, as from the deeds which they involve; for he who maintains such theories abrogates the contract which tacitly, or openly, he made with his rulers.

Other opinions which do not involve acts violating the contract, such as revenge, anger, and the like, are not seditious, unless it be in some corrupt state, where superstitious and ambitious persons, unable to endure men of learning, are so popular with the multitude that their word is more valued than the law.

However, I do not deny that there are some doctrines which, while they are apparently only concerned with abstract truths and falsehoods, are yet propounded and published with unworthy motives. This question we have discussed in Chapter XV., and shown that reason should nevertheless remain unshackled. If we hold to the principle that a man's loyalty to the state should be judged, like his loyalty to God, from his actions only — namely, from his charity towards his neighbours; we cannot doubt that the best government will allow freedom of philosophical speculation no less than of religious belief. I confess that from such freedom inconveniences may sometimes arise, but what question was ever settled so wisely that no abuses could possibly spring therefrom? He who seeks to regulate everything by law, is more likely to arouse vices than to reform them. It is best to grant what cannot be abolished, even though it be in itself harmful. How many evils spring from luxury, envy, avarice, drunkenness, and the like, yet these are tolerated — vices as they are — because they cannot be prevented by legal enactments. How much more then should free thought be granted, seeing that it is in itself a virtue and that it cannot be crushed! Besides, the evil results can easily be checked, as I will show, by the secular authorities, not to mention that such freedom is absolutely necessary for progress in science and the liberal arts: for no man follows such pursuits to advantage unless his judgment be entirely free and unhampered.

But let it be granted that freedom may be crushed, and men be so bound down, that they do not dare to utter a whisper, save at the bidding of their rulers; nevertheless this can never be carried to the pitch of making them think according to authority, so that the necessary consequences would be that men would daily be thinking one thing and saying another, to the corruption of good faith, that

mainstay of government, and to the fostering of hateful flattery and perfidy, whence spring stratagems, and the corruption of every good art.

It is far from possible to impose uniformity of speech, for the more rulers strive to curtail freedom of speech, the more obstinately are they resisted; not indeed by the avaricious, the flatterers, and other numskulls, who think supreme salvation consists in filling their stomachs and gloating over their money-bags, but by those whom good education, sound morality, and virtue have rendered more free. Men, as generally constituted, are most prone to resent the branding as criminal of opinions which they believe to be true, and the proscription as wicked of that which inspires them with piety towards God and man; hence they are ready to forswear the laws and conspire against the authorities, thinking it not shameful but honourable to stir up seditions and perpetuate any sort of crime with this end in view. Such being the constitution of human nature, we see that laws directed against opinions affect the generous minded rather than the wicked, and are adapted less for coercing criminals than for irritating the upright; so that they cannot be maintained without great peril to the state.

Moreover, such laws are almost always useless, for those who hold that the opinions proscribed are sound, cannot possibly obey the law; whereas those who already reject them as false, accept the law as a kind of privilege, and make such boast of it, that authority is powerless to repeal it, even if such a course be subsequently desired.

To these considerations may be added what we said in Chapter XVIII. in treating of the history of the Hebrews. And, lastly, how many schisms have arisen in the Church from the attempt of the authorities to decide by law the intricacies of theological controversy! If men were not allured by the hope of getting the law and the authorities on their side, of triumphing over their adversaries in the sight of an applauding multitude, and of acquiring honourable distinctions, they would not strive so maliciously, nor would such fury sway their minds. This is taught not only by reason but by daily examples, for laws of this kind prescribing what every man shall believe and forbidding anyone to speak or write to the contrary, have

often been passed, as sops or concessions to the anger of those who cannot tolerate men of enlightenment, and who, by such harsh and crooked enactments, can easily turn the devotion of the masses into fury and direct it against whom they will. How much better would it be to restrain popular anger and fury, instead of passing useless laws, which can only be broken by those who love virtue and the liberal arts, thus paring down the state till it is too small to harbour men of talent. What greater misfortune for a state can be conceived than that honourable men should be sent like criminals into exile, because they hold diverse opinions which they cannot disguise? What, I say, can be more hurtful than that men who have committed no crime or wickedness should, simply because they are enlightened, be treated as enemies and put to death, and that the scaffold, the terror of evil-doers, should become the arena where the highest examples of tolerance and virtue are displayed to the people with all the marks of ignominy that authority can devise?

He that knows himself to be upright does not fear the death of a criminal, and shrinks from no punishment; his mind is not wrung with remorse for any disgraceful deed: he holds that death in a good cause is no punishment, but an honour, and that death for freedom is glory.

What purpose then is served by the death of such men, what example is proclaimed? the cause for which they die is unknown to the idle and the foolish, hateful to the turbulent, loved by the upright. The only lesson we can draw from such scenes is to flatter the persecutor, or else to imitate the victim.

If formal assent is not to be esteemed above conviction, and if governments are to retain a firm hold of authority and not be compelled to yield to agitators, it is imperative that freedom of judgment should be granted, so that men may live together in harmony, however diverse, or even openly contradictory their opinions may be. We cannot doubt that such is the best system of government and open to the fewest objections, since it is the one most in harmony with human nature. In a democracy (the most natural form of government, as we have shown in Chapter XVI.) everyone submits to the control of authority over his actions, but not over

his judgment and reason; that is, seeing that all cannot think alike, the voice of the majority has the force of law, subject to repeal if circumstances bring about a change of opinion. In proportion as the power of free judgment is withheld we depart from the natural condition of mankind, and consequently the government becomes more tyrannical.

In order to prove that from such freedom no inconvenience arises, which cannot easily be checked by the exercise of the sovereign power, and that men's actions can easily be kept in bounds, though their opinions be at open variance, it will be well to cite an example. Such an one is not very, far to seek. The city of Amsterdam reaps the fruit of this freedom in its own great prosperity and in the admiration of all other people. For in this most flourishing state, and most splendid city, men of every, nation and religion live together in the greatest harmony, and ask no questions before trusting their goods to a fellow-citizen, save whether he be rich or poor, and whether he generally acts honestly, or the reverse. His religion and sect is considered of no importance: for it has no effect before the judges in gaining or losing a cause, and there is no sect so despised that its followers, provided that they harm no one, pay every man his due, and live uprightly, are deprived of the protection of the magisterial authority.

On the other hand, when the religious controversy between Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants began to be taken up by politicians and the States, it grew into a schism, and abundantly showed that laws dealing with religion and seeking to settle its controversies are much more calculated to irritate than to reform, and that they give rise to extreme licence: further, it was seen that schisms do not originate in a love of truth, which is a source of courtesy and gentleness, but rather in an inordinate desire for supremacy. From all these considerations it is clearer than the sun at noonday, that the true schismatics are those who condemn other men's writings, and seditiously stir up the quarrelsome masses against their authors, rather than those authors themselves, who generally write only for the learned, and appeal solely to reason. In fact, the real disturbers of the peace are

those who, in a free state, seek to curtail the liberty of judgment which they are unable to tyrannize over.

I have thus shown: —

I. That it is impossible to deprive men of the liberty of saying what they think.

II. That such liberty can be conceded to every man without injury to the rights and authority of the sovereign power, and that every man may retain it without injury to such rights, provided that he does not presume upon it to the extent of introducing any new rights into the state, or acting in any way contrary, to the existing laws.

III. That every man may enjoy this liberty without detriment to the public peace, and that no inconveniences arise therefrom which cannot easily be checked.

IV. That every man may enjoy it without injury to his allegiance.

V. That laws dealing with speculative problems are entirely useless.

VI. Lastly, that not only may such liberty be granted without prejudice to the public peace, to loyalty, and to the rights of rulers, but that it is even necessary, for their preservation. For when people try to take it away, and bring to trial, not only the acts which alone are capable of offending, but also the opinions of mankind, they only succeed in surrounding their victims with an appearance of martyrdom, and raise feelings of pity and revenge rather than of terror. Uprightness and good faith are thus corrupted, flatterers and traitors are encouraged, and sectarians triumph, inasmuch as concessions have been made to their animosity, and they have gained the state sanction for the doctrines of which they are the interpreters. Hence they arrogate to themselves the state authority and rights, and do not scruple to assert that they have been directly chosen by God, and that their laws are Divine, whereas the laws of the state are human, and should therefore yield obedience to the laws of God — in other words, to their

own laws. Everyone must see that this is not a state of affairs conducive to public welfare. Wherefore, as we have shown in Chapter XVIII., the safest way for a state is to lay down the rule that religion is comprised solely in the exercise of charity and justice, and that the rights of rulers in sacred, no less than in secular matters, should merely have to do with actions, but that every man should think what he likes and say what he thinks.

I have thus fulfilled the task I set myself in this treatise. It remains only to call attention to the fact that I have written nothing which I do not most willingly submit to the examination and approval of my country's rulers; and that I am willing to retract anything which they shall decide to be repugnant to the laws, or prejudicial to the public good. I know that I am a man, and as a man liable to error, but against error I have taken scrupulous care, and have striven to keep in entire accordance with the laws of my country, with loyalty, and with morality.

The Original Latin Text

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Praefatio



SI HOMINES RES omnes suas certo consilio regere possent, vel si fortuna ipsis prospera semper foret, nulla superstitione tenerentur. Sed quoniam eo saepe angustiarum rediguntur, ut consilium nullum adferre queant, et plerumque ob incerta fortunae bona, quae sine modo cupiunt, inter spem metumque misere fluctuant, ideo animum ut plurimum ad quidvis credendum pronissimum habent ; qui dum in dubio facili momento huc, atque illuc pellitur, et multo facilius, dum spe, et metu agitated haeret, praesidens alias, jactabundus, ac tumidus. Atque haec neminem ignorare existimo, quamvis plerosque se ipsos ignorare credam ; nemo enim inter homines ita vixit, qui non viderit, plerosque in rebus prosperis, etsi imperitissimi sint, sapientiâ ita abundare, ut sibi injuriam fieri credant, si quis iis consilium dare velit ; in adversis autem, quo se vertant, nescire, et consilium ab unoquoque supplices petere, nec ullum tam ineptum tamque ad absurdum, aut vanum audire, quod non sequantur : Deinde levissimis etiam de causis jam meliora sperare, rursus deteriora timere ; si quid enim, dum in metu versantur, contingere vident, quod eos praeteriti alicujus boni, vel mali memores reddit, id exitum aut faelicem, aut infaelicem obnunciare putant, quod propterea, quamvis centies fallat, faustum vel infaustum omen vocant. Si quid porro insolitum magna cum admiratione vident, id prodigium esse credunt, quod Deorum aut summi Numinis iram indicat, quodque adeo hostiis, et votis non piare, nefas habent homines superstitioni obnoxii, et religioni adversi ; eumque ad modum infinita fingunt, et quasi tota natura cum ipsis insaniret, eandem miris modis interpretantur. Cum igitur haec ita sese habeant, tum praecipue vidimus, eos omni superstitionis generi addictissimos esse, qui incerta sine modo cupiunt, omnesque tum maxime, cum scilicet in periculis versantur, et sibi auxilio esse nequeunt, votis, et lachrimis muliebribus divina auxilia implorare, et rationem (quia ad vana,

quae cupiunt, certam viam ostendere nequit) caecam appellare, humanamque sapientiam vanam ; et contrà imaginationis deliria, somnia, et pueriles ineptias divina responsa credere, imo Deum sapientes aversari, et sua decreta non menti, sed pecudum fibris inscripsisse, vel eadem stultos, vesanos, et aves divino afflatu, et instinctus praedicere. Tantum timor homines insanire facit. Causa itaque, a quâ superstitio oritur, et fovetur, metus est. Cujus rei si quis, praeter jam dicta, singularia exempla scire desiderat, Alexandrum videat, qui tum demum vates a superstitione animi adhibere caepit, cum primum fortunam timere didicit in Pylis Susidis (vide Curtii lib. 5 § 4) ; post Daruum autem victum ariolos, et vates consulere desiit, donec iterum temporis iniquitate territus, quia Bactriani desecerant, et Scytae certamen lacescebant, dum ipse propter vulnus segnis jaceret, rursus (ut ipse Curtius lib. 7 § 7 ait) *ad superstitionem humanarum mentium ludibria revolutus, Aristandrum, cui credulitatem suam addixerat, explorare eventum rerum Sacrificiis jubet*. Et ad hunc modum perplurima adferri possent exempla, quae quam clarissime id ipsum ostendunt, homines scilicet nonnisi durante metu superstitione conflictari ; eaque omnia, quae unquam vana religione coluerunt, nihil praeter phantasmata, animique tristis, et timidi fuisse deliria : et denique vates in maximis imperii angustiis maxime in plebe regnavisse, maximeque formidolosos suis Regibus fuisse ; sed, quandoquidem haec apud omnes satis vulgata esse existimo, iisdem supersedeo.

Ex hâc itaque superstitionis causa clare sequitur, omnes homines naturâ superstitioni esse obnoxios (quicquid dicant alii, qui putant, hoc inde oriri, quod omnes mortales confusam quandam numinis ideam habent). Sequitur deinde eandem variam admodum, et inconstantem debere esse, ut omnia mentis ludibria, et furoris impetus, et denique ipsam non nisi spe, odio, ira, et dolo defendi ; nimirum, quia non ex ratione, sed ex solo affectu, eoque efficacissimo oritur. Quam itaque facile fit, ut homines quovis superstitionis genere capiantur, tam difficile contra est efficere, ut in uno, eodemque perstent ; imo quia vulgus semper aequè miserum manet, ideo nusquam diu acquiescit, sed id tantum eidem maxime placet, quod novum est, quodque nondum fefellit, quae quidem

inconstantia multorum tumultuum, et bellorum atrocium causa fuit ; nam (ut ex modo dictis patet, et Curtius etiam lib. 4 ca optime notavit) *nihil effacius multitudinem regit, quam superstitio* ; unde fit, ut facile specie religionis inducatur, nunc Reges suos tanquam Deos adorare, et rursus eosdem execrari, et tanquam communem generis humani pestem detestari. Hoc ergo malum ut vitaretur, ingens studium adhibitum est ad religionem veram, aut vanam cultu, et apparatu ita adornandum, ut omni momento gravior haberetur, summâque observantiâ ab omnibus semper coleretur, quod quidem Turcis faelicissime cessit, qui etiam disputare nefas habent, et iudicium uniuscujusque tot praejudiciis occupant, ut nullum in mente locum sanae rationi, ne ad dubitandum quidem, relinquant.

Verum enimvero si regiminis Monarchici summum sit arcanum, ejusque omnino intersit, homines deceptos habere, et metum, quo retineri debent, specioso Religionis nomine adumbrare, ut pro servitio, tanquam pro salute pugnent, et ne turpe, sed maximum decus esse putent, in unius hominis jactationem sanguinem animamque impendere, nihil contra in libera republica excogitari, nec infaelicus tentari potest ; quandoquidem communi libertati omnino repugnat, liberum uniuscujusque iudicium praejudiciis occupare, vel aliquo modo coërcere ; et quod ad seditiones attinet, quae specie religionis concitantur, eae profecto inde tantum oriuntur, quod leges de rebus speculativis conduntur, et quod opiniones tanquam scelera pro crimine habentur, et damnantur ; quarum defensores et asseclae non publicae saluti, sed odio ac saevitiae adversariorum tantum immolantur. Quod si jure imperii non nisi facta arguerentur, et dicta impune essent, nullâ juris specie similes seditiones ornari possent, nec controversiae in seditiones verterentur. Cum itaque nobis haec rara faelicitas contigerit, ut in Republica vivamus, ubi unicuique judicandi libertas integra, et Deum ex suo ingenio colere conceditur, et ubi nihil libertate charius, nec dulcius habetur, me rem non ingratham, neque inutilem facturum credidi, si ostenderem hanc libertatem non tantum salva pietate, et Reipublicae, ac pietate tolli posse : Atque hoc praecipuum est, quod in hoc tractatu demonstrare constitui ; ad quod apprime necesse fuit, praecipua circa

religionem praejudicia, hoc est, antiquae servitutis vestigia indicare, tum etiam praejudicia circa summarum potestatum jus, quod multi procacissimâ quadam licentiâ magna ex parte arripere, et specie religionis multitudinis animum, Gentilium superstitioni adhuc obnoxium, ab iisdem avertere student, quo omnia iterum in servitium ruant. Haec autem quo ordine ostenduntur, paucis jam dicam ; sed prius causas, quae me ad scribendum impulerunt, docebo.

Miratus saepe fui, quod homines, qui se Christianam religionem profiteri jactant, hoc est, amorem, gaudium, pacem, continentiam, et erga omnes fidem, plus quam iniquo animo certarent, et acerbissimum in invicem odium quotidie exercerent, ita ut facilius ex his, quam illis fides uniuscujusque noscatur ; jam dudum enim res eo pervenit, ut neminem fere, quisnam sit, num scilicet Christianus, Turca, Judaeus, vel Ethnicus, noscere possis, nisi ex corporis externo habitu, et cultu, vel quod hanc, aut illam Ecclesiam frequentat, vel denique, quod huic, aut illi opinioni addictus est, et in verba alicujus magistri jurare solet. Caeterum vita eadem omnibus est. Hujus igitur mali causam quaerens non dubitavi, quin inde ortum fuerit, quod Ecclesiae ministeria dignitates, et ejus officia beneficia aestimare, et pastores summo honore habere, vulgo religioni fuit ; simul ac enim hic abusus in Ecclesia incepit, statim pessimo cuique ingens libido sacra officia administrandi incessit, et amor divinae religionis propagandae in sordidam avaritiam, et ambitionem, atque ita ipsum templum in Theatrum degeneravit, ubi non Ecclesiastici Doctores, sed oratores audiebantur, quorum nemo desiderio tenebatur populum docendi, sed eundem in admirationem sui rapiendi, et differentes publice carpendi, et ea tantum docendi, quae nova ac insolita, quaeque vulgus maxime admiraretur ; unde profecto magnae contentiones, invidia, et odium, quod nulla vetustate sedare potuit, oriri debuerunt. Non ergo mirum, quod antiquae Religionis nihil manserit praeter ejus externum cultum (quo vulgus Deum magis adulari, quam adorare videtur), et quod fides jam nihil aliud sit, quam credulitas et praejudicia : at quae praejudicia ? quae homines ex rationalibus brutos reddunt, utpote quae omnino impediunt, quominus unusquisque libero suo judicio utatur, et verum a falso dignoscat, et

quae veluti ad lumen intellectus penitus extinguendum, datâ operâ excogitata videntur. Pietas, proh Deus immortalis, et Religio in absurdis arcanis consistit, et qui rationem prorsus contemnunt, et intellectum tanquam natura corruptum rejiciunt, et aversantur, isti profecto, quod iniquissimum est, divinum lumen habere creduntur. Sane si vel luminis divini scintillam tantum haberent, non tam superbe insanirent, sed prudentius Deum colere discerent, et ut jam odio, amore contra inter reliquos excellerent ; nec tam hostili animo eos, qui cum ipsis non sentiunt, persequerentur, sed eorundem potius (siquidem ipsorum saluti, et non suae fortunae timent), misererentur. Praeterea si lumen aliquod Divinum haberent, id saltem ex doctrina constaret ; fateor, eos nunquam satis mirari potuisse Scripturae profundissima mysteria, attamen, praeter Aristotelicorum vel Platoniorum speculationes, nisi docuisse video ; atque his, ne Gentiles sectari viderentur, Scripturam accomodaverunt. Non satis his fuit, cum Graecis insanire, sed Prophetas cum iisdem deliravisse voluerunt : quod sane clare ostendit eos Scripturae divinitatem nec per somnium videre ; et quo impensius haec mysteria admirantur, eo magis ostendunt, se Scripturae non tam credere, quam assentari ; quod hinc etiam patet, quod plerique tanquam fundamentum supponunt (ad eandem scilicet intelligendum, ejusque verum sensum eruendum) ipsam ubique veracem, et divinam esse ; id nempe ipsum, quod ex ejusdem intellectione, et severo examine demum deberet constare : et quod ex ipsa, quae humanis figmentis minime indiget, longe melius edoceremur, in primo limine pro regula ipsius interpretationis statuunt.

Cum haec ergo animo perpenderem, scilicet lumen naturale non tantum contemni, sed a multis tanquam impietatis fontem damnari, humana deinde commenta pro divinis documentis haberi, credulitatem fidem aestimari, et controversias Philosophorum in Ecclesiâ, et in Curiâ summis animorum motibus agitari, ac inde saevissima odia, atque dissidia, quibus homines facile in seditiones vertuntur, plurimaeque alia, quae hic narrare nimis longum foret, oriri animadverterem : sedulo statui, Scripturam de novo integro et libero animo examinare, et nihil de eadem affirmare, nihilque tanquam ejus doctrinam

admittere, quod ab eadem clarissime non edocerer. Hâc igitur cautione Methodum Sacra volumina interpretandi concinnavi, et hâc instructus quaerere ante omnia incepti, quid esset Prophetia ? et qua ratione Deus sese Prophetis revelaverit ? et cur hi Deo accepti fuerint ? num scilicet propterea, quod de Deo et natura sublimes habuerint cogitationes ? an vero propter solam pietatem ? Postquam haec novi, facile determinare potui, Prophetarum authoritatem in iis tantum pondus habere, quae usum vitae, et veram virtutem spectant, caeterum eorum opiniones nos parum tangere. His cognitis quaesivi deinde, quid id fuerit, propter quod Hebraei Dei electi vocati fuerint ? Cum autem vidissem hoc nihil aliud fuisse, quam quod Deus ipsis certam mundi plagam elegerit, ubi secure, et commode vivere possent, hinc didici Leges Mosi a Deo revelatas nihil aliud fuisse, quam jura singularis Hebraeorum imperii, ac proinde easdem praeter hos neminem recipere debuisse ; imo nec hos etiam, nisi stante ipsorum imperio, iisdem teneri. Porro, ut scirem, num ex Scriptura concludi posset, humanum intellectum naturâ corruptum esse, inquirere volui, num Religio catholica, sive lex divina per Prophetas et Apostolos universo humano generi revelata alia fuerit, quam illa, quam etiam lumen naturale docet ? et deinde num miracula contra naturae ordinem contigerint, et num Dei existentiam, et providentiam certius, et clarius doceant, quam res, quas clare et distincte per primas suas causas intelligimus ? Sed cum in iis, quae Scriptura expresse docet, nihil reperissem, quod cum intellectu non conveniret, nec quod eidem repugnaret, et praeterea viderem Prophetas nihil docuisse, nisi res admodum simplices, quae ab unoquoque facile percipi poterant, atque has eo stylo adornavisse, iisque rationibus confirmavisse, quibus maxime multitudinis animus ad devotionem erga Deum moveri posset, omnino mihi persuasi, Scripturam rationem absolute liberam relinquere, et nihil cum Philosophia commune habere, sed tam hanc, quam illam proprio suo talo niti. Ut haec autem apodictice demonstrarem, remque totam determinarem, ostendo, qua via Scriptura sit interpretanda, et quod tota ejus rerumque spiritualium cognitio ab ipsa sola, et non ab iis, quae lumine naturali cognoscimus, peti debeat. Hinc transeo ad ea praejudicia ostendenda, que inde

orta sunt, quod vulgus (superstitioni addictum, et quod temporis reliquias supra ipsam aeternitatem amat) libros potius Scripturae, quam ipsum Dei Verbum adoret. Post haec ostendo Verbum Dei revelatum non esse certum quendam numerum librorum, sed conceptum simplicem mentis divinae Prophetis revelatae ; scilicet Deo integro animo obedire, justitiam, et charitatem colendo. Atque hoc ostendo, in Scriptura doceri secundum captum, et opiniones eorum, quibus Prophetiae, et Apostoli hoc Verbum Dei praedicare solebant ; quod ideo fecerunt, ut id homines sine ulla repugnantia, atque integro animo amplecterentur. Fundamentalibus deinde fidei ostensis, concludo denique objectum cognitionis revelatae nihil esse praeter obedientiam, atque adeo a naturali cognitione tam objecto, quam fundamentis, et mediis prorsus distinctam esse, et nihil cum hac commune habere, sed tam hanc, quam illam suum regnum absque ulla alterius repugnantia obtinere, et neutram alterutri ancillari debere. Porro quia hominum ingenium varium admodum est, et alius his, alius illis opinionibus melius acquiescit, et quod hunc ad religionem, illum ad risum movet, inde cum supra dictis concludo, unicuique sui iudicii libertatem, et potestatem fundamenta fidei ex suo ingenio interpretandi relinquendam, et fidem uniuscujusque ex solis operibus judicandam, num pia, an impia sit ? sic ergo omnes integro, et libero animo Deo obedire poterunt, et sola justitia, et charitas apud omnes in pretio erit. Postquam his libertatem, quam lex divina revelata unicuique concedit, ostendi, ad alteram quaestionis partem pergo ; nempe hanc eandem libertatem salvâ reipublicae pace, et summarum potestatum jure posse, et etiam concedi debere, nec posse adimi, absque magno pacis periculo, magnoque totius Reipublicae detrimento : ad haec autem demonstrandum a jure naturali uniuscujusque incipio ; quod scilicet eo usque se extendit, quo uniuscujusque cupiditas et potentia se extendit, et quod nemo jure naturae ex alterius ingenio vivere tenetur, sed suae unusquisque libertatis vindex est. Praeterea ostendo hoc jure neminem revera cedere, nisi qui potestatem se defendendi in alium transfert, atque eum necessario hoc jus naturale absolute retinere, in quem unusquisque jus suum ex proprio suo ingenio vivendi, simul cum potestate sese defendendi transtulit ; atque hinc

ostendo, eos, qui summum imperium tenent, jus ad omnia, quae possunt, habere, solosque vindices juris, et libertatis esse, reliquos autem ex solo eorum decreto omnia agere debere. Verum quoniam nemo potestate suâ se defendendi ita se privare potest, ut homo esse desinat, hinc concludo, neminem jure suo naturali absolute privari posse, sed suditos quaedam quasi naturae jure retinere, quae iis adimi non possunt sine magno imperii periculo, quaeque adeo ipsis vel tacite conceduntur, vel ipsi expresse cum iis, qui imperium tenent, stipulantur. His consideratis ad Rempublicam Hebraeorum transeo, quam, ut ostendam, quâ ratione, et quorum decreto Religio vim juris habere incepit, et obiter etiam alia, quae scitu digna videbantur, satis prolixè describo. Post haec ostendo, eos, qui summum imperium tenent, non tantum juris civilis, sed etiam sacri vindices, et interpretes esse, eosque solos jus habere discernendi, quid justum, quid injustum, quid pium, et quid impium sit : et tandem concludo, eosdem hoc jus optime retinere, et imperium tuto conservare posse, si modo unicuique et sentire, quae velit, et, quae sentiat, dicere concedatur.

Haec sunt, philosophe lector, quae tibi hic examinanda do, quaeque non ingrata fore confido ob praestantiam, et utilitatem argumenti, tam totius operis, quam uniuscujusque capitis ; de quibus plura adderem, sed nolo, ut haec praefatio in volumen crescat, praesertim quia praecipua Philosophis satis superque nota esse credo ; reliquis autem hunc tractatum commendare non studeo, nam nihil est, quod sperem, eudem iis placere aliqua ratione posse ; novi enim, quam pertinaciter ea praejudicia in mente inhaerent, quae pietatis specie amplexus est animus ; novi deinde, aequè impossibile esse vulgo superstitionem adimere, ac metum ; novi denique constantiam vulgi contumaciam esse, nec ratione regi, sed impetu rapi ad laudandum vel vituperandum. Vulgus ergo et omnes, qui cum vulgo iisdem affectibus conflictantur, ad haec legenda non invito, quin potius vellem, ut hunc librum prorsus negligant, quam eundem perverse, ut omnia solent, interpretando, molesti sint, et dum sibi nihil prosunt, aliis obsint, qui liberius philosopharentur, nisi hoc unum obstaret, quod putant rationem debere Theologiae ancillari ; nam his hoc opus perquam utile fore confido.

Caeterum quoniam multis nec otium, nec animus forsitan erit, omnia perlegere, cogor hic etiam ut in fine hujus Tractatus monere, me nihil scribere, quod non libentissime examini, et judicio summarum Potestatum Patriae meae subjiciam, nam si quid horum, quae dico, judicabunt patriis legibus repugnare, vel communi saluti obesse, id ego indictum volo. Scio me hominem esse, et errare potuisse ; ne autem errarem, sedulo curavi, et apprime, ut quicquid scriberem, legibus patriae, pietati, bonisque moribus omnino responderet.

Caput I

De prophetia



PROPHETIA SIVE REVELATIO est rei alicujus certa cognitio a Deo hominibus revelata. Propheta autem is est, qui Dei revelata iis interpretatur, qui rerum a Deo revelatarum certam cognitionem habere nequeunt, quique adeo mera fide res revelatas amplecti tantum possunt. Propheta enim apud Hebraeos vocatur [heb.] *nabi* , id est orator, et interpres, at in Scriptura semper usurpatur pro Dei interprete, ut ex ca v. 1 Exodi colligitur. Ubi Deus Mosi dicit, *ecce te constituo Deum Pharaonis, et Aharon tuus frater erit tuus propheta*. Quasi diceret, quoniam Aharon ea, quae tu loqueris, Pharaoni interpretando, personam agit prophetae, eris tu igitur quasi Deus Pharaonis, sive qui vicem Dei agit.

De prophetis in sequente capite, hic de prophetia agemus, ex cujus jam tradita definitione sequitur cognitionem naturalem, prophetiam vocari posse. Nam ea, quae lumine naturali cognoscimus, a sola Dei cognitione, ejusque aeternis decretis dependent. Verum, quia haec cognitio naturalis omnibus hominibus communibus, ideo a vulgo, ad rara semper, et a sua natura aliena anhelante, et dona naturalia spernente, non tanti aestimatur, et propterea, ubi de cognitione prophetica loquitur, hanc exclusam vult ; attamen nihilominus aequali jure, ac alia, quaecunque illa sit, divina vocari potest, quandoquidem Dei natura, quatenus de ea participamus, Deique decreta eam nobis quasi dictant, nec ab illa, quam omnes divinam vocant, differt, nisi quod ea ultra limites hujus se extendit, et quod humanae naturae leges, in se consideratae, non possunt ejus esse causa ; at respectu certitudinis, quam naturalis cognitio involvit, et fontis, e quo derivatur (nempe Deo) nullo modo cognitioni propheticae cedit. Nisi fortè aliquis intelligere, vel potius somniare velit, prophetas corpus quidem humanum, mentem

vero non humanam habuisse, adeoque eorum sensationes, et conscientiam alterius prorsus naturae, quam nostrae sunt, fuisse.

At, quamvis scientia naturalis divina sit, ejus tamen propagatores non possunt vocari prophetae . Nam quae illi docent, reliqui homines aequali certitudine, et dignitate, ac ipsi, percipere possunt, atque amplecti, idque non ex fide sola.

Cum itaque mens nostra ex hoc solo, quod Dei naturam objective in se continet, et de eadem participat, potentiam habeat ad formandas quasdam notiones rerum naturam explicantes, et vitae usum docentes, merito mentis naturam, quatenus talis concipitur, primam divinae revelationis causam statuere possumus ; ea enim omnia, quae clare, et distincte intelligimus, Dei idea (ut modo indicavimus), et natura nobis dictat, non quidem verbis, sed modo longe excellentiore, et qui cum natura mentis optime convenit, ut unusquisque, qui certitudinem intellectus gustavit, apud se, sine dubio expertus est. Verum quoniam meum institutum praecipue est, de iis tantum loqui, quae solam Scripturam spectant, sufficit de lumine naturali haec pauca dixisse. Quare ad alias causas, et media, quibus Deus ea hominibus revelat, quae limites naturalis cognitionis excedunt, et etiam quae non excedunt (nihil enim impedit, quominus Deus ea ipsa, quae nos lumine naturae cognoscimus, aliis modis hominibus communicet) pergo, ut de iis prolixius agam.

Verum enimvero quicquid de iis dici potest, ex Scriptura sola peti debet. Nam quid de rebus, limites nostri intellectus excedentibus dicere possumus, praeter id, quod ex ipsis prophetis ore, vel scripto nobis traditur ? Et quia hodie nullos, quod sciam, habemus prophetas, nihil nobis relinquitur, nisi sacra volumina nobis a prophetis relictis evolvere. Hac quidem cautione, ut nihil de similibus rebus statuamus, aut ipsis prophetis aliquid tribuamus, quod ipsi non clare dictaverunt. Sed hic apprime notandum, quod Judaei nunquam causarum mediarum, sive particularium faciunt mentionem, nec eas curant, sed religionis ac pietatis, sive (ut vulgo dici solet) devotionis causa ad Deum semper recurrunt ; si enim ex. gr. pecuniam mercatura lucrati sunt, eam a Deo sibi oblatam ajunt, si aliquid, ut fit, cupiunt, dicunt, Deum eorum cor disposuisse, et si quid etiam cogitant, Deum id

eis dixisse ajunt. Quare non omne id, quod Scriptura ait Deum alicui dixisse, pro prophetia, et cognitione supra naturali habendum, sed tantum id, quod Scriptura expresse dicit, vel quod ex circumstantiis narrationis sequitur, prophetiam, sive revelationem fuisse.

Si igitur sacra volumina percurramus, videbimus, quod omnia, quae Deus prophetis revelavit, iis revelata fuerunt vel verbis, vel figuris, vel utroque hoc modo, verbis scil., et figuris. Verba vero, et etiam figurae vel verae fuerunt, et extra imaginationem prophetae audientis, seu videntis, vel imaginariae, quia nimirum prophetae imaginatio, etiam vigilando, ita disponebatur, ut sibi clare videretur verba audire, aut aliquid videre.

[heb.] Voce enim vera revelavit Deus Mosi leges, quas Hebraeis praescribi volebat, ut constat ex Exodo ca v. 22, ubi ait *et paratus ero tibi ibi, et loquar tecum ex illa parte tegminis, quae est inter duos Cherubines*. Quod quidem ostendit, Deum usum fuisse voce aliqua vera, quandoquidem Moses, quandocunque volebat, Deum ibi ad loquendum sibi paratum inveniebat. Et haec sola, qua scilicet lex prolata fuit, vera fuit vox, ut mox ostendam.

Vocem, quâ Deus Shamuëlem vocavit, veram suspicarer fuisse, quia 1 Shamuëlis ca v. ultimo dicitur [heb.] *et rursus apparuit Deus Shamuëli in Shilo, quia manifestatus fuit Deus Shamuëli in Shilo verbo Dei* ; quasi diceret, apparitio Dei Shamuëli nihil aliud fuit, quam quod Deus se verbo ipsi manifestavit, vel nihil aliud fuit, quam quod Shamuël Deum audiverit loquentem. Attamen, quia cogimur distinguere inter prophetiam Mosis, et reliquarum prophetarum, necessario dicendum hanc vocem a Shamuële auditam, imaginariam fuisse ; quod inde etiam colligi potest, quod ipsa vocem Heli, quam Shamuël maxime audire solebat, adeoque promptius etiam imaginari poterat, referebat : ter enim a Deo vocatus, suspicatus est se ab Heli vocari. Vox, quam Abimelech audivit, imaginaria fuit. Nam dicitur Gen. ca v. 6 *Et dixit ipsi Deus in somnis* etc. Quare hic non vigilando, sed tantum in somnis (tempore scilicet, quo imaginatio maxime naturaliter apta est, ad res, quae non sunt, imaginandum) Dei voluntatem imaginari potuit.

Verba Decalogi ex opinione quorundam Judaeorum non fuerunt a Deo prolata, sed putant, quod Israëlitae strepitum tantum audiverunt, nulla quidem verba proferentem, atque eo durante leges Decalogi pura mente perceperunt. Quod ego etiam aliquando suspicatus sum, quia videbam verba Decalogi Exodi variare ab iis Decalogi Deut. ; ex quo videtur sequi (quandoquidem Deus semel tantum locutus est) Decalogum non ipsa Dei verba, sed tantum sententias docere velle. Attamen nisi Scripturae vim inferre velimus, omnino concedendum est, Israëlitae veram vocem audivisse. Nam Scriptura Deut. ca v. 4 expresse dicit [heb.] *de facie ad faciem locutus est Deus vobiscum* etc., hoc est, ut duo homines suos conceptus invicem, mediantibus suis duobus corporibus, communicare solent. Quapropter magis cum Scriptura convenire videtur, quod Deus aliquam vocem vere creavit, qua ipse Decalogum revelavit. Causa autem, cur verba, et rationes unius a verbis et rationibus alterius variant, de ea vide ca. Verumenimvero nec hoc modo omnis tollitur difficultas. Nam non parum a ratione alienum videtur, statuere, quod res creata, a Deo eodem modo, ac reliquae, dependens, essentiam, aut existentiam Dei re, aut verbis, exprimere, aut explicare per suam personam posset, nempe dicendo in prima persona, ego sum Jehova Deus tuus etc. Et quamvis, ubi aliquis ore dicit, *ego intellexi*, nemo putet, os, sed tantum mentem hominis id dicentis intellexisse, quia tamen os ad naturam hominis id dicentis refertur, et etiam is, cui id dicitur, naturam intellectus perceperat, mentem hominis loquentis per comparisonem sui facile intelligit. At qui Dei nihil praeter nomen antea noverant, et ipsum alloqui cupiebant, ut de ejus Existentia certi fierent, non video, quomodo eorum petitioni satisfactum fuit per creaturam (quae ad Deum non magis, quam reliqua creata, refertur, et ad Dei naturam non pertinet), quae diceret, ego sum Deus. Quaeso quid, si Deus labia Mosis, sed quid Mosis ? imo alicujus bestiae contorsisset ad eadem pronuntiandum, et dicendum, ego sum Deus, an inde Dei existentiam intelligerent ? Deinde Scriptura omnino indicare videtur Deum ipsum locutum fuisse (quem ad finem e coelo supra montem Sinaï descenderit), et Judaeos non tantum eum loquentem audivisse, sed Magnates eum etiam vidisse (vide Exodi ca), nec Lex, Mosi revelata, cui nihil addere, nihil adimere licebat, et

quae tanquam jus Patriae instituta fuit, unquam praecepit, ut credamus, Deum esse incorporeum, nec etiam eum nullam habere imaginem, sive figuram, sed tantum Deum esse, eique credere, eumque solum adorare ; a cujus cultu ne discederent, praecepit, ne ei aliquam imaginem affingerent, nec ullam facerent. Nam, quandoquidem Dei imaginem non viderant, nullam facere potuerant, quae Deum, sed quae necessario rem aliam creatam, quam viderant, referret, adeoque ubi Deum per illam imaginem adorarent, non de Deo, se de re, quam illa imago referret, cogitarent, et sic tandem honorem Dei, ejusque cultum illi rei tribuerent. Quinimo Scriptura clare indicat Deum habere figuram, et Mosi, ubi Deum loquentem audiebat, eam aspexisse, nec tamen videre contigisse, nisi Dei posteriora. Quare non dubito, quin hic aliquod lateat mysterium, de quo infra fusius loquemur. Hic ostendere pergam loca Scripturae, quae media indicant, quibus Deus sua decreta hominibus revelavit.

Quod Revelatio per solas imagines contigit, patet ex primo Paralip. ca, ubi Deus Davidi iram suam ostendit per Angelum, gladium manu prehendentem. Sic etiam Balamo. Et quamvis Maimonides, et alii hanc historiam et itidem omnes, quae Angeli alicujus apparitionem narrant, ut illa Manoeae, Abrahami, ubi filium immolare putabat, etc. in somnis contigisse volunt, non vero, quod aliquis oculis apertis Angelum videre potuerit : illi sane garriunt ; nam nihil aliud curaverunt, quam nugas Aristotelicas, et sua propria figmenta ex Scriptura extorquere ; quo mihi quidem nihil magis ridiculum videtur.

Imaginibus vero non realibus, sed a sola imaginatione Prophetarum dependentibus revelavit Deus Josepho Dominium sibi futurum.

Per imagines, et verba revelavit Deus Josuae, se pro iis pugnaturum, nimirum ostendens ei Angelum cum gladio, quasi ducem exercitus, quod etiam verbis ei revelaverat, et Josua ab Angelo audiverat. Esaiae etiam (ut ca narratur) repraesentatum fuit per figuras Dei providentiam populum deserere, nempe imaginando Deum ter Sanctum in throno altissimo, et Israëlitas illuvie peccatorum inquinatos, et sterquiliniis quasi immersos, adeoque a Deo maxime distantes. Quibus praesentem populi miserrimum statum intellexit, ejusdem vero

futurae calamitates verbis, tanquam a Deo prolatis, ei revelatae fuerunt. Et ad hujus exemplar multa possem adferre exempla ex Sacris Literis, nisi putarem ea omnibus esse satis nota.

Sed haec omnia clarius confirmantur ex textu Numer. ca v. 6. 7. sic sonante ; [heb.] *si aliquis vestri Propheta Dei erit, in visione ei revelabor* (id est per figuras, et hieroglyphica ; nam de Prophetia Moses ait esse visionem sine hieroglyphicis) ; *in somnis loquar ipsi* (id est non verbis realibus, et vera voce). *Verum Mosi non sic* (revelor) ; *ore ad os loquor ipsi, et visione, sed non aenigmatibus, et imaginem Dei aspicit*, hoc est me aspiciens, ut socius, non vero perterritus mecum loquitur, ut habetur in Exodo ca v. 11. Quare non dubitandum est, reliquos Prophetas vocem veram non audivisse, quod magis adhuc confirmatur ex Deut. ca v. 10, ubi dicitur [heb.] *et non consistit* (proprie surrexit) *unquam Israëli propheta sicut Moses, quem Deus noverit de facie ad faciem* ; quod quidem intelligendum est per solam vocem ; nam nec Moses ipse Dei faciem nunquam viderat (Exodi ca).

Praeter haec media, nulla alia, quibus Deus se hominibus communicaverit, in Sacris Literis reperio, adeoque ut supra ostendimus, nulla alia fingenda, neque admittenda. Et quamvis clare intelligamus, Deum posse immediate se hominibus communicare ; nam nullis mediis corporeis adhibitis, menti nostrae suam essentiam communicat ; attamen ut homo aliquis sola mente aliqua perciperet, quae in primis nostrae cognitionis fundamentis non continentur, nec ab iis deduci possunt, ejus mens praestantior necessario, atque humanâ longe excellentior esse deberet. Quare non credo ullum alium ad tantam perfectionem supra alios pervenisse, praeter Christum, cui Dei placita, quae homines ad salutem ducunt, sine verbis, aut visionibus, sed immediate revelata sunt : adeo ut Deus per mentem Christi sese Apostolis manifestaverit, ut olim Mosi mediante voce aërea. Et ideo vox Christi, sicuti illa, quam Moses audiebat, Vox Dei vocari potest. Et hoc sensu etiam dicere possumus, Sapientiam Dei, hoc est, Sapientiam, quae supra humanam est, naturam humanam in Christo assumpsisse, et Christum viam salutis fuisse.

Verum monere hic necesse est, me de iis, quae quaedam Ecclesiae de Christo statuunt, prorsus non loqui, neque ea negare ; nam libenter fateor me ea non capere. Quae modo affirmavi, ex ipsa Scriptura conjicio. Nam nullibi legi, Deum Christo apparuisse, aut locutum fuisse, sed Deum per Christum Apostolis revelatum fuisse, eumque viam salutis esse, et denique veterem legem per Angelum, non vero a Deo immediate traditam fuisse etc. Quare, si Moses cum Deo de facie ad faciem, ut vir cum socio solet (hoc est mediantibus duobus corporibus) loquebatur, Christus quidem de mente ad mentem cum Deo communicavit.

Asserimus itaque praeter Christum, neminem nisi imaginationis ope, videlicet ope verborum, aut imaginum, Dei revelata accepisse, atque adeo ad prophetizandum non esse opus perfectiore mente, sed vividioris imaginatione, ut clarius in sequenti capite ostendam. Hic jam quaerendum est, quidnam Sacrae Literae intelligant per Spiritum Dei prophetis infusum, vel quod prophetae ex Dei Spiritu loquebantur ; ad quod investigandum, quaerendum prius, quid significat vox Hebraea [heb.] *ruagh*, quam vulgus Spiritum interpretatur.

Vox [heb.] *ruagh* genuino sensu significat ventum, ut notum, sed ad plura alia significandum saepissime usurpatur, quae tamen hinc derivantur. Sumitur enim

1. ad significandum halitum, ut Psal. 135 v. 17, [heb.] *etiam non est Spiritus in ore suo*.

2. animum, sive respirationem, ut Shamuëlis I ca v. 12 [heb.] *et rediit ei Spiritus*, id est, respiravit. Hinc sumitur

3. pro animositate, et viribus, ut Josuae ca v. 11 [heb.] *nec constitit postea Spiritus in ullo viro*. Item Ezechiel. ca v. 2 [heb.] *et venit in me Spiritus* (seu vis), *qui me fecit instare pedibus meis*. Hinc sumitur

4. pro virtute, et aptitudine, ut Job. ca v. 8 [heb.] *certe ipse Spiritus est in homine*, hoc est, scientia non praecise apud senes est quaerenda, nam illam a singulari hominis virtute, et capacitate pendere jam reperio. Sic Numeri ca v. 18 [heb.] *vir, in quo est Spiritus*. Sumitur deinde

5. pro animi sententia, ut Num. ca v. 24 [heb.] *quoniam ipsi alius fuit Spiritus*, hoc est, alia animi sententia, sive alia mens. Item Prov. ca v. 23 [heb.] *eloquar vobis Spiritum* (hoc est mentem) *meum*. Et hoc sensu usurpatur ad significandam voluntatem, sive decretum, appetitum, et impetum animi ; ut Ezechiel ca v. 12 [heb.] *quo erat Spiritus* (seu voluntas) *eundi, ibant*. Item Esaiae ca v. 1 [heb.] *et ad fundendam fusionem et non ex meo Spiritu*. Et ca v. 10 [heb.] *quia fudit super ipsos Deus Spiritum* (hoc est appetitum) *dormiendi*. Et Judic. ca v. 3 [heb.] *tunc mitigatus est eorum Spiritus*, sive impetus. Item Prov. ca v. 32 [heb.] *qui dominatur Spiritui* (sive appetitui) *suo, quam qui capit civitatem*. Idem ca v. 28 [heb.] *vir, qui non cohibet Spirituum suum*. Et Esaiae ca v. 11 [heb.] *Spiritus vester est ignis, qui vos consumit*. Porro haec vox [heb.] *ruagh*, quatenus animum significat, inservit ad exprimendum omnes animi passiones, et etiam dotes ut [heb.] *Spiritus altus*, ad significandum superbiam, [heb.] *Spiritus demissus*, ad humilitatem, [heb.] *Spiritus malus*, ad odium et melancholiam, [heb.] *Spiritus bonus*, ad benignitatem, [heb.] *Spiritus Zelotypiae*, [heb.] *Spiritus* (sive appetitus) *fornicationum*, [heb.] *Spiritus sapientiae, consilii, fortitudinis*, id est (nam hebraice frequentius substantivis, quam adjectivis utimur) animus sapiens, prudens, fortis, vel virtus sapientiae, consilii, fortitudinis, [heb.] *Spiritus benevolentiae* etc. 6. significat ipsam mentem sive animam, ut Eccl. 3 v. 19 [heb.] *Spiritus* (sive anima) *eadem est omnibus*, [heb.] *et Spiritus ad Deum revertitur*. 7. Denique significat mundi plagas (propter ventos, qui inde stant), et etiam latera cujuscunque rei, quae illas mundi plagas respiciunt. Vide Ezechiëlem ca v. 9 et ca v. 16-19 etc.

Jam notandum, quod res aliqua ad Deum refertur, et Dei dicitur esse.

1. Quia ad Dei naturam pertinet, et quasi pars est Dei, ut cum dicitur [heb.] *potentia Dei*, [heb.] *oculi Dei*.

2. Quia in Dei potestate est, et ex Dei nutu agit, sic in Sacris coeli vocantur [heb.] *coeli Dei*, quia Dei quadriga, et domicilium sunt, Assyria flagellum Dei vocatur, et Nabuchodonosor servus Dei, etc.

3. Quia Deo dicata est, ut [heb.] *templum Dei*, [heb.] *Dei Nazarenus*, [heb.] *panis Dei* etc.

4. Quia per Prophetas tradita est, at non lumine naturali revelata ; ideo Lex Mosis, Lex Dei vocatur.

5. Ad rem in superlativo gradu exprimendum, ut [heb.] *montes Dei*, hoc est, montes altissimi, [heb.] *somnus Dei*, id est, profundissimus, et hoc sensu Amos ca v. 11 explicandus est, ubi Deus ipse sic loquitur [heb.] *subverti vos, sicuti subversio Dei* (subvertit) *Sodomam et Gomorram*, id est, sicuti memorabilis illa subversio : Nam, cum Deus ipse loquatur, aliter proprie explicari non potest. Scientia etiam naturalis Salomonis, Dei scientia vocatur, id est, divina, sive supra communem. In Psalmis etiam vocantur [heb.] *cedri Dei*, ad exprimendam earum insolitam magnitudinem. Et 1 Shamuëlis ca v. 7 ad significandum metum admodum magnum, dicitur [heb.] *et cecidit metus Dei supra populum*. Et hoc sensu omnia, quae captum Judaeorum superabant, et quorum causas naturales tum temporis ignorabant, ad Deum referri solebant. Ideo tempestas [heb.] *increpatio Dei*, tonitrua autem, et fulmina, Dei sagittae vocabantur ; putabant enim, Deum ventos in cavernis, quas Dei aeraria vocabant, inclusos habere, in qua opinione ab Ethnicis in hoc differabant, quod non Aeolum, sed Deum eorum rectorem credebant. Hac etiam de causa miracula opera Dei vocantur, hoc est, opera stupenda. Nam sane omnia naturalia Dei opera sunt, et per solam divinam potentiam sunt, et agunt. Hoc ergo sensu Psaltes vocat Aegypti miracula Dei potentias, quia Hebraeis nihil simile expectantibus viam ad salutem in extremis periculis aperuerunt, atque ideo ipsi eadem maxime admirabantur.

Cum igitur opera naturae insolita, opera Dei vocentur, et arbores insolitae magnitudinis arbores Dei, minime mirandum, quod in Genesi homines fortissimi, et magnae staturae, quamvis impii raptores, et scortatores, filii Dei vocantur. Quare id absolute omne, quo aliquis reliquos excellebat, ad Deum referre solebant antiqui, non tantum Judaei, sed etiam Ethnici ; Pharaon enim ubi somnii interpretationem audivit, dixit, Josepho mentem Deorum inesse, et Nabuchodonosor etiam Daniëli dixit, eum mentem Deorum Sanctorum habere.

Quin etiam apud Latinos nihil frequentius ; nam quae affabre facta sunt, dicunt ea divina manu fuisse fabricata, quod si quis hebraice transferre vellet, deberet dicere, *Manu Dei fabricata*, ut hebraizantibus notum.

His itaque Loca Scripturae, in quibus de Dei Spiritu fit mentio, facile intelligi, et explicari possunt. Nempe [heb.] *Spiritus Dei*, et [heb.] *Spiritus Jehovae* quibusdam in locis nihil aliud significat, quam ventum vehementissimum, siccissimum, et fatalem, ut in Esaiae ca v. 7 [heb.] *ventus Jehovae flavit in eum*, hoc est, ventus siccissimus, et fatalis. Et Geneseos ca v. 2 *et ventus Dei* (sive ventus fortissimus) *movebatur super aquam*. Deinde significat animum magnum ; Gideonis enim, et Samsonis animus vocantur in Sacris Literis [heb.] *Spiritus Dei*, hoc est, animus audacissimus, et ad quaevis paratus. Sic etiam quaecunque virtus, sive vis supra communem vocatur [heb.] *Spiritus*, seu *virtus Dei*, ut in Exod. ca v. 3 [heb.] *et adimplebo ipsum* (nempe Betzaleëlem) *Spiritu Dei*, hoc est (ut ipsa Scriptura explicat), ingenio, et arte supra communem hominum fortem. Sic Esaiae ca v. 3 [heb.] *et quiescet supra ipsum Spiritus Dei*, hoc est, ut ipse propheta, more in Sacris Literis usitatissimo, particulatim postea id explicando declarat, virtus sapientiae, consilii, fortitudinis etc ; sic etiam melancholia Saulis vocatur [heb.] *Dei Spiritus malus*, id est, melancholia profundissima ; servi enim Saulis, qui ejus melancholiam vocabant, ei fuerunt authores, ut aliquem ad se musicum vocaret, qui fidibus canendo ipsum recrearet, quod ostendit eos per Dei melancholiam, naturalem melancholiam intellexisse. Significatur deinde per [heb.] *Dei Spiritum*, ipsa homini mens, sicuti in Job. ca v. 3 [heb.] *et Spiritus Dei in naso meo*, alludens ad id, quod habetur in Genesi, nempe, quod Deus flavit animam vitae in naso hominis. Sic Ezechiël, mortuis prophetizans, ait ca v. 14 [heb.] *et dabo meum Spiritum vobis, et vivetis* ; id est, vitam vobis restituiam. Et hoc sensu dicitur Jobi ca vers. 14 [heb.] *si velit* (nempe Deus) *Spiritum suum*, (hoc est mentem, quam nobis dedit) *et animam suam sibi recolliget*. Sic etiam intelligendus est Genes. ca v. 3 [heb.] *non ratiocinabitur* (aut non decernet) *Spiritus meus in homine unquam, quoniam caro est*, hoc est, homo posthac ex decretis carnis et non mentis, quam ipsi, ut de bono discerneret, dedi, aget. Sic etiam Psalmi 51 v.

12-13 [heb.] *cor purum crea mihi Deus, et Spiritum* (id est appetitum) *decentem* (sive moderatum) *in me renova, non me rejice e tuo conspectu, nec mentem tuae sanctitatis ex me cape.* Quia peccata ex sola carne oriri credebantur, mens autem non nisi bonum suadere, ideo contra carnis appetitum Dei auxilium invocatur, mentem autem, quam Deus Sanctus ipsi dedit, a Deo conservari tantum precatur. Jam, quoniam Scriptura Deum instar hominis depingere, Deoque mentem, animum, animique affectus, ut et etiam corpus, et halitum tribuere, propter vulgi imbecillitatem, solet ; ideo [heb.] *Spiritus Dei* in Sacris saepe usurpatur pro mente, scilicet animo, affectu, vi, et halitu oris Dei. Sic Esaias ca v. 13 ait, [heb.] *quis disposuit Dei Spiritum* (sive mentem) ? hoc est, quis Dei mentem praeter Deum ipsum ad aliquid volendum determinavit ? et ca v. 10 [heb.] *et ipsi amaritudine, et tristitia affecerunt Spiritum suae sanctitatis* ; et hinc fit, ut pro Lege Mosis usurpari soleat, quis Dei quasi mentem explicat, ut ipse Esaias in eodem cap. v. 11 [heb.] *ubi (ille) est, qui posuit in medio ejus Spiritum suae sanctitatis*, nempe, Legem Mosis, ut clare ex toto contextu orationis collegitur ; et Nehemias ca v. 20 [heb.] *et Spiritum, sive mentem tuam bonam eis dedisti, ut eos intelligentes faceres* ; de tempore enim Legis loquitur, et etiam ad id Deut. ca v. 6 alludit, ubi Moses ait, *quoniam ipsa* (nempe Lex) *est vestra scientia, et prudentia* etc. Sic etiam in Psalmo 143 v. 10 [heb.] *mens tua bona me ducet in terram planam*, hoc est, mens tua nobis revelata me in rectam viam ducet. Significat etiam, uti diximus, Spiritus Dei, Dei halitum, qui etiam improprie, sicuti mens, animus, et corpus Deo in Scriptura tribuitur, ut Psal. 33 v. 6. Deinde Dei potentiam, vim, sive virtutem, ut Job. ca v. 4 [heb.] *Spiritus Dei me fecit*, hoc est, virtus, sive potentia Dei, vel si mavis, Dei decretum ; nam Psaltes poëtica loquendo, etiam ait, jussu Dei coeli facti sunt, et Spiritu, sive flatu oris sui (hoc est, decreto suo, uno quasi flatu pronuntiatio) omnis eorum exercitus. Item Psalmo 139 v. 7 [heb.] *quo ibo* (ut sim) *extra Spiritum tuum, aut quo fugiam*, (ut sim) *extra tuum conspectum*, hoc est (ut ex iis, quibus Psaltes ipse hoc pergit amplificare, patet), quo ire possum, ut sim extra tuam potentiam, et praesentiam ? Denique [heb.] *Spiritus Dei* usurpatur in Sacris ad animi Dei affectus,

exprimendum, nempe Dei benignitatem, et misericordiam, ut in Michae ca v. 7 [heb.] *num angustatus est Spiritus Dei* (hoc est, Dei misericordia) ? *suntne haec* (saeva scilicet) *ejus opera* ? Item Zachar. ca v. 6 [heb.] *non exercitu, nec vi, sed solo meo Spiritu*, id est, sola mea misericordia. Et hoc sensu puto etiam intelligendum esse v. 12 capitis 7 ejusdem prophetae nempe [heb.] *et cor suum constituerunt cautum, ne obedirent Legi, et mandatis, quae Deus misit ex suo Spiritu* (hoc est, ex sua misericordia) *per primos prophetas*. Hoc etiam sensu ait Hagaeus ca v. 5 [heb.] *et Spiritus meus* (sive mea gratia) *permanet inter vos, nolite timere*. Quod autem Esaias ca v. 16 ait [heb.] *at nunc Dominus Deus me misit, ejusque Spiritus*, potest quidem intelligi per Dei animum, et misericordiam, vel etiam per ejus mentem in Lege revelatam ; nam ait *a principio* (hoc est, cum primum ad vos veni, ut vobis Dei iram, ejusque sententiam contra vos prolatam praedicarem) *non occulte locutus sum, ex tempore, quo ipsa (prolata) fuit, ego adfui* (ut ipse ca testatus est), ad nunc laetus nuncius sum, et Dei misericordia missus, ut vestram restaurationem canam : Potest etiam, uti dixi, per Dei mentem in Lege revelatam intelligi, hoc est, quod ille jam etiam ex mandato Legis, nempe Levit. ca v. 17 ad eos monendum venit. Quare eos iisdem conditionibus, et eodem modo, quo Moses solebat, monet. Et tandem, ut etiam Moses fecit, eorum restaurationem praedicando desinit. Attamen prima explicatio mihi magis consona videtur.

Ex his omnibus, ut tandem ad id, quod intendimus, revertamur, hae Scripturae phrases perspicuae fiunt, nempe *Prophetae Spiritus Dei fuit, Deus Spiritum suum hominibus infudit, homines Spiritu Dei, et Spiritu Sancto repleti sunt*, etc. Nihil enim aliud significant, quam quod prophetae virtutem singularem et supra communem habebant , quodque pietatem eximia anima constantia colebant. Deinde, quod Dei mentem, sive sententiam percipiebant ; ostendimus enim, Spiritum hebraice significare tam mentem, quam mentis sententiam et hac de causa, ipsam legem, quia Dei mentem explicabat, Spiritum sive mentem Dei vocari ; quare aequali jure imaginatio prophetarum, quatenus per eam Dei decreta revelabantur, mens Dei etiam vocari poterat, prophetaeque mentem Dei habuisse

dici poterant. Et quamvis menti etiam nostrae mens Dei, ejusque aeternae sententiae inscriptae sint, et consequenter mentem etiam Dei (ut cum Scriptura loquar) percipiamus, tamen quia cognitio naturalis omnibus communis est, non tanti ab hominibus, ut jam diximus, aestimatur, et praecipue ab Hebraeis, qui se supra omnes esse jactabant, imo qui omnes, et consequenter scientiam omnibus communem, contemnere solebant. Denique Prophetae Dei Spiritum habere dicebantur, quia homines causas Propheticae cognitionis ignorabant, eandemque admirabantur et propterea, ut reliqua portenta, ipsam ad Deum referre, Deique cognitionem vocare solebant.

Possumus jam igitur sine scrupulo affirmare, Prophetas, non nisi ope imaginationis, Dei revelata percepisse, hoc est, mediantibus verbis, vel imaginibus, iisque veris, aut imaginariis. Nam, cum nulla alia media in Scriptura praeter haec reperiamus, nulla etiam alia, ut jam ostendimus, nobis fingere licet. Quibus autem naturae legibus id factum fuerit, fateor me ignorare. Potuissem quidem, ut alii, dicere, per Dei potentiam factum fuisse ; attamen garrire viderer. Nam idem esset, ac si termino aliquo transcendentali formam alicujus rei singularis velim explicare. Omnia enim per Dei potentiam facta sunt : Imo quia Naturae potentia nulla est nisi ipsa Dei potentia, certum est nos eatenus Dei potentiam non intelligere, quatenus causas naturales ignoramus ; adeoque stulte ad eandem Dei potentiam recurritur, quando rei alicujus causam naturalem, hoc est, ipsam Dei potentiam ignoramus. Verum nec nobis jam opus est, Propheticae cognitionis causam scire : Nam ut jam monui, hic tantum Scripturae documenta investigare conamur, ut ex iis, tanquam ex datis naturae, nostra concludamus ; documentorum autem causas nihil curamus.

Cum itaque Prophetae imaginationis ope Dei revelata perceperint, non dubium est, eos multa extra intellectus limites percipere potuisse ; nam ex verbis, et imaginibus longe plures ideae componi possunt, quam ex solis iis principiis, et notionibus, quibus tota nostra naturalis cognitio superstruitur.

Patet deinde, cur Prophetae omnia fere parabolice, et aenigmatice perceperint, et docuerint, et omnia spiritualia corporaliter expresserint : haec enim omnia cum

natura imaginationis magis conveniunt. Nec jam mirabimur, cur Scriptura, vel Prophetæ adeo improprie, et obscure de Dei Spiritu, sive mente loquantur, ut Numeri ca v. 17 et Primi Regum ca v. 2 etc. Deinde quod Michaeas Deum sedentem, Daniël autem ut senem vestibis albis indutum, Ezechiël vero veluti ignem, et qui Christo aderant, Spiritum Sanctum, ut columbam descendantem, Apostoli vero ut linguas igneas, et Paulus denique, cum prius converteretur, lucem magnam viderit. Hae enim omnia cum vulgaribus de Deo et Spiritibus imaginationibus plane conveniunt. Denique quoniam imaginatio vaga est, et inconstans, ideo Prophetia Prophetis non diu haerebat, nec etiam frequens, sed admodum rara erat, in paucissimis scilicet hominibus, et in iis etiam admodum raro. Cum hoc ita sit, cogimur jam inquirere, unde Prophetis oriri potuit certitudo eorum, quae tantum per imaginationem, et non ex certis mentis principiis percipiebant. Verum quicquid et circa hoc dici potest, ex Scriptura peti debet, quandoquidem hujus rei (ut jam diximus) veram scientiam non habemus, sive eam per primas suas causas explicare non possumus. Quid autem Scriptura de certitudine Prophetarum doceat, in sequente capite ostendam, ubi de Prophetis agere constitui.

Caput II

De prophetis



EX SUPERIORI CAPITE, ut jam indicavimus, sequitur propheta non fuisse perfectiore mente praeditos, sed quidem potentiâ vividius imaginandi, quod Scripturae narrationes abunde etiam docent. De Salomone enim constat, eum quidem sapientiâ, sed non dono prophetico caeteros excelluisse. Prudentissimi etiam illi Heman, Darda, Kalchol, prophetae non fuerunt, et contra homines rustici, et extra omnem disciplinam ; imo mulierculae etiam, ut Hagar ancilla Abrahami, dono prophetico fuerunt praeditae. Quod etiam cum experientia, et ratione convenit : Nam qui maxime imaginatione pollent, minus apti sunt ad res pure intelligendum, et contra, qui intellectu magis pollent, eumque maxime colunt, potentiam imaginandi magis temperatam, magisque sub potestatem habent, et quasi freno tenent, nè cum intellectu confundatur. Qui igitur sapientiam, et rerum naturalium, et spiritualium cognitionem ex prophetarum libris investigare student, totâ errant viâ : quod, quoniam tempus, philosophia, et denique res ipsa postulat, hic fuse ostendere decrevi, parum curans, quid superstitio ogganniat, quae nullos magis odit, quam qui veram scientiam, veramque vitam colunt. Et, proh dolor ! res eo jam pervenit, ut, qui aperte fatentur, se Dei ideam non habere, et Deum non nisi per res creatas (quarum causas ignorant) cognoscere, non erubescant philosophos atheismi accusare.

Ut autem rem ordine deducam, ostendam, prophetias variavisse, non tantum pro ratione imaginationis, et temperamenti corporis cujusque prophetae, sed etiam pro ratione opinionum, quibus fuerant imbuti, atque adeo prophetiam nunquam prophetas doctiores reddidisse, ut statim fusius explicabo ; sed prius de certitudine

prophetarum hic agendum, tum quia hujus capitis argumentum spectat, tum etiam, quia ad id, quod demonstrare intendimus, aliquantum inservit.

Cum simplex imaginatio non involvat ex sua natura certitudinem, sicuti omnis clara et distincta idea, sed imaginationi, ut de rebus, quas imaginamur, certi possumus esse, aliquid necessario accedere debeat, nempe ratiocinium ; hinc sequitur Prophetiam per se non posse involvere certitudinem, quia, ut jam ostendimus, a sola imaginatione pendebat ; et ideo Prophetæ non certi erant de Dei revelatione per ipsam revelationem, sed per aliquod signum, ut patet ex Abrahamo (vide Genes. ca v. 8), qui audita Dei promissione signum rogavit ; ille quidem Deo credebatur, nec signum petiit, ut Deo fidem haberet, sed ut sciret id a Deo ei promitti. Idem etiam clarius ex Gideone constat ; sic enim Deo ait [heb.] *et fac mihi signum* (ut sciam), *quod tu mecum loqueris*. Vide Judicum ca v. 17. Mosi etiam dicit Deus [heb.] *et hoc (sit) tibi signum, quod ego te misi*. Ezechias, qui dudum noverat Esaiam esse Prophetam, signum Prophetiæ ejus valetudinem prædicentis rogavit. Quod quidem ostendit Prophetas semper signum aliquod habuisse, quo certi fiebant de rebus, quas Prophetice imaginabantur, et ideo Moses monet (vide Deut. ca vers. ult.), ut signum ex Propheta petant, nempe eventum alicujus rei futurae. Prophetia igitur hac in re naturali cedit cognitioni, quæ nullo indiget signo, sed ex sua natura certitudinem involvit. Etenim hæc certitudo Prophetica mathematica quidem non erat, sed tantum moralis : Quod etiam ex ipsa Scriptura constat ; nam Deut. ca monet Moses, quod si quis Propheta novos Deos docere velit, is, quamvis suam confirmet doctrinam signis, et miraculis, mortis tamen damnetur ; nam, ut ipse Moses pergit, Deus signa etiam, et miracula facit ad tentandum populum ; atque hoc Christus etiam Discipulos suos ca v. 9 clare docet, Deum homines aliquando falsis revelationibus decipere : nam ait [heb.] *et quando Propheta (falsus scil.) inducitur, et verbum locutus fuerit, ego Deus induxi illum Prophetam*, quod etiam Michæas (vide Regum Lib. 1 ca v. 23) de Prophetis Achabi testatur.

Et quamvis hoc ostendere videatur Prophetiam et revelationem rem esse plane dubiam, habebat tamen, uti diximus, multum certitudinis : Nam Deus pios, et

electos nunquam decipit, sed juxta illud antiquum proverbium (vide Shamuëlis 1 ca v. 14), et ut ex historia Abigaëlis, ejusque oratione constat, Deus utitur piis, tanquam suae pietatis instrumentis, et impiis tanquam suae irae executoribus, et mediis : quod etiam clarissime constat ex illo casu Michaeae, quem modo citavimus ; nam, quamquam Deus decreverat Achabum decipere per Prophetas, falsis tamen tantum Prophetis usus fuit, pio autem rem, ut erat, revelavit, et vera praedicere non prohibuit. Attamen, uti dixi, certitudo Prophetiae moralis tantum erat, quia nemo se justificare coram Deo potest, nec jactare, quod sit Dei pietatis instrumentum, ut ipsa Scriptura docet, et re ipsâ indicat ; nam Dei ira Davidem seduxit ad numerandum populum, cujus tamen pietatem Scriptura abunde testatur.

1. Quod res revelatas vividissime, ut nos vigilando ab objectis affecti solemus, imaginabantur. 2. Signo. 3. Denique, et praecipuo, quod animum ad solum aequum, et bonum inclinatum habebant. Et quamvis Scriptura non semper Signi mentionem mentionem faciat, credendum tamen est, Prophetas semper Signum habuisse ; nam Scriptura non semper solet omnes conditiones, et circumstantias enarrare (ut multi jam notaverunt), sed res potius ut notas supponere. Praeterea concedere possumus, Prophetas, qui nihil novi, nisi quod in Lege Mosis continetur, prophetabant, non indiguisse signo, quia ex Lege confirmabantur. Ex. gr. Prophetia Jeremiae de vastatione Hierosolymae confirmabatur Prophetiis reliquorum prophetarum, et minis Legis, ideoque signo non indigebat, sed Chananias, qui contra omnes Prophetas citam civitatis restorationem prophetabat, signo necessario indigebat, alias de sua Prophetia dubitare deberet, donec eventus rei ab ipso praedictae suam Prophetiam confirmaret. Vide Jerem. ca v. 9.

Cum itaque certitudo, quae ex signis in Prophetis oriebatur, non mathematica (hoc est, quae ex necessitate perceptionis rei perceptae, aut visae sequitur), sed tantum moralis erat, et signa non nisi ad Prophetae persuadendum dabantur, hinc sequitur, Signa pro opinionibus, et capacitae Prophetae data fuisse : ita ut signum, quod unum Prophetam certum redderet de sua Prophetiâ, alium, qui aliis esset imbutus opinionibus, minime convincere posset ; et ideo signa in unoquoque

Propheta variabant. Sic etiam ipsa revelatio variabat, ut jam diximus, in unoquoque Propheta pro dispositione temperamentis corporis, imaginationis, et pro ratione opinionum, quas antea amplexus fuerat. Pro ratione enim temperamentis variabat hoc modo, nempe, si Propheta erat hilaris, ei revelabantur victoriae, pax, et quae porro homines ad laetitiam movent ; tales enim similia saepius imaginari solent ; si contra tristis erat, bella, supplicia, et omnia mala ei revelabantur ; et sic prout Propheta erat misericors, blandus, iracundus, severus etc., eatenus magis aptus erat ad *has*, quam ad *illas* revelationes. Pro dispositione imaginationis autem sic etiam variabat, nempe, si Propheta erat elegans, stylo etiam eleganti Dei mentem percipiebat, sin autem confusus, confuse ; et sic porro circa revelationes, quae per imagines repraesentabantur, nempe, si Propheta erat rusticus, boves, et vaccae etc., si vero miles, duces, exercitus ; si denique aulicus, solium regium, et similia ipsi repraesentabantur. Denique variabat Prophetia pro diversitate opinionum Prophetarum ; nempe Magis (vide Matthaei cap 2), qui nugis astrologiae credebant, revelata fuit Christus nativitas, per imaginationem stellae in oriente ortae. Auguribus Nabucadonossoris (vide Ezechiëlis ca v. 26) in extis revelata fuit vastatio Hierosolymae, quam etiam idem Rex ex oraculis intellexit, et ex directione sagittarum, quas fursum in aërem projecit. Prophetis deinde, qui credebant homines ex libera electione, et propria potentia agere, Deus ut indifferens revelabatur, et ut futurarum humanarum actionum inscius. Quae omnia ex ipsa Scriptura singulatim jam demonstrabimus.

Primum igitur constat ex illo casu Elisae (vide Regum Lib. 2 ca v. 15), qui, ut Jehoramo prophetaret, organum petiit, nec Dei mentem percipere potuit, nisi postquam musica organi delectatus fuit ; tum demum Jehoramo cum sociis laeta praedixit, quod antea contingere nequii, quia Regi iratus erat ; et qui in aliquem irati sunt, apti quidem sunt ad mala, non vero bona de iisdem imaginandum. Quod autem alii dicere volunt, Deum iratis, et tristibus non revelari, ii quidem somniant ; nam Deus Mosi in Pharahonem irato revelavit miseram illam primogenitorum stragem (vide Exodi ca v. 8), idque nullo adhibitio organo. Kaino etiam furenti Deus revelatus est. Ezechiëli prae irâ impatienti miseria, et contumacia

Judaeorum revelata fuit (vide Ezechiëlis ca v. 14), et Jeremias moestissimus, et magno vitae taedio captus calamitates Judaeorum prophetavit : adeo ut Josias eum consulere noluerit, sed foeminam ei contemporaneam, utpote quae ex ingenio muliebri magis apta erat, ut ei Dei misericordia revelaretur (vide lib. 2 Paralip. ca), Michaeas etiam nunquam Achabo aliquid boni, quod tamen alii veri prophetae fecerunt (ut patet ex primo Regum ca), sed tota ejus vita mala prophetavit (vide 1 Reg. ca v. 8 et clarius in 2 Paralip. ca v. 7). Prophetae itaque pro vario corporis temperamento magis ad *has*, quam ad *illas* revelationes erant apti. Stylus deinde prophetiae pro eloquentia cujusque prophetae variabat ; prophetiae enim Ezechiëlis, et Amosis non sunt, ut illae Esaiae, Nachumi eleganti, sed rudiore stylo scriptae. Et si quis, qui linguam hebraicam callet, haec curiosus inspicere velit, conferat diversorum prophetarum quaedam ad invicem capita, quae ejusdem sunt argumenti, et magnam reperiet in stylo discrepantiam. Conferat scil. ca aulici Esaiae ex v. 11 usque ad 20 cum ca rustici Amosis ex v. 21 usque ad 24. Conferat deinde ordinem, et rationes prophetiae Jeremiae, quam ca Edomaeae scripsit, cum ordine, et rationibus Hobadiae. Conferat porro etiam Esaiae ca v. 19-20 et ca ex v. 8 cum ca v. 6 et ca v. 2 Hoseae. Et sic de caeteris : quae si omnia recte perpendantur, facile ostendent, Deum nullum habere stylum peculiarem dicendi, sed tantum pro eruditione, et capacitate prophetae eatenus esse elegantem, compendiosum, severum, rudem, prolixum, et obscurum.

Repraesentationes propheticae, et hieroglyphica, quamvis idem significarent, variabant tamen ; nam Esaiae aliter Dei gloria templum relinquens repraesentata fuit, quam Ezechiëli : Rabini autem volunt utramque repraesentationem eandem prorsus fuisse, at Ezechiëlem, ut rusticum eam supra modum miratum fuisse, et ideo ipsam omnibus circumstantiis enarravisse. Attamen, nisi ejus rei certam habuerunt traditionem, quod minime credo, rem plane fingunt : Nam Esaias Seraphines senis alis, Ezechiël vero bestias quaternis alis vidit. Esaias vidit Deum vestitum, et in solio regio sedentem, Ezechiël autem instar ignis ; uterque sine dubio Deum vidit, prout ipsum imaginari solebat. Variabant praeterea repraesentationes non modo tantum, sed etiam perspicuitate ; nam

repraesentationes Zachariae obscuriores erant, quam ut ab ipso absque explicatione possent intelligi, ut ex ipsarum narratione constat ; Daniëlis autem etiam explicatae nec ab ipso propheta potuerunt intelligi. Quod quidem non contigit propter rei revelandae difficultatem (de rebus enim humanis tantum agebatur, quae quidem limites humanae capacitatis non excedunt, nisi quia futurae sunt), sed tantum quia Daniëlis imaginatio non aequae valebat ad prophetandum vigilando, ac in somnis, quod quidem inde apparet, quod statim in initio revelationis ita perturbatus fuit, ut fere de suis viribus desperaret. Quare propter imaginationis, et virium imbecillitatem res ipsi admodum obscurae repraesentatae fuerunt, neque eas etiam explicatas intelligere potuit. Et hic notandum verba a Daniële audita (ut supra ostendimus) imaginaria tantum fuisse ; quare non mirum est, illum tum temporis perturbatum omnia illa verba adeo confuse, et obscure imaginatum fuisse, ut nihil ex iis postea intelligere potuerit. Qui autem dicunt, Deum notuisse Daniëli rem clare revelare, videntur non legisse verba angeli, qui expresse dicit (vide ca v. 14) *se venisse, ut Daniëlem intelligere faceret, quid suo populo in posteritate dierum contingeret*. Quare res illae obscurae manserunt, quia nullus tum temporis reperiebatur, qui tantum imaginationis virtute polleret, ut ipsi clarius revelari possent. Denique prophetae, quibus revelatum fuit, Deum Eliam abrepturum, persuadere volebant Elisae, eum alibi locorum delatum, ubi adhuc inveniri ab ipsis posset ; quod sane clare ostendit, eos Dei revelationem non recte intellexisse. Haec fusius ostendere non est opus ; nam nihil ex Scriptura clarius constat, quam quod Deus unum prophetam longe maiore gratia ad prophetizandum donavit, quam alium. At quod prophetiae sive repraesentationes pro opinionibus prophetarum, quas amplexi fuerint, etiam variarent, et quod prophetae varias, imo contrarias habuerint opiniones, et varia praejudicia (loquor circa res mere speculativas, nam circa ea, quae probitatem, et bonos mores spectant, longe aliter sentiendum), curiosius, et prolixius ostendam ; nam hanc rem majoris momenti esse puto ; inde enim tandem concludam, prophetiam nunquam prophetas doctiores reddidisse, sed eos in suis praeconceptis

opinionibus reliquisse, ac propterea nos iis circa res mere speculativas minime teneri credere.

Mirâ quadam praecipitantiâ omnes sibi persuaserunt, prophetas omnia, quae humanus intellectus assequi potest, scivisse : Et quamvis loca quaedam Scripturae nobis quam clarissime dictent, prophetas quaedam ignoravisse, dicere potius volunt, se Scripturam iis in locis non intelligere, quam concedere prophetas rem aliquam ignoravisse, aut verba Scripturae ita torquere conantur, ut id, quod plane non vult, dicat. Sane si horum utrumvis licet, actum est cum tota Scriptura ; frustra enim conabimur aliquid ex Scriptura ostendere, si ea, quae maxime clara sunt, inter obscura, et impenetrabilia ponere licet, aut ad libitum interpretari. Ex. gr. nihil in Scriptura clarius, quam quod Jossua, et forte etiam author, qui ejus historiam scripsit, putaverunt, solem circum terram moveri, terram autem quiescere, et quod sol per aliquod tempus immotus fecit. Attamen multi, quia nolunt concedere in coelis aliquam posse dari mutationem, illum locum ita explicant, ut nihil simile dicere videatur ; alii autem, qui rectius philosophari didicerunt, quoniam intelligunt terram moveri, solem contra quiescere, sive circum terram non moveri, summis viribus idem ex Scriptura, quamvis aperte reclamante, extorquere conantur : quos sane miror. An, quaeso, tenemur credere, quod miles Josua astronomiam callebat ? et quod miraculum ei revelari non potuit, aut quod lux solis non potuit diuturnior solito supra horizontem esse, nisi Josua ejus causam intelligeret ? mihi sane utrumque ridiculum videtur ; malo igitur aperte dicere Josuam diuturnioris illius lucis causam veram ignoravisse, eumque, omnemque turbam, quae aderat, simul putavisse solem motu diurno circa terram moveri, et illo die aliquamdiu stetisse, idque causam diuturnioris illius lucis credidisse, nec ad id attendisse, quod ex nimia glacie, quae tum temporis in regione aëris erat (vide Josuae ca v. 11) refractione solito major oriri potuerit, vel aliud quid simile, quod jam non inquirimus. Sic etiam Esaiae signum umbrae retrogradae ad ipsius captum revelatum fuit, nempe per retrogradationem solis : nam etiam putabat solem moveri, et terram quiescere. Et de parheliis forte nunquam nec per somnium cogitavit. Quod nobis sine ullo scrupulo statuere licet

; nam signum revera contingere poterat, et regi ab Esaiâ praedici, quamvis propheta veram ejus causam ignoraret. De fabrica Salomonis, siquidem illa a Deo revelata fuit, idem etiam dicendum : nempe, quod omnes ejus mensurae pro captu, et opinionibus Salomonis ei revelatae fuerunt : quia enim non tenemur credere Salomonem mathematicum fuisse, licet nobis affirmare, eum rationem inter peripheriam, et circuli diametrum ignoravisse, et cum vulgo operariorum putavisse, eam esse, ut 3 ad 1. Quod si licet dicere nos textum illum lib. 1 Reg. ca. v. 23 non intelligere, nescio hercule, quid ex Scriptura intelligere possumus, cum ibi fabrica simpliciter narretur, et mere historice ; imo si licet fingere Scripturam aliter sensisse, sed propter aliquam rationem nobis incognitam, ita scribere voluisse, tum nihil aliud fit, quam totius Scripturae omnimoda eversio : nam unusquisque aequali jure de omnibus Scripturae locis idem dicere poterit ; atque adeo quicquid absurdum, et malum humana malitia excogitare potest, id, salva Scripturae autoritate, et defendere, et patrare licebit. At id, quod nos statuimus, nihil impietatis continet ; nam Salomon, Esaias, Josua etc. quamvis prophetae, homines tantum fuerunt, et nihil humani ab ipsis alienum existimandum. Ad captum Noachi etiam revelatum ei fuit Deum humanum genus delere, quia putabat mundum extra Palaestinam non inhabitari. Nec tantum hujusmodi res, sed etiam alias majoris momenti prophetae salva pietate ignorare potuerunt, et revera ignoraverunt ; nihil enim singulare de divinis attributis docuerunt, sed admodum vulgares de Deo habuerunt opiniones : ad quas etiam eorum revelationes accomodatae sunt, ut jam multis Scripturae testimoniis ostendam : ita ut facile videas, eos non tam ob ingenii sublimitatem, et praestantiam, quam ob pietatem, et animi constantiam laudari, et tantopere commendari.

Adamus, primus cui Deus revelatus fuit, ignoravit, Deum esse omnipraesentem, et omniscium ; se enim a Deo abscondidit, et suum peccatum coram Deo, quasi hominem coram haberet, conatus est excusare : quare Deus etiam ei ad ipsius captum revelatus fuit, nempe ut qui non ubique est, et ut inscius loci, et peccati Adami : audivit enim, aut visus est audire Deum per hortum ambulanti, eumque vocanti, et quaerenti, ubi esset ; deinde ex occasione

ejus verecundiae ipsum rogantem, num de arbore prohibita comederit. Adamus itaque nullum aliud Dei attributum noverat, quam quod Deus omnium rerum fuit opifex. Kaino etiam Deus revelatus fuit ad ipsius captum, nempe ut rerum humanarum inscius, nec ipsi, ut sui peccati poeniteret, opus erat sublimiorem Dei cognitionem habere. Labano Deus sese revelavit, tanquam Deus Abrahami, quia credebat, unamquamque nationem suum habere Deum peculiarem. Vide Gen. ca v. 29. Abrahamus etiam ignoravit Deum esse ubique, resque omnes praecognoscere : ubi enim sententiam in Sodomitas audivit, oravit, ut Deus etiam non exequeretur, antequam sciret, num omnes illo supplicio essent digni ; ait enim (vide Gen. ca v. 24) [heb.] *forte reperiuntur quinquaginta justi in illa civitate* : nec Deus ipsi aliter revelatus fuit ; sic enim in Abrahami imaginatione loquitur, [heb.] *nunc descendam, ut videam, num juxta summam querelam, quae ad me venit, fecerunt, sin autem minus, (rem) sciam*. Divinum etiam de Abrahamo testimonium (de quo vide Gen. ca v. 19) nihil continet praeter solam obedientiam, et quod domesticos suos ad aequum, et bonum moneret, non autem quod sublimes de Deo habuerit cogitationes. Moses non satis etiam percepit, Deum esse omniscium, humanasque actiones omnes ex solo decreto dirigi : Nam, quanquam Deus ipsi dixerat (vide Exod. ca v. 18) Israëlitae ei obtemperaturos, rem tamen in dubium revocat, regeritque (vide Exod. ca v. 1) [heb.] *quid si mihi non credant, nec mihi obtemperent*. Et ideo Deus etiam ipsi ut indifferens, et ut inscius futurarum humanarum actionum revelatus fuit. Dedit enim ei duo signa, dixitque (Exod. 4 v. 8), *si contigerit, ut primo signo non credant, credent tamen ultimo ; quod si etiam nec ultimo credent, cape (tum) aliquantulum aquae fluvii* etc. Et sane si quis sine praejudicio Mosis sententias perpendere velit, clare inveniet, ejus de Deo opinionem fuisse, quod sit ens, quod semper extitit, existit, et semper existet ; et hac de causa ipsum vocat [heb.] *Jehova* nomine, quod hebraice haec tria tempora existendi exprimit : de ejus autem natura nihil aliud docuit, quam quod sit misericors, benignus, etc. et summe zelotypus, ut ex plurimis locis Pentateuchi constat. Deinde credidit, et docuit, hoc ens ab omnibus aliis entibus ita differre, ut nulla imagine alicujus rei visae posset exprimi, nec etiam videri,

non tam propter rei repugnantiam, quam propter humanam imbecillitatem : et praeterea ratione potentiae, singulare, vel unicum esse : concessit quidem dari entia, quae (sine dubio ex ordine et mandato Dei) vicem Dei gerebant, hoc est, entia, quibus Deus auctoritatem, jus, et potentiam dedit ad dirigendas nationes, et iis providendum et curandum ; at hoc ens, quod colere tenebantur, summum et supremum Deum, sive (ut Hebraeorum phrasi utar) Deum Deorum esse docuit, et ideo in cantico Exodi (ca v. 11) dixit [heb.] *quis inter Deos tui similis, Jehova ?* et Jetro (ca v. 11) [heb.] *nunc novi, quod Jehova major est omnibus Diis*, hoc est, tandem cogor Mosi concedere, quod Jehova major est omnibus Diis, et potentia singulari : an vero Moses hac entia, quae vicem Dei gerebant, a Deo creata esse crediderit, dubitari potest : quandoquidem de eorum creatione, et principio nihil, quod scimus, dixerit : docuit praeterea, hoc ens mundum hunc visibilem ex Chao (vide ca Gen. v. 2) in ordinem redegissee, seminaque naturae indidisse, adeoque in omnia summum jus et summam potentiam habere, et (vide Deut. ca v. 14-15) pro hoc summo suo jure, et potentiâ sibi soli Hebraeam nationem elegerit, certamque mundi plagam (vide Deut. ca v. 19 et ca v. 8-9), reliquas autem nationes, et regiones curis reliquorum Deorum a se substitutorum reliquisse ; et ideo Deus Israël, et Deus (vide libri 2 Paralip. ca v. 19) Hierosolymae, reliqui autem Dii reliquarum nationum Dii vocabantur. Et hac etiam de causa credebant Judaei regionem illam, quam Deus sibi elegerat, cultum Dei singularem, et ab aliarum regionum cultu prorsus diversum requirere, imo nec posse pati cultum aliorum Deorum, aliisque regionibus proprium : nam gentes illae, quas rex Assyriae in Judaeorum terras duxit, credebantur a leonibus dilaniari, quia cultum Deorum illius terrae ignorabant (vide lib. 2 Regum ca v. 25-26 etc.). Et Jacobus, ex Aben Hezrae opinione, dixit propterea filiis, ubi patriam petere voluit, ut se novo cultui praepararent, et Deos alienos, hoc est, cultum Deorum illius terrae, in quâ tum erant, deponerent (vide Gen. ca v. 2-3). David etiam, ut Saulo diceret, se propter ejus persecutionem coactum esse, extra patriam vivere, dixit, se ab haereditate Dei expelli, et ad alios Deos colendos mitti (vide Sham. lib. 1 ca v. 19). Denique credidit hoc ens, sive Deum, suum domicilium in coelis habere (vide Deut. ca v.

27), quae opinio inter Ethnicos frequentissima fuit. Si jam ad Mosis revelationes attendamus, eas hisce opinionibus accomodatas fuisse reperiemus ; nam quia credebatur Dei naturam illas, quas diximus, pati conditiones, nempe, misericordiam, benignitatem etc., ideo Deus, ad hanc ejus opinionem, et sub hisce attributis ipsi revelatus fuit (vide Exodi ca v. 6-7, ubi narratur, qua ratione Deus Mosi apparuit, et Decalogi v. 4-5). Deinde ca v. 18 narratur, Mosen a Deo petiisse, ut sibi liceret, eum videre ; sed quoniam Moses, ut jam dictum est, nullam Dei imaginem in cerebro formaverat, et Deus (ut jam ostendi) non revelatur prophetis, nisi pro dispositione eorum imaginationis, ideo Deus nulla ipsi imagine apparuit : atque hoc contigisse inquam, quia Mosis imaginationi repugnabat ; nam alii prophetae, Deum se vidisse testantur, nempe Esaias, Ezechiël, Daniël, etc. Et hac de causa Deus Mosi respondit, [heb.] *non poteris meam faciem videre*, et quia Moses credebatur, Deum esse visibilem, hoc est, ex parte divinae naturae nullam id implicare contradictionem, alias enim nihil simile petiisset ; ideo addit [heb.] *quoniam nemo me videbit, et vivet* ; reddit igitur rationem opinioni Mosis consentaneam ; non enim dicit, id ex parte divinae naturae implicare contradictionem, ut res revera se habet, sed id contingere non posse, propter humanam imbecillitatem. Porro ut Deus Mosi revelaret, Israëlitas, quia vitulum adoraverant, reliquis gentibus similes factos esse, ait ca v. 2-3 se missurum angelum, hoc est ens, quod vice supremi entis Israëlitarum curam haberet, se autem nolle inter ipsos esse ; hoc enim modo nihil Mosi relinquebatur, ex quo ipsi constaret Israëlitas Deo reliquis nationibus, quas Deus etiam curae aliorum entium, sive angelorum tradiderat, dilectiores esse, ut constat ex v. 16 ejusdem capituli. Denique, quia Deus in coelis habitare credebatur, ideo Deus, tanquam e coelo supra montem descendens, revelabatur, et Moses etiam montem, ut Deum alloqueretur, ascendebat, quod minime opus ei esset, si aeque facile Deum ubique imaginari posset. Israëlitae de Deo nihil fere norunt, tametsi ipsis revelatus est, quod quidem plusquam satis ostenderunt, cum ejus honorem, et cultum paucis post diebus vitulo tradiderunt, credideruntque illum esse eos Deos, qui eos ex Aegypto eduxerant. Nec sane credendum est, quod homines superstitionibus

Aegyptiorum assueti, rudes, et miserrima servitute confecti, aliquid sani de Deo intellexerint, aut quod Moses eos aliquid docuerit, quam modum vivendi, non quidem tanquam philosophus, ut tandem ex animi libertate, sed tanquam legis lator, ut ex imperio legis coacti essent bene vivere. Quare ratio bene vivendi, sive vera vita, Deique cultus, et amor iis magis servitus, quam vera libertas, Deique gratia, et donum fuit ; Deum enim amare, ejusque legem servare jussit, ut Deo praeterita bona (ex Aegyptiaca scilicet servitute libertatem etc.) accepta ferrent, et porro minis eos perterrefacit, si illorum praeceptorum fuissent transgressores, et contra, si ea observaverint, multa promittit bona. Eosque itaque eodem modo docuit, ac parentes pueros, omni ratione carentes, solent. Quare certum est, eos virtutis excellentiam, veramque beatitudinem ignoravisse. Jonas conspectum Dei fugere putavit, quod videtur ostendere, eum etiam credidisse, Deum curam caeterarum regionum, extrà Judaeam, aliis potentiis, a se tamen substitutis, tradidisse. Nec ullus in Vetere Testamento habetur, qui magis secundum rationem de Deo locutus est, quam Salomon, qui lumine naturali omnes sui saeculi superavit ; et ideo etiam se supra Legem (nam ea iis tantum tradita est, qui ratione, et naturalis intellectus documentis carent) existimavit, legesque omnes, quae regem spectant, et quae tribus potissimum constabant (vide Deut. ca v. 16-17), parvi pependit, imo eas plane violavit (in quo tamen erravit, nec quod philosopho dignum egit, nempe, quod voluptatibus indulserit), omnia fortunae bona mortalibus vana esse docuit (vide Eccl.), et nihil homines intellectu praestantius habere, nec majori supplicio, quam stultitiâ, puniri (vide Proverb. ca v. 22). Sed ad prophetas revertamur, quorum discrepantes opiniones etiam notare suscepimus. Ezechiëlis sententias adeo sententiis Mosis repugnantes invenerunt rabini, qui nobis illos (qui jam tantum extant) libros Prophetarum reliquerunt (ut tractatu Sabbati ca fol. 13 narratur), ut fere deliberaverint, ejus librum inter canonicos non admittere, atque eundem plane abscondidissent, nisi quidam Chanania in se suscepisset ipsum explicare, quod tandem magno cum labore, et studio (ut ibi narratur) ajunt ipsum fecisse ; qua ratione autem, non satis constat, nempe, an quod commentarium, qui forte periit, scripserit, vel quod ipsa

Ezechiëlis verba, et orationes (ut fuit audacia) mutaverit, et ex suo ingenio ornaverit ; quidquid sit, cap. saltem 18 non videtur convenire cum v. 7 ca Exodi, nec cum v. 18 ca Jerem. etc. Shamuël credebat Deum, ubi aliquid decreverat, nunquam decreti poenitere (vide lib. 1 Shamuëlis ca v. 29), nam Saulo, sui peccati poenitenti, et Deum adorare, veniamque ab ipso petere volenti, dixit, Deum suum contra eum decretum non mutaturum : Jeremiae autem contra revelatum fuit (vide ca v. 8, 10), nempe Deum, sive aliquid damni, sive aliquid boni alicui nationi decreverit, sui decreti poenitere, modo homines etiam a tempore sententiae, vel in melius, vel in pejus mutantur. At Joël Deum damni poenitere tantum docuit (vide ejus ca v. 13). Denique ex ca Gen. v. 7 clarissime constat, hominem posse peccati tentationes domare, et bene agere ; id enim Kaino dicitur, qui tamen, ut ex ipsa Scripturâ, et Josepho constat, eas nunquam domavit ; idem etiam ex modo allato cap. Jeremiae evidentissime colligitur ; nam ait Deum sui decreti in damnum, aut bonum hominum prolati, poenitere, prout homines mores, et modum vivendi mutare volunt : at Paulus contra nihil apertius docet, quam quod homines nullum imperium, nisi ex Dei singulari vocatione, et gratia in carnis tentationes habent. Vide Epist. ad Romanos ca ex v. 10 etc. et quod ca v. 5 et ca v. 19, ubi Deo justitium tribuit, se corrigit, quod humano more sic loquatur, et propter carnis imbecillitatem.

Ex his itaque satis, superque constat, id, quod ostendere proponebamus, nempe Deum revelationes captui, et opinionibus prophetarum accommodavisse, prophetasque res, quae solam speculationem, et quae non charitatem, et usum vitae spectant, ignorare potuisse, et revera ignoravisse, contrariasque habuisse opiniones. Quare longe abest, ut ab iis cognitio rerum naturalium, et spiritualium sit petenda. Concludimus itaque nos Prophetis nihil aliud teneri credere praeter id, quod finis et substantia est revelationis ; in reliquis, prout unicuique libet, liberum est credere ; exempli gratia, revelatio Kaini nos tantum docet, Deum Kainum monuisse ad veram vitam ; id enim tantum intentum, et substantia revelationis est, non vero libertatem voluntatis, aut res Philosophicas docere ; quare, tametsi in verbis illius monitionis, et rationibus libertas voluntatis clarissime continetur,

nobis tamen licitum est, contrarium sentire, quandoquidem verba illa, et rationes ad captum tantum Kaini accommodatae sunt. Sic etiam Michaeae revelatio tantum docere vult, quod Deus Michaeae verum exitum pugnae Achabi contra Aram revelavit, quare hoc etiam tantum tenemur credere ; quicquid igitur praeter hoc in illa revelatione continetur, nempe de Dei Spiritu vero, et falso, et de exercitu coeli, ab utroque Dei latere stante, et reliquae illius revelationis circumstantiae, nos minime tangunt : adeoque de iis unusquisque, prout suae rationi magis consentaneum videbitur, credat. De rationibus, quibus Deus Jobo ostendit suam in omnia potentiam, si quidem verum est, quod Jobo revelatae fuerunt, et quod author historiam narrare, non autem (ut quidam credunt) suos conceptus ornare studuerit, idem etiam dicendum, nempe eas ad captum Jobi, et ad ipsum tantum convincendum allatas fuisse, non vero quod sint rationes universales ad omnes convincendum. Nec aliter de Christi rationibus, quibus Phariseos contumaciae, et ignorantiae convincit, discipulosque ad veram vitam hortatur, statuendum ; quod nempe suas rationes opinionibus, et principiis unius cujusque accommodavit. Ex. gr. cum Phariseis dixit, vide Matth. ca v. 26, *et si Satanas Satanam ejicit, adversus se ipsum divisus est ; quomodo igitur staret regnum ejus*, nihil nisi Phariseos ex suis principiis convincere voluit, non autem docere, dari Daemones, aut aliquod Daemonum regnum : sic etiam cum discipulis dixit Matth. 18 v. 10, *videte ne contemnatis unum ex parvis istis, dico enim vobis Angelos eorum in coelis* etc. Nihil aliud docere vult, quam ne sint superbi, et ne aliquem contemnant, non vero reliqua, quae in ipsius rationibus, quas tantum adfert ad rem discipulis melius persuadendum, continentur. Idem denique de rationibus, et signis Apostolorum absolute dicendum, nec de his opus est fusius loqui : nam si mihi enumeranda essent omnia Scripturae Loca, quae tantum ad hominem, sive ad captum alicujus scripta sunt, et quae non sine magno Philosophiae praejudicio, tanquam divina doctrina defenduntur, a brevitate, cui studeo, longe discederem : sufficiat igitur, quaedam pauca, et universalia attigisse, reliqua curiosus lector apud se perpendat. Verum enimvero quamvis haec tantum, quae de Prophetis, et Prophetia egimus, ad scopum, ad quem intendo, praecipue pertineant, nempe ad

separandam Philosophiam a Theologia, attamen, quia hanc quaestionem universaliter attigi, lubet adhuc inquirere, num donum Propheticum Hebraeis tantum peculiare fuerit, an vero omnibus nationibus commune ; tum etiam quid de vocatione Hebraeorum statuendum ; de quibus vide caput sequens.

Caput III



De Hebraeorum vocatione.

Et an donum propheticum Hebraeis peculiare fuerit.

Vera foelicitas, et beatitudo uniuscujusque in sola boni fruitione consistit, non vero in ea gloria, quod solus scilicet, et reliquis exclusis, bono fruatur ; qui enim se propterea beatoriem aestimat, quod ipsi soli, caeteris non item bene sit, aut quod reliquis sit beatior, et magis fortunatus, is veram foelicitatem, et beatitudinem ignorat, et laetitia, quam inde concipit, nisi puerilis sit, ex nulla alia re oritur, quam ex invidia, et malo animo. Ex. gr. vera hominis foelicitas, et beatitudo in sola sapientiâ, et veri cognitione consistit, at minime in eo, quod sapientior reliquis sit, vel quod reliqui vera cognitione careant ; hoc enim ejus sapientiam, hoc est, veram ejus foelicitatem nihil prorsus auget. Qui itaque propter hoc gaudet, is malo alterius gaudet, adeoque invidus est, et malus, nec veram novit sapientiam, neque verae vitae tranquillitatem. Cum igitur Scriptura, ut Hebraeos ad obedientiam legis hortetur, dicit Deum eos prae caeteris nationibus sibi elegisse (vide Deut. ca v. 15), ipsis propinquum esse, aliis non item (Deut. ca v. 4, 7), iis tantum leges justas praescripsisse (ejusdem cap. v. 8), ipsis denique tantum, caeteris posthabitis, innotuisse (vide ejusdem cap. v. 32), etc., ad eorum captum tantum loquitur, qui, ut in superiore capite ostendimus, et Moses etiam testatur (vide Deut. ca v. 6, 7) veram beatitudinem non noverant ; nam sane ipsi non minus beati fuissent, si Deus omnes aequae ad salutem vocavisset ; nec ipsis Deus minus foret propitius, quamvis reliquis aequae prope adesset, nec leges minus justae, nec ipsi minus sapientes, etsi omnibus praescriptae fuissent, nec miracula Dei potentiam minus ostendissent, si etiam propter alias nationes facta

fuissent ; nec denique Hebraei minus tenerentur Deum colere, si Deus haec omnia dona omnibus aequaliter largitus fuisset. Quod autem Deus Salomoni dicit (vide Reg. Lib. 1 ca v. 12), neminem post eum aeque sapientem, ac ipsum, futurum, modus tantum loquendi videtur esse ad significandam eximiam sapientiam ; quicquid sit, minime credendum est, quod Deus Salomoni, ad maiorem ejus foelicitatem, promiserit, se nemini postea tantam sapientiam largiturum fore ; hoc enim Salomonis intellectum nihil augeret, nec prudens Rex, etsi Deus se eadem sapientiâ omnes donaturum dixisset, minores pro tanto munere Deo ageret gratias.

Verum enimvero, etsi dicamus Mosen in locis Pentateuchi modò citatis ad Hebraeorum captum locutum fuisse, nolumus tamen negare, quod Deus ipsis solis leges illas Pentateuchi praescripserit, neque, quod tantum iis locutus fuerit, nec denique quod Hebraei tot miranda viderint, qualia nulli alii nationi contigerunt ; sed id tantum volumus, Mosen tali modo, iisque praecipue rationibus Hebraeos monere voluisse, ut eos ex ipsorum puerili captu ad Dei cultum magis devinciret ; deinde ostendere voluimus Hebraeos non scientiâ, neque pietate, sed plane alia re caeteras nationes excelluisse ; sive (ut cum Scripturâ ad eorum captum loquar) Hebraeos non ad veram vitam, et sublimes speculationes, quanquam saepe monitos, sed ad aliam plane rem electos a Deo prae reliquis fuisse ; quatenus autem ea fuerit, ordine hic ostendam.

Verum antequam incipiam, explicare paucis volo, quid per Dei directionem, perque Dei auxilium externum et internum, et quid per Dei electionem, quidque denique per fortunam in sequentibus intelligam. Per Dei directionem intelligo fixum illum et immutabilem naturae ordinem, sive rerum naturalium concatenationem : diximus enim supra, et in alio loco jam ostendimus, leges naturae universales, secundum quas omnia fiunt et determinantur, nihil esse nisi Dei aeterna decreta, quae semper aeternam veritatem et necessitatem involvunt. Sive igitur dicamus omnia secundum leges naturae fieri, sive ex Dei decreto et directione ordinari, idem dicimus. Deinde quia rerum omnium naturalium potentia nihil est nisi ipsa Dei potentia, per quam solam omnia fiunt, et determinantur, hinc sequitur, quicquid homo, qui etiam pars est naturae, sibi in

auxilium, ad suum esse conservandum parat, vel quicquid natura ipso nihil operante, ipsi offert, id omne sibi a sola divina potentia oblatum esse, vel quatenus per humanam naturam agit, vel per res extra humanam naturam. Quicquid itaque natura humana ex solo sua potentia praestare potest ad suum esse conservandum, id Dei auxilium internum, et quicquid praeterea ex potentia causarum externarum in ipsius utile cedit, id Dei auxilium externum merito vocare possumus. Atque ex his etiam facile colligitur, quid per Dei electionem sit intelligendum : Nam cum nemo aliquid agat, nisi ex praedeterminato naturae ordine, hoc est, ex Dei aeterna directione et decreto, hinc sequitur, neminem sibi aliquam vivendi rationem eligere, neque aliquid efficere, nisi ex singulari Dei vocatione, qui hunc ad hoc opus, vel ad hanc vivendi rationem prae aliis eligit. Denique per fortunam nihil aliud intelligo, quam Dei directionem, quatenus per causas externas et inopinatas res humanas dirigit. His praelibatis ad nostrum intentum revertamur, ut videamus, quid id fuerit, propter quod hebraea natio dicta fuerit a Deo prae reliquis electa. Ad quod ostendendum, sic procedo.

Omnia, quae honeste cupimus, ad haec tria potissimum referuntur, nempe, res per primas suas causas intelligere, passiones domare, sive virtutis habitum acquirere, et denique secure, et sano corpore vivere. Media, quae ad primum et secundum directe inserviunt, et quae tanquam causae proximae, et efficientes considerari possunt, in ipsa humana natura continentur ; ita ut eorum acquisitio a sola nostra potentiâ, sive a solis humanae naturae legibus praecipue pendeat : et hac de causa omnino statuendum est, haec dona nulli nationi peculiara, sed toti humano generi communia semper fuisse ; nisi somniare velimus, naturam olim diversa hominum genera procreavisse. At media, quae ad secure vivendum, et corpus conservandum inserviunt, in rebus externis praecipue sita sunt ; atque ideo dona fortunae vocantur, quia nimirum maxime a directione causarum externarum, quam ignoramus, pendent : ita ut hac in re stultus fere aequè foelix et infelix, ac prudens sit. Attamen ad secure vivendum, et injurias aliorum hominum, et etiam brutorum, evitandum, humana directio, et vigilantia multum juvare potest. Ad quod nullum certius medium ratio, et experientia docuit, quam societatem certis

legibus formare, certamque mundi plagam occupare, et omnium vires ad unum quasi corpus, nempe societatis, redigere : Verum enimvero ad societatem formandam, et conservandam ingenium, et vigilantia non mediocris requiritur ; et idcirco illa societas securior erit, et magis constans, minusque fortunae obnoxia, quae maxime ab hominibus prudentibus, et vigilantibus fundatur, et dirigitur ; et contra, quae ex hominibus rudis ingenii constat, maximâ ex parte a fortuna pendet, et minus est constans. Quod si tamen diu permanserit, id alterius directioni, non suae debetur ; imo si magna pericula exsuperaverit, et res ipsi prospere successerint, non poterit ipsa Dei directionem (nempe quatenus Deus per causas latentes externas, at non quatenus per humanam naturam, et mentem agit) non admirari, et adorare : quandoquidem ipsi nihil nisi admodum inexpectatum, et praeter opinionem contigit ; quod revera etiam pro miraculo haberi potest.

Per hoc igitur tantum nationes ab invicem distinguuntur, nempe ratione societatis, et legum, sub quibus vivunt, et diriguntur ; adeoque hebraea natio, non ratione intellectus, neque animi tranquillitatis a Deo prae caeteris electa fuit, sed ratione societatis, et fortunae, quâ imperium adepta est, quâque id ipsum tot annos retinuit. Quod etiam ex ipsa Scripturâ quam clarissime constat : si quis enim ipsam vel leviter percurrit, clare videt Hebraeos in hoc solo caeteras nationes excelluisse, quod res suas, quae ad vitae securitatem pertinent, foeliciter gesserint, magnaue pericula exsuperaverint, idque maxime solo Dei externo auxilio, in reliquis autem caeteris aequales fuisse, et Deum omnibus aequè propitium. Nam ratione intellectus constat (ut in superiori capite ostendimus) eos de Deo et natura vulgares admodum cogitationes habuisse ; quare ratione intellectus non fuerunt a Deo prae caeteris electi ; at nec etiam ratione virtutis, et verae vitae ; hac enim in re etiam reliquis Gentibus aequales fuerunt, et non nisi paucissimi electi ; eorum igitur electio, et vocatio in sola imperii temporanea foelicitate, et commodis constitit ; nec videmus, quod Deus Patriarchis , aut eorum successoribus aliud praeter hoc promiserit ; imo in Lege pro obedientia nihil aliud promittitur, quam imperii continua foelicitas, et reliqua hujus vitae commoda, et contra pro contumacia, pactique ruptione, imperii ruina, maximaue incommoda. Nec mirum

; nam finis universae societatis, et imperii est (ut ex modo dictis patet, et in sequentibus fusius ostendemus) secure et commode vivere ; imperium autem non nisi legibus, quibus unusquisque teneatur, subsistere potest : quod si omnia unius societatis membra legibus valedicere velint, eo ipso societatem dissolvent, et imperium destruent. Hebraeorum igitur societati nihil aliud, pro constanti legum observatione, promitti potuit, quam vitae securitas , ejusque commoda, et contra pro contumacia nullum certius supplicium praedici, quam imperii ruina, et mala, quae inde communiter sequuntur, et praeterea alia, quae ex eorum singularis imperii ruina ipsis peculiariter suborirentur, sed de his non est opus impraesentiarum prolixius agere. Hoc tantum addo, Leges etiam Veteris Testamenti Judaeis tantum revelatas, et praescriptas fuisse ; nam, cum Deus ipsos ad singularem societatem, et imperium constituendum tantum elegerit, necessario singulares etiam leges habere debebant ; an vero aliis etiam nationibus Deus leges peculiare praescripserit, et earum Legislatoribus sese prophetice revelaverit, nempe sub iis attributis, quibus Deum imaginari solebant, mihi non satis constat ; hoc saltem ex ipsa Scriptura patet, alias etiam nationes ex Dei directione externa imperium, legesque singulares habuisse : ad quod ostendendum, duo tantum Scripturae loca adferam. Ca Gen. v. 18-20 narratur, quod Malkitsedek rex fuit Hierosolymae, et Dei altissimi pontifex ; et quod Abrahamo, ut jus erat Pontificis (vide Numeri ca v. 23) benedixit, et denique quod Abrahamus Dei dilectus decimam partem totius praedae huic Dei pontifici dedit. Quae omnia satis ostendunt, Deum, antequam Gentem Israëliticam condiderit, reges, et pontifices in Hierosolyma constituisse, iisque ritus, et leges praescripsisse : an vero prophetice, id, uti diximus, non satis constat. Hoc mihi saltem persuadeo, Abrahamum, dum ibi vixit, religiose secundum illas leges vixisse ; nam Abrahamus nullos ritus particulariter a Deo accepit, et nihilominus dicitur Gen. ca v. 5 Abrahamum observavisse cultum, praecepta, instituta, et Leges Dei, quod sine dubio intelligendum est de cultu, praeceptis, institutis, et legibus regis Malkitsedeki. Malachias ca v. 10-11 Judaeos his verbis increpat, [heb.] *quinam est inter vos, qui claudat ostia* (scil. templi), *ne meae arae frustra ignis imponatur ; in vobis non*

delector etc. Nam ex ortu solis usque in ejus occasum meum nomen magnum est inter gentes, et ubique suffitus mihi adfertur, et munus purum ; meum enim nomen magnum est inter gentes, ait Deus exercituum : Quibus sane verbis, quandoquidem nullum aliud tempus quam praesens, nisi iis vim inferri velimus, pati possunt, satis superque testatur, Judaeos illo tempore Deo non magis dilectos fuisse, quam alias Nationes ; imo Deum aliis Nationibus miraculis magis innotuisse, quam tum temporis Judaeis, qui tum sine miraculis imperium iterum ex parte adepti fuerant : deinde Nationes ritus, et caeremonias, quibus Deo acceptae erant, habuisse. Sed haec missa facio, nam ad meum intentum sufficit ostendisse electionem Judaeorum nihil aliud spectavisse, quam temporaneam corporis foelicitatem, et libertatem, sive imperium, et modum, et media, quibus ipsum adepti sunt, et consequenter etiam Leges, quatenus ad illud singulare imperium stabiliendum necessariae erant, et denique modum, quo ipsae revelatae fuerunt ; in caeteris autem, et in quibus vera hominis foelicitas consistit, eos reliquis aequales fuisse. Cum itaque in Scriptura (vide Deut. ca v. 7) dicitur, nullam Nationem Deos sibi aequae propinquos, ac Judaeos Deum habere ; id tantum ratione imperii, et de illo solo tempore, quo iis tot miracula contigerunt, intelligendum etc. Ratione enim intellectus, et virtutis, hoc est, ratione beatitudinis Deus, uti jam diximus, et ipsa ratione ostendimus, omnibus aequae propitius est, quod quidem ex ipsa Scriptura satis etiam constat ; ait enim Psaltes Psal. 145 v. 18 [heb.] *propinquus est Deus omnibus, qui eum vocant, omnibus, qui eum vere vocant.* Item in eodem Psal. v. 9 [heb.] *benignus est Deus omnibus, et ejus misericordia (est) erga omnia, quae fecit.* In Psal. 33 v. 15 clare dicitur Deum omnibus eundem intellectum dedisse, his scilicet verbis [heb.] *qui format eodem modo eorum cor.* Cor enim ab Hebraeis sedes animae, et intellectus credebatur, quod omnibus satis esse notum existimo. Deinde ex ca v. 28 Jobi constat, Deum toti humano generi hanc Legem praescripsisse, Deum revereri, et a malis operibus abstinere, sive bene agere, et ideo Jobus, quamvis gentilis, Deo omnium acceptissimus fuit, quoniam omnes pietate, et religione superavit. Denique ex ca v. 2 Jonae clarissime constat, Deum non solum Judaeis, sed omnibus propitium,

misericordem, longanimem, et amplum benignitate, ac poenitentem mali esse ; ait enim Jonas, *ideo antea statui fugere Tharsum, quia noveram* (nempe ex verbis Mosis, quae habentur ca v. 6 Exodi) *te Deum propitium, misericordem etc. esse*, adeoque gentilibus Ninivitis condonaturum. Concludimus ergo (quandoquidem Deus omnibus aequè propitius est, et Hebraei, non nisi ratione societatis, et imperii a Deo electi fuerunt) unumquemque Judaeum extra societatem, et imperium solum consideratum nullum Dei donum supra alios habere, nec ullum discrimen inter ipsum, et gentilem esse. Cum itaque verum sit, quod Deus omnibus aequè benignus, misericors etc. sit, et prophetae officium non tam fuerit leges patriae peculiare, quam veram virtutem docere, hominesque de ea monere, non dubium est, quin omnes nationes prophetas habuerint, et quod donum propheticum Judaeis peculiare non fuerit. Quod revera etiam tam profanae, quam sacrae historiae testantur ; et quamvis ex sacris historiis Veteris Testamenti non constet alias Nationes tot prophetas, ac Hebraeos, habuisse, imo nullum prophetam gentilem a Deo nationibus expresse missum, id nihil refert, nam Hebraei res suas tantum, non autem aliarum gentium scribere curaverunt. Sufficit itaque, quod in Vetere Testamento reperiamus, homines gentiles, et incircumcisos, ut Noach, Chanoch, Abimelech, Bilham, etc. prophetavisse ; deinde hebraeos prophetas non tantum suae, sed etiam multis aliis nationibus a Deo missos fuisse. Ezechiël enim omnibus gentibus tum notis vaticinatus est. Imo Hobadiah nullis, quod scimus, nisi Idumaeis, et Jonas Ninivitis praecipue vates fuit. Esaias non tantum Judaeorum calamitates lamentatur, et praedicat, eorumque restorationem canit, sed etiam aliarum gentium ; ait enim ca v. 9 [heb.] *ideo fletu deplorabo Jahzerem*, et ca prius Aegyptiorum calamitates, et postea eorum restorationem praedicat (vide ejusdem cap. v. 19, 20 , 21, 25). Nempe quod Deus iis Salvatorem mittet, qui eos liberabit, et quod Deus iis innotescet, et quod denique Aegyptii Deum sacrificiis, et numeribus colent, et tandem vocat hanc nationem, *Benedictum Aegyptium Dei populum* : quae omnia profecto valde digna sunt, ut notentur. Jeremias denique non Hebraeae gentis tantum, sed absolute gentium propheta vocatur (vide ejus ca v. 5) ; hic etiam nationum calamitates praedicendo deflet, et

eorum restaurationem praedicit ; ait enim ca v. 31 de Moabitis [heb.] *idcirco propter Moabum ejulabo, et propter totum Moabum clamo* etc., et v. 36 [heb.] *idcirco cor meum propter Moabum, sicut tympana, obstrepat* ; et tandem eorum restaurationem praedicit ; ut et etiam restaurationem Aegyptiorum, Hamonitarum, et Helamitarum. Quare non dubium est caeteras gentes suos etiam prophetas ut Judaeos habuisse, qui iis et Judaeis prophetaverunt. Quamvis tamen Scriptura non nisi de uno Bilhamo, cui res futurae Judaeorum, et aliarum nationum revelatae fuerint, mentionem faciat, non tamen credendum est, Bilhamum sola illa occasione prophetavisse ; ex ipsa enim historia clarissime constat eum dudum antea prophetiâ, et aliis divinis dotibus claruisse. Nam, cum Balak eum ad se accersere jubet, ait (Num. ca v. 6) [heb.] *quoniam scio eum, cui benedictis, benedictum, et cui maledicis, maledictum esse*. Quare is illam eandem virtutem, quam Deus Abrahamo (vide Genes. ca v. 3) largitus est, habebat. Balamus deinde, ut assuetus prophetiis, legatis respondet, ut ipsum manerent, donec ei Dei voluntas revelaretur. Cum prophetabat, hoc est, cum veram Dei mentem interpretabatur, haec de se dicere solebat [heb.] *dictus ejus, qui audit dicta Dei, et qui novit scientiam* (vel mentem, et praescientiam) *excelsi, visionem omnipotentis videt, excidens, sed relictus oculis*. Denique postquam Hebraeis ex mandato Dei benedixit (nimirum ut solebat) aliis gentibus prophetare, resque earum futuras praedicere incipit. Quae omnia satis superque indicant eum semper prophetam fuisse, aut saepius prophetavisse, et (quod adhuc hic notandum) id, quod praecipue prophetas de prophetiae veritate certos reddebat, habuisse, nempe animum ad solum aequum, et bonum inclinatum ; non enim cui ipse volebat, benedicebat, nec, cui volebat, maledicebat, ut Balak putabat, sed tantum iis, quibus Deus benedici, aut maledici volebat ; ideo Balako respondit, *quamvis Balakus mihi daret tantum argenti, et auri, quantum ejus domum adimplere posset, non potero transgredi edictum Dei, ad faciendum ex meo arbitrio bonum aut malum ; quod Deus loquetur, loquar* ; quod autem Deus ei, dum erat in itinere, iratus fuerit, id etiam Mosi, dum in Aegyptum ex Dei mandato proficiscebatur, contigit (vide Exodi ca v. 24), et quod argentum ad prophetandum accipiebat,

idem Shamuël faciebat (vide Shamuël. lib. 1 ca v. 7-8), et si in aliqua re peccavit (de eo vide 2 Epist. Petr. ca v. 15-16 et Judae v. 11), *nemo adeo aequus, qui bene semper agat, et nunquam peccet* (vide Eccl. ca v. 20). Et sane ejus orationes multum semper apud Deum valere debuerunt, et ejus vis ad maledicendum certe magna admodum fuit, quandoquidem toties in Scriptura reperiatur, ad Dei magnam misericordiam erga Israëlitas testandum, quod Deus noluerit Bilhamum audire, et quod maledictionem in benedictionem converterit (vide Deut. ca v. 6, Jos. 24 v. 10, Neh. 13 v. 2) ; quare sine dubio Deo acceptissimus erat ; nam impiorum orationes, et maledicta Deum minime movent. Cum itaque hic verus propheta fuerit, et tamen ab Josua (ca v. 22) vocetur [heb.] *divinus*, sive *augur*, certum est, hoc nomen etiam in bonam partem sumi, et quos gentiles solebant vocare augures, et divinos, veros fuisse prophetas, et eos, quos Scriptura saepe acculat, et condemnat, pseudo-divinos fuisse, qui gentes sicut pseudo-prophetae Judaeos, decipiebant, quod etiam ex aliis Scripturae locis satis clare constat ; quare concludimus, donum propheticum Judaeis peculiare non fuisse, sed omnibus nationibus commune. Pharisei tamen contra acriter contendunt, hoc donum divinum suae tantum nationi peculiare fuisse, reliquas autem nationes ex virtute nescio quâ diabolicâ (quid tandem non finget superstitio) res futuras praedixisse. Praecipuum, quod ex Vetere Testamento adferunt, ad hanc opinionem ejus autoritate confirmandum, est illud Exod. ca v. 16, ubi Moses Deo ait, [heb.] *quânam enim re cognoscetur, me, et populum tuum invenisse gratiam in oculis tuis ? certe quando cum nobis ibis, et separabimur ego, et populus tuus ab omni populo, qui est in superficie terrae* ; hinc inquam inferre volunt, Mosen a Deo petiisse, ut Judaeis esset praesens, iisque prophetice sese revelaret, deinde ut hanc gratiam nulli alii nationi concederet. Ridiculum sane, quod Moses praesentiam Dei gentibus invideret, aut quod tale quid a Deo ausus esset petere. Sed res est, postquam Moses novit ingenium, et animum suae nationis contumacem, clare vidit, eos non sine maximis miraculis, et singulari Dei auxilio externo, res inceptas perficere posse ; imo eos necessario sine tali auxilio perituros ; adeoque ut constaret, Deum eos conservatos velle, hoc Dei singulare auxilium externum

petit. Sic enim ca v. 9 ait, *si inveni gratiam in oculis tuis Domine, eat, precor, Dominus inter nos, quoniam hic populus contumax est* etc. Ratio itaque, cur Dei singulare auxilium externum petit, est, quia populus erat contumax, et quod adhuc clarius ostendit, Mosen nihil praeter hoc singulare Dei auxilium externum petivisse, est ipsa Dei responsio ; respondit enim statim (v. 10 ejusdem capitis), *ecce ego pango foedus, coram toto populo tuo me facturum mirabilia, quae non fuerunt facta in tota terra, nec in omnibus gentibus* etc. Quare Moses hic de sola Hebraeorum electione, ut eam explicui, agit, nec aliud a Deo petiit. Attamen in Epistola Pauli ad Rom. alium textum reperio, qui me magis movet, nempe ca v. 1-2, ubi Paulus aliud, quam nos hic, docere videtur ; ait enim, *quae est igitur praestantia Judaei ? aut quae utilitas circumcisionis ? multa per omnem modum ; primum enim est, quod ei concredita sunt eloquia Dei*. Sed si ad Pauli doctrinam, quam praecipue docere vult, attendimus, nihil inveniemus, quod nostrae huic doctrinae repugnet, sed contra eadem, quae nos hic, docere : ait enim v. 29 ejusdem capitis, Deum, et Judaeorum, et gentium Deum esse, et ca v. 25-26, *si circumcisum resiliat a lege, circumcisionem factam fore praeputium, et contra, si praeputium observet mandatum legis, ejus praeputium reputari circumcisionem*. Deinde v. 9 ca et v. 15 ca ait omnes aequae Judaeos scilicet, et gentes sub peccato fuisse ; peccatum autem sine mandato, et lege non dari. Quare hinc evidentissime constat, legem omnibus absolute (quod supra etiam ex Job. ca v. 28 ostendimus) revelatam fuisse, sub quâ omnes vixerunt, nempe legem, quae solam veram virtutem spectat, non autem illam, quae pro ratione, et constitutione singularis cujusdam imperii stabilitur, et ad ingenium unius nationis accommodatur. Denique concludit Paulus, quoniam Deus omnium nationum Deus est, hoc est, omnibus aequae propitius, et omnes aequae sub lege, et peccato fuerant, ideo Deus omnibus nationibus Christum suum misit, qui omnes aequae a servitute legis liberaret, ne amplius ex mandato Legis, sed ex constanti animi decreto, bene agerent. Paulus itaque id, quod volumus, adamussim docet. Cum ergo ait, *Judaeis tantum Dei eloquia credita fuisse*, vel intelligendum est, quod iis tantum leges scripto, reliquis autem gentibus sola tantum revelatione, et conceptu concredita

fuerunt, vel dicendum (quandoquidem id, quod soli Judaei objicere poterant, propulsare studet), Paulum ex captu et secundum opiniones Judaeorum, tum temporis receptas, respondere ; nam ad ea, quae partim viderat, partim audiverat, edocendum, cum Graecis erat Graecus, et cum Judaeis Judaeus. Superest jam tantum, ut quorundam rationibus respondeamus, quibus sibi persuadere volunt, Hebraeorum electionem non temporaneam, et ratione solius imperii, sed aeternam fuisse : nam, ajunt, videmus Judaeos post imperii amissionem, tot annos ubique sparsos, separatosque ab omnibus nationibus, superstites esse, quod nulli alii Nationi contigit, deinde quod Sacrae Literae multis in locis docere videntur, Deum Judaeos in aeternum sibi elegisse, adeoque, tametsi imperium perdiderunt, nihilominus tamen Dei electos manere. Loca quae hanc aeternam electionem quam clarissime docere putant, sunt praecipue, I. v. 36 ca Jeremiae, ubi propheta semen Israël in aeternum gentem Dei mansurum testatur, comparando nimirum eos cum fixo coelorum et naturae ordine. II. Ezechiëlis ca v. 32 etc., ubi videtur velle, quod, quamvis Judaei data opera Dei cultui valedicere velint, Deus tamen eos ex omnibus regionibus, in quibus dispersi erant, recolliget, ducetque ad desertum populorum, sicuti eroum parentes ad Aegypti deserta duxit, et tandem inde, postquam eos a rebellibus et deficientibus selegerit, ad montem ejus sanctitatis, ubi tota Israël familia ipsum colet. Alia praeter haec adferri solent, praecipue a Pharisaeis, sed omnibus me satisfacturum puto, ubi hisce duobus respondero : quod levi negotio faciam, postquam ex ipsa Scriptura ostendero, Deum Hebraeos in aeternum non elegisse, sed tantum eadem conditione, quâ ante Canahanitas elegerit, qui etiam, ut supra ostendimus, pontifices habuerunt, qui Deum religiose colebant, et quos tamen Deus propter eorum luxum, et socordiam, et malum cultum rejecit. Moses enim in Levitico ca v. 27-28 monet Israëlitas, ne incestis polluantur, veluti Canahanitae, ne ipsos terra evomat, sicuti evomuit illas gentes, quae illa loca inhabitabant. Et Deut. ca v. 19-20 ipsis expressissimis verbis totalem ruinam minatur. Sic enim ait, [heb.] *testor vobis hodie, quod absolute peribitis, sicuti gentes, quas Deus ex vestrâ praesentiâ perire facit, sic peribitis.* Et ad hunc modum alia in Lege reperiuntur, quae expresse indicant, Deum non

absolute, neque in aeternum Hebraeam nationem elegerit. Si itaque Prophetae iis novum, et aeternum foedus Dei cognitionis, amoris, et gratiae praedixerunt, id piis tantum promitti facile convincitur ; nam in eodem Ezechiëlis capite, quod modo citavimus, expresse dicitur, quod Deus ab iis separabit rebelles, et deficientes, et Tsephoniae ca v. 12-13, quod Deus superbos auferet e medio, et pauperes superstites faciet, et quia haec electio veram virtutem spectat, non putandum est, quod piis Judaeorum tantum, caeteris exclusis, promissa fuerit, sed plane credendum gentiles veros prophetas, quos omnes nationes habuisse ostendimus, eandem etiam fidelibus suarum Nationum promisisse, eosque eadem solatos fuisse. Quare hoc aeternum foedus Dei cognitionis, et amoris universale est, etiam ex Tsephoniae ca v. 10-11 evidentissime constat, adeoque hac in re nulla est admittenda differentia inter Judaeos, et gentes, neque igitur etiam alia electio iis peculiaris praeter illam, quam jam ostendimus. Et quod prophetae, dum de hac electione, quae solam veram virtutem spectat, multa de sacrificiis, et aliis caeremoniis, Templi, et Urbis reaedificatione misceant, pro more, et natura prophetiae res spirituales sub talibus figuris explicare voluerunt, ut Judaeis, quorum erant prophetae, imperii, et Templi restorationem, tempore Cyri expectandam, simul indicarent. Quare hodie Judaei nihil prorsus habent, quod sibi supra omnes nationes tribuere possint. Quod autem tot annos dispersi absque imperio perstiterint, id minime mirum, postquam se ab omnibus nationibus ita separaverunt, ut omnium odium in se converterint, idque non tantum ritibus externis, ritibus caeterarum nationum contrariis, sed etiam signo circumcisionis, quod religiosissime servant. Quod autem nationum odium eos admodum conservet, id jam experientia docuit. Cum rex Hispaniae olim Judaeos coëgit regni religionem admittere, vel in exilium ire, perplurimi Judaei pontificiorum religionem admiserunt ; sed quia iis, qui religionem admiserunt, omnia Hispanorum naturalium privilegia concessa sunt, iique omnibus honoribus digni existimati sunt, statim ita se Hispanis immiscuerunt, ut pauco post tempore nullae eorum reliquiae manserint, neque ulla memoria. At plane contra iis contigit, quos rex Lusitanorum religionem sui imperii admittere coëgit, qui semper, quamvis ad

religionem conversi, ab omnibus separati vixerunt, nimirum quia eos omnibus honoribus indignos declaravit. Signum circumsicionis etiam hac in re tantum posse existimo, ut mihi persuadeam, hoc unum hanc nationem in aeternum conservaturum, imo nisi fundamenta suae religionis eorum animos effoeminarent, absolute crederem, eos aliquando, data occasione, ut sunt res humanae mutabiles, suum imperium iterum erecturos, Deumque eos de novo electurum. Cujus etiam rei exemplum praeclarum habemus in Chinensibus, qui etiam comma aliquod in capite religiosissime servant, quo se ab omnibus aliis separant, et ita separati tot annorum millia se conservaverunt, ut antiquitate reliquas omnes nationes longe superent ; nec semper imperium ostinuerunt, attamen illud amissum recuperaverunt, et sine dubio iterum recuperabunt, ubi Tartarorum animi prae luxu divitiarum, et socordia languescere incipient. Denique si quis vellet defendere, Judaeos hac, vel alia de causa a Deo in aeternum electos fuisse, non ipsi repugnabo, modo statuatur, hanc electionem, vel temporaneam, vel aeternam, quatenus ea tantum Judaeis peculiaris est, non respicere, nisi imperium, et corporis commoditates (quandoquidem hoc solum unam nationem ab alia distinguere potest), at ratione intellectus, et verae virtutis nullam nationem ab alia distingui, adeoque his in rebus nec a Deo unam prae alia eligi.

Caput IV



De lege divina

Legis nomen absolute sumptum significat id, secundum quod unumquodque individuum, vel omnia vel aliquot ejusdem speciei una, eademque certa ac determinata ratione agunt ; ea vero vel a necessitate naturae, vel ab hominum placito dependet : Lex, quae a necessitate naturae dependet, illa est, quae ex ipsa rei natura sive definitione necessario sequitur ; ab hominum placito autem, et quae magis proprie jus appellatur, est ea, quam homines ad tutius, et commodius vivendum, vel ob alias causas, sibi et aliis praescribunt. Ex. gr. quod omnia corpora, ubi in alia minora impingunt, tantum de suo motu amittunt, quantum aliis communicant, lex est universalis omnium corporum, quae ex necessitate naturae sequitur. Sic etiam, quod homo, cum unius rei recordetur, statim recordetur alterius similis, vel quam simul cum ipsa perceperat, lex est, quae ex naturâ humanâ necessario sequitur. At quod homines de suo jure, quod ex natura habent, cedant, vel cedere cogantur, et certae rationi vivendi sese adstringant, ex humano placito pendet. Et quamvis absolute concedam omnia ex legibus universalibus naturae determinari ad existendum, et operandum, certa, ac determinata ratione, dico tamen has leges ex placito hominum pendere. I. Quia homo, quatenus pars est naturae, eatenus partem potentiae naturae constituit ; quae igitur ex necessitate naturae humanae sequuntur, hoc est, ex natura ipsa, quatenus eam per naturam humanam determinatam concipimus, ea, etiamsi necessario, sequuntur tamen ab humanâ potentiâ, quare sanctionem istarum legum ex hominum placito pendere optime dici potest, quia praecipue a potentia humanae mentis ita pendet, ut nihilominus humana mens, quatenus res sub ratione veri, et falsi percipit, sine hisce legibus clarissime concipi possit, at non sine lege necessaria, ut modo ipsam

definivimus. II. Has leges ex placito hominum pendere etiam dixi, quia res per proximas suas causas definire, et explicare debemus, et illa universalis consideratio de fato, et concatenatione causarum, minime nobis inservire potest ad nostras cogitationes circa res particulares formandas, atque ordinandas. Adde, quod nos ipsam rerum coordinationem, et concatenationem, hoc est, quomodo res revera ordinatae, et concatenatae sunt, plane ignoremus, adeoque ad usum vitae melius, imo necesse est, res ut possibiles considerare. Haec de lege absolute considerata.

Verum enimvero quoniam nomen legis per translationem ad res naturales applicatum videtur, et communiter per legem nihil aliud intelligitur, quam mandatum, quod homines et perficere, et negligere possunt, utpote, quia potentiam humanam sub certis limitibus, ultra quos se extendit, constringit, nec aliquid supra vires imperat ; ideo Lex particularius definienda videtur, nempe, quod sit ratio vivendi, quam homo sibi, vel aliis ob aliquem finem praescribit. Attamen, quoniam verus finis legum paucis tantum patere solet, et perplurimum homines ad eum percipiendum fere inepti sunt, et nihil minus quam ex ratione vivunt, ideo legislatores, ut omnes aequae constringerent, alium finem, longe diversum ab eo, qui ex legum natura necessario sequitur, sapienter statuerunt, nempe legum propugnatoribus promittendo id, quod vulgus maxime amat, et contra iis, qui eas violarent, minitando id, quod maxime timet ; sicque conati sunt vulgum, tanquam equum fraeno, quoad ejus fieri potest, cohibere ; unde factum est, ut pro lege maxime haberetur ratio vivendi, quae hominibus ex aliorum imperio praescribitur : et consequenter ut ii, qui legibus otemperant, sub lege vivere dicantur, et servire videantur, et revera qui unicuique suum tribuit, quia patibulum timet, is ex alterius imperio et malo coactus agit, nec justus vocari potest ; at is, qui unicuique suum tribuit, ex eo quod veram legum rationem, et earum necessitatem novit, is animo constanti agit, et ex proprio, non vero alieno decreto, adeoque justus merito vocatur : quod etiam Paulum docere voluisse puto, cum dixit, eos, qui sub lege vivebant, per legem justificari non potuisse ; justitia enim, ut communiter definitur, est constans et perpetua voluntas jus suum cuique

tribuendi ; et ideo Salomon ca v. 15 Prov. ait, Justum laetari, cum sit Judicium, iniquos autem pavere. Cum itaque Lex nihil aliud sit, quam ratio vivendi, quam homines ob aliquem finem sibi, vel aliis praescribunt, ideo Lex distinguenda videtur in humanam, et divinam ; per humanam intelligo rationem vivendi, quae ad tutendam vitam, et rempublicam tantum inservit ; per divinam autem, quae solum summum bonum, hoc est, Dei veram cognitionem, et amorem spectat. Ratio, cur hanc legem voco divinam, est propter summi boni naturam, quam hic paucis, et quam clare potero, jam ostendam.

Cum melior pars nostri sit intellectus, certum est, si nostrum utile revera quaerere velimus, nos supra omnia debere conari, ut eum quantum fieri potest, perficiamus ; in ejus enim perfectione summum nostrum bonum consistere debet. Porro quoniam omnis nostra cognitio, et certitudo, quae revera omne dubium tollit, a sola Dei cognitione dependet, tum quia sine Deo nihil esse, neque concipi potest, tum etiam, quia de omnibus dubitare possumus, quam diu Dei nullam claram, et distinctam habemus ideam, hinc sequitur, summum nostrum bonum, et perfectionem a sola Dei cognitione pendere etc. Deinde cum nihil sine Deo nec esse, nec concipi possit, certum est, omnia, quae in natura sunt, Dei conceptum, pro ratione suae essentiae suaeque perfectionis involvere, atque exprimere, ac proinde nos, quo magis res naturales cognoscimus, eo majorem, et perfectiorem Dei cognitionem acquirere ; vel (quoniam cognitio effectus per causam nihil aliud est, quam causae proprietatem aliquam cognoscere) quo magis res naturales cognoscimus, eo Dei essentiam (quae omnium rerum causa est) perfectius cognoscere ; atque adeo tota nostra cognitio, hoc est, summum nostrum bonum, non tantum a Dei cognitione dependet, sed in eadem omnino consistit : quod etiam ex hoc sequitur, quod homo pro natura, et perfectione rei, quam prae reliquis amat, eo etiam perfectior est, et contra : adeoque ille necessario perfectissimus est, et de summa beatitudine maxime participat, qui Dei, entis nimirum perfectissimi, intellectualem cognitionem supra omnia amat, eâdemque maxime delectatur. Huc itaque nostrum summum bonum, nostraque beatitudo redit, in cognitionem scilicet et amorem Dei. Media igitur, quae hic finis omnium

humanarum actionum, nempe ipse Deus, quatenus ejus idea in nobis est; exigit, jussa Dei vocari possunt, quia quasi ab ipso Deo, quatenus in nostra mente existit, nobis praescribuntur, atque adeo ratio vivendi, quae hunc finem spectat, lex Divina optime vocatur. Quaenam autem haec media sint, et quaedam ratio vivendi, quam hic finis exigit, et quomodo hunc optimae reipublicae fundamenta sequantur, et ratio vivendi inter homines, ad universalem Ethicam pertinet. Hic non nisi de lege divina in genere pergam agere.

Cum itaque amor Dei summa hominis foelicitas sit, et beatitudo, et finis ultimus, et scopus omnium humanarum actionum, sequitur eum tantum legem divinam sequi, qui Deum amare curat, non ex timore supplicii, nempe prae amore alterius rei, ut deliciarum, famae etc., sed ex eo solo, quod Deum novit, sive quod novit, Dei cognitionem, et amorem, summum esse bonum. Legis igitur divinae summae, ejusque summum praeceptum est, Deum ut summum bonum amare, nempe ut jam diximus, non ex metu alicujus supplicii, et poenae, nec prae amore alterius rei, quâ delectari cupimus : hoc enim idea Dei dictat, Deum summum esse nostrum bonum, sive Dei cognitionem, et amorem, finem esse ultimum, ad quem omnes actiones nostrae sunt dirigendae. Homo tamen carnalis haec intelligere nequit, et ipsi vana videntur, quia nimis jejunam Dei habet cognitionem, et etiam quia in hoc summo bono nihil repperit, quod palpet, comedat, aut denique quod carnem, quâ maxime delectatur, afficiat, utpote, quod in sola speculatione, et pura mente consistit. At ii, qui norunt se nihil intellectu, et sana mente praestantius habere, haec, sine dubio, solidissima judicabunt. Explicuimus itaque, in quo potissimum lex divina consistit, et quaenam sint leges humanae, nempe omnes illae, quae alium scopum collimant, nisi ex revelatione fancitae fuerint ; nam hac etiam consideratione res ad Deum referuntur (ut supra ostendimus), et hoc sensu lex Mosis, quamvis non universalis, sed maxime ad ingenium et singularem conservationem unius populi accommodata fuerit, vocari tamen potest Lex Dei, sive Lex divina ; quandoquidem credimus, eam lumine prophetico fancitam fuisse. Si jam ad Naturam legis divinae naturalis, ut eam modo explicuimus, attendamus, videbimus, I. eam esse universalem, sive omnibus hominibus

communem ; eam enim ex universali humanâ naturâ deduximus ; II. eam non exigere fidem historiarum, quaecumque demum eae fuerint, nam quandoquidem haec Lex divina naturalis ex sola consideratione humanae naturae intelligatur, certum est, nos eam aequè concipere posse in Adamo, ac alio quocunque homine, aequè in homine, qui inter homines vivit, ac in homine, qui solitariam vitam agit. Nec fides historiarum, quantumvis certa, Dei cognitionem, et consequenter nec etiam Dei amorem nobis dare potest ; amor enim Dei ab ejus cognitione oritur ; ejus autem cognitio ex communibus notionibus per se certis, et notis hauriri debet, quare longe abest, ut fides historiarum requisitum sit necessarium, ut ad summum nostrum bonum perveniamus. Attamen, quamvis fides historiarum Dei cognitionem et amorem nobis dare nequeat, earum tamen lectionem, ratione vitae civilis, perutilem esse, non negamus ; quo enim hominum mores, et conditiones, quae ex nulla re melius, quam ex eorum actionibus nosci possunt, observaverimus, et melius noverimus, eo inter ipsos cautius vivere, nostrasque actiones, et vitam eorum ingenio, quantum ratio fert, melius accommodare poterimus. Videmus III. hanc legem divinam naturalem non exigere caeremonias, hoc est, actiones, quae in se indifferentes sunt, et solo instituto bonae vocantur, vel, quae aliquod bonum ad salutem necessarium repraesentant, vel, si mavis, actiones, quarum ratio captum humanum superat ; nihil enim lumen naturale exigit, quod ipsum lumen non attingit, sed id tantum, quod nobis clarissime indicare potest, bonum, sive medium ad nostram beatitudinem esse : Quae autem ex solo mandato, et instituto bona sunt, vel ex eo, quod alicujus boni sint repraesentamina, ea nostrum intellectum perficere nequeunt, nec aliud, nisi merae umbrae sunt, nec inter actiones, quae quasi proles, aut fructus intellectus, et sanae mentis sunt, numerari possunt. Quod hic non opus est, prolixius ostendere. IV. Denique vidimus summum legis divinae praemium esse, ipsam legem, nempe Deum cognoscere, eumque ex vera libertate, et animo integro et constante amare, poenam autem, horum privationem, et carnis servitutem, sive animum inconstantem, et fluctuantem. His sic notatis inquirendum jam est, I. num lumine naturali concipere possumus, Deum veluti legislatorem, aut principem leges

hominibus praescribentem ; II. quid Sacra Scriptura de lumine, et lege hac naturali doceat ; III. quem ad finem caeremoniae olim institutae fuerunt ; IV. denique quid referat sacras historias scire, et eis credere ? De primis duobus in hoc capite, de duobus autem ultimis in sequente agam. Quid circa primum statuendum sit, facile deducitur ex natura voluntatis Dei, quae a Dei intellectu non nisi respectu nostrae rationis distinguitur, hoc est, Dei voluntas, et Dei intellectus in se revera unum et idem sunt ; nec distinguuntur, nisi respectu nostrarum cogitationum, quas de Dei intellectu formamus. Exempli gratia, cum ad hoc tantum attendimus, quod natura trianguli in natura divina ab aeterno continetur, tanquam aeterna veritas, tum dicimus Deum trianguli ideam habere, sive naturam trianguli intelligere ; sed cum postea ad hoc attendimus, quod natura trianguli sic in natura divina continetur, ex sola necessitate divinae naturae, et non ex necessitate essentiae et naturae trianguli, imo, quod necessitas essentiae, et proprietatum trianguli, quatenus etiam ut aeternae veritates concipiuntur, a sola necessitate divinae naturae et intellectus pendeat, et non ex natura trianguli, tum id ipsum, quod Dei intellectum vocavimus, Dei voluntatem sive decretum appellamus. Quare respectu Dei unum et idem affirmamus, cum dicimus, Deum ab aeterno decrevisse, et voluisse tres angulos trianguli aequales esse duobus rectis, vel Deum hoc ipsum intellexisse. Unde sequitur, Dei affirmationes et negationes aeternam semper necessitatem sive veritatem involvere. Si itaque, exempli gratia, Deus Adamo dixit, se nolle, ut de arbore cognitionis boni et mali comederet, contradictionem implicaret, Adamum de illa arbore posse comedere, adeoque impossibile foret, ut Adamus de ea comederet ; nam divinum illud decretum aeternam necessitatem et veritatem debuisset involvere. Verum quoniam Scriptura tamen narrat, Deum id Adamo praecepisse, et nihilominus Adamum de eadem comedisse, necessario dicendum est, Deum Adamo malum tantum revelavisse, quod eum necessario sequeretur, si de illa arbore comederet, at non necessitatem consecutionis illius mali : Unde factum est, ut Adamus illam revelationem non ut aeternam et necessariam veritatem perceperit, sed ut legem, hoc est, ut institutum, quod lucrum aut damnum sequitur, non ex necessitate et

natura actionis patratae, sed ex solo libitu et absoluto imperio alicujus Principis. Quare illa revelatio respectu solius Adami, et propter solum defectum ejus cognitionis lex fuit, Deusque quasi legislator aut Princeps. Et hac etiam de causa, nempe ob defectum cognitionis, Decalogus, respectu Hebraeorum tantum, lex fuit ; nam quoniam Dei existentiam ut aeternam veritatem non noverant, ideo id, quod ipsis in Decalogo revelatum fuit, nempe Deum existere, Deumque solum adorandum esse, tanquam legem percipere debuerunt : quod si Deus nullis mediis corporeis adhibitis, sed immediate iis loquutus fuisset, hoc ipsum non tanquam legem, sed tanquam aeternam veritatem percepissent. Atque hoc, quod de Israëlitis et Adamo dicimus, de omnibus etiam Prophetis, qui nomine Dei leges scripserunt, dicendum, videlicet, quod Dei decreta non adaequate, ut aeternas veritates perceperunt. Ex. gr. de ipso Mose etiam dicendum est, eum ex revelatione vel ex fundamentis ei revelatis percepisse modum, quo populus Israëliticus in certa mundi plaga optime uniri posset, et integram societatem formare, sive imperium erigere ; deinde etiam modum, quo ille populus optime posset cogi ad obediendum, sed non percepisse, nec ipsi revelatum fuisse, modum illum optimum esse, neque etiam, quod ex populi communi obedientiâ in tali mundi plaga necessario sequeretur scopus, ad quem collimabant. Quapropter haec omnia non ut aeternas veritates, sed ut praecepta et instituta percepit, et tanquam Dei leges praescripsit ; et hinc factum est, ut Deum rectorem, legislatorem, regem, misericordem, justum etc. imaginaretur ; cum tamen haec omnia solius humanae naturae sint attributa, et a natura divina prorsus removenda : atque hoc inquam de solis Prophetis dicendum, qui nomine Dei leges scripserunt, non autem de Christo ; de Christo enim, quamvis is etiam videatur leges Dei nomine scripsisse, sentiendum tamen est, eum res vere et adaequate percepisse : nam Christus non tam Propheta, quam os Dei fuit. Deus enim per mentem Christi (ut in cap. I ostendimus) sicuti ante per Angelos, nempe per vocem creatam, visiones etc. quaedam humano generi revelavit. Quapropter aequè a ratione alienum esset, statuere Deum suas revelationes opinionibus Christi accommodavisse, ac, quod Deus antea suas revelationes opinionibus angelorum, hoc est, vocis creatae, et

visionum accommodaverit, ut res revelandas Prophetis communicaret, quo quidem nihil absurdius statui posset ; praesertim cum non ad solos Judaeos, sed totum humanum genus docendum missus fuerit, adeoque non satis erat, ut mentem opinionibus Judaeorum tantum accommodatam haberet, sed opinionibus et documentis humano generi universalibus, hoc est, notionibus communibus, et veris. Et sane ex hoc, quod Deus Christo, sive ejus menti sese immediate revelaverit, et non ut Prophetis, per verba, et imagines, nihil aliud intelligere possumus, quam quod Christus res revelatas vere percepit, sive intellexit ; tum enim res intelligitur, cum ipsa purâ mente extra verba et imagines percipitur. Christus itaque res revelatas vere et adequate percepit ; si igitur eas tanquam leges unquam praescripsit, id propter populi ignorantiam et pertinaciam fecit ; quare hac in re vicem Dei gessit, quod sese ingenio populi accommodavit, et ideo, quamvis aliquantulum clarius, quam caeteri Prophetae loquutus sit, obscure tamen, et saepius per parabolas res revelatas docuit, praesertim quando iis loquebatur, quibus nondum datum erat, intelligere regnum coelorum (vide Matth. ca v. 10 etc.), et sine dubio eos, quibus datum erat mysteria coelorum noscere, res ut aeternas veritates docuit, non vero ut leges praescripsit, et hac ratione eos a servitute legis liberavit, et nihilominus legem hoc magis confirmavit et stabilivit, eorumque cordibus penitus inscripsit. Quod etiam Paulus quibusdam in locis indicare videtur : nempe Epistol. ad Rom. ca v. 6 et ca v. 28. Attamen nec ille etiam aperte loqui vult, sed, ut ipse ait ca v. 5 et ca v. 19 ejusdem Epistolae, humano more loquitur, quod expresse dicit, cum Deum justum vocat, et sine dubio etiam propter carnis imbecillitatem Deo misericordiam, gratiam, iram, etc. affingit, et ingenio plebis, sive (ut ipse etiam ait ca v. 1-2 Epistol. 1 ad Corinth.) hominum carnalium sua verba accommodat : nam ca v. 18 epist. ad Rom. absolute docet, Dei iram, ejusque misericordiam non ab humanis operibus, sed a sola Dei vocatione, hoc est, voluntate pendere ; deinde quod ex operibus legis nemo fiat justus, sed ex sola fide (vide ep. ad Rom. ca v. 28), per quam sane nihil aliud intelligit, quam plenum animi consensum, et denique, quod nemo fiat beatus, nisi mentem Christi in se habeat (vide Epist. ad Rom. ca v. 9), quâ scilicet leges Dei,

ut aeternas veritates percipiat. Concludimus itaque, Deum non nisi ex captu vulgi, et ex solo defectu cogitationis tanquam legislatorem aut principem describi, et justum, misericordem, etc. vocari, Deumque revera ex solius suae naturae, et perfectionis necessitate agere, et omnia dirigere, et ejus denique decreta, et volitiones aeternas esse veritates, semperque necessitatem involvere : idque est, quod primo in loco explicare, et ostendere constitueram. Ad secundum igitur transeamus, et Sacram Paginam percurramus, et quid ipsa de lumine naturali et lege hac divina docet, videamus. Primum, quod nobis occurrit, est ipsa primi hominis historia, ubi narratur, Deum Adamo praecepisse, ne comederet de fructu arboris cognitionis boni et mali, quod significare videtur, Deum Adamo praecepisse bonum agere, et quaerere sub ratione boni, et non quatenus contrarium est malo, hoc est, ut bonum ex amore boni quaereret, non autem ex timore mali : qui enim, ut jam ostendimus, bonum agit ex vera boni cognitione et amore, libere et constanti animo agit, qui autem ex timore mali, is malo coactus, et serviliter agit, et sub imperio alterius vivit, atque adeo hoc unicum, quod Deus Adamo praecipit, totam legem divinam naturalem comprehendit, et cum dictamine luminis naturalis absolute convenit, nec difficile esset, totam istam primi hominis historiam, sive parabolam ex hoc fundamento explicare ; sed malo id missum facere, cum quia non possum absolute esse certus, num mea explicatio cum scriptoris mente conveniat, tum quia plerique non concedunt, hanc historiam esse parabolam, sed plane statuunt, eam simplicem narrationem esse. Praestabilius erit igitur, alia Scripturae loca in medium adferre, illa praesertim, quae ab eo dictata sunt, qui ex vi luminis naturalis, quo omnes sui aevi sapientes superavit, loquitur, et cujus sententias aequae sancte, ac Prophetarum amplexus est populus ; Salomonem puto, cujus non tam Prophetia et pietas, quam prudentia et sapientia in sacris commendatur. Is in suis Proverbiis vocat humanum intellectum verae vitae fontem, et infortunium in sola stultitia constituit. Sic enim ait ca v. 22 [heb.] *fons vitae (est) intellectus sui domini , et supplicium stultorum est stultitia* ; ubi notandum, quod per vitam absolute hebraice vera vita intelligatur, ut patet ex Deut. ca v. 19. Fructum igitur intellectus in solâ verâ vitâ constituit, et supplicium

in sola ejus privatione, quod quidem absolute convenit cum eo, quod IV. loco notavimus circa legem divinam naturalem : quod autem hic fons vitae, sive, quod solus intellectus, ut etiam ostendimus, leges sapientibus praescribit, aperte ab eodem hoc sapiente docetur ; ait enim ca v. 14 [heb.] *Lex prudentis (est) fons vitae*, id est, ut ex modo allato textu patet, intellectus. Porro ca v. 13 expressissimis verbis docet, intellectum hominem beatum et foelicem reddere, veramque animi tranquillitatem dare. Sic enim ait [heb.] *beatus homo, qui invenit scientiam, et filius hominis, qui intelligentiam eruit*. Ratio est (ut v. 16-17 pergit), quia *directe dat dierum longitudinem , indirecte divitias et honorem ; ejus viae* (quas nimirum scientia indicat) *amoenae sunt, et omnes ejus semitae pax*. Soli igitur sapientes ex sententia etiam Salomonis animo pacato et constante vivunt, non ut impii, quorum animus contrariis affectibus fluctuat, adeoque (ut Esaias etiam ait ca v. 20) pacem, neque quietem habent. Denique in his Salomonis Proverbiis maxime nobis notanda sunt, quae habentur in secundo cap., utpote quae nostram sententiam quam clarissime confirmant ; sic enim v. 3 ejusdem cap. incipit [heb.] *nam si prudentiam inclamabis, et intelligentiae dederis vocem tuam, etc., tunc timorem Dei intelliges, et Dei scientiam* (vel potius amorem ; nam haec duo verbum [heb.] *Jadah* significat) *invenies ; nam (NB) Deus dat sapientiam : ex ore suo* (manat) *scientia et prudentia*. Quibus sane verbis clarissime indicat, I. quod sola sapientia, sive intellectus nos doceat, Deum sapienter timere, hoc est, vera religione colere. Deinde docet, sapientiam, et scientiam ex Dei ore fluere, Deumque illam dare, quod quidem nos etiam supra ostendimus, nempe, quod noster intellectus nostraque scientia a sola Dei idea sive cognitione pendeat, oriatur, et perficiatur. Pergit deinde v. 9 expressissimis verbis docere, hanc scientiam veram Ethicam, et Politicam continere, et ex ea deduci, [heb.] *tunc intelliges Justitiam, et Judicium, et rectitudines, (et) omnem bonam semitam*, nec his contentus pergit, [heb.] *quando intrabit scientia in cor tuum, et sapientia tibi erit suavis ; tum tua providentia tibi vigilabit, et prudentia te custodiet*. Quae omnia cum scientia naturali plane conveniunt ; haec enim Ethicam docet, et veram virtutem, postquam rerum cognitionem acquisivimus, et scientiae

praestantiam gustavimus. Quare foelicitas, et tranquillitas ejus, qui naturalem intellectum colit, ex mente Salomonis etiam, non ab imperio fortunae (hoc est Dei auxilio externo), sed a sua interna virtute (sive Dei auxilio interno) maxime pendet, nempe, quia vigilando, agendo, et bene consulendo se maxime conservat. Denique nequaquam hic praetereundus est locus Pauli, qui habetur ca v. 20 Epist. ad Rom., ubi (ut Tremellius vertit ex Syriaco textu) sic ait, *occulta enim Dei, a fundamentis mundi, in creaturis suis per intellectum conspiciuntur, et virtus et divinitas ejus, quae est in aeternum, adeo ut sint sine effugio*. Quibus satis clare indicat, unumquemque lumine naturali clare intelligere Dei virtutem, et aeternam divinitatem, ex qua scire et deducere possunt, quid iis quaerendum, quidve fugiendum sit, adeoque concludit, omnes sine effugio esse, nec ignorantia excusari posse, quod profecto possent, si de lumine supra naturali loqueretur, et de carnali Christi passione, et resurrectione etc. Et ideo paulo infra v. 24 sic pergit, *propter hoc tradidit eos Deus in concupiscentias immundas cordis eorum* etc. usque ad finem capitis, quibus vitia ignorantiae describit, eaque tanquam ignorantiae supplicia enarrat, quod plane convenit cum Proverbio illo Salomonis ca v. 22, quod jam citavimus, nempe, [heb.] *et supplicium stultorum est stultitia*. Quare non mirum, quod dicat Paulus maleficos esse inexcusabiles : Nam prout unusquisque seminat, ita metet, ex malis mala necessario sequuntur, nisi sapienter corrigantur, et ex bonis bona, si animi constantia comitetur. Scriptura itaque lumen, et legem divinam naturalem absolute commendat ; atque his, quae in hoc capite agere proposueram, absolvi.

Caput V



De ratione, cur caeremoniae institutae fuerint,
et de fide historiarum, nempe, qua ratione,
et quibus ea necessaria sit

In superiore capite ostendimus, legem divinam, quae homines vere beatos reddit, et veram vitam docet, omnibus esse hominibus universalem ; imo eam ex humana natura ita deduximus, ut ipsa humanae menti innata, et quasi inscripta existimanda sit. Cum autem caeremoniae, eae saltem, quae habentur in Vetere Testamento, Hebraeis tantum institutae, et eorum imperio ita accommodatae fuerint, ut maxima ex parte ab universa societate, non autem ab unoquoque exerceri potuerint, certum est, eas ad legem divinam non pertinere, adeoque nec etiam ad beatitudinem et virtutem aliquid facere ; sed eas solam Hebraeorum electionem, hoc est (per ea, quae in tertio capite ostendimus) solam corporis temporaneam foelicitatem, et imperii tranquillitatem respicere, proptereaque nonnisi stante eorum imperio, ullius usus esse potuisse. Si eae igitur in Vetere Testamento ad legem Dei referebantur, id propterea tantum fuit, quia ex revelatione vel ex fudamentis revelatis institutae fuerunt. Verum quia ratio tametsi solidissima apud communes theologos non multum valet, lubet hic haec, quae modo ostendimus Scripturae etiam autoritate confirmare ; et deinde ad majorem perspicuitatem ostendere, qua ratione, et quomodo caeremoniae ad imperium Judaerorum stabiliendum et conservandum inserviebant. Esaias nihil clarius docet, quam quod lex divina absolute sumpta significet illam legem universalem, quae in verâ vivendi ratione consistit, non autem caeremonias. Capite enim I v. 10 propheta gentem suam vocat ad Legem divinam ex se audiendam, ex qua prius

omnia sacrificiorum genera secludit, et omnia festa, et tandem legem ipsam docet (vide v. 16-17), atque his paucis comprehendit, nempe in purificatione animi, et virtutis sive bonarum actionum usu seu habitu, et denique inopi auxilium ferendo. Nec minus luculentum testimonium est illud Psalmi 40 v. 7-9 ; hic enim Psalter Deum alloquitur [heb.] *sacrificium et munus non voluisti , aures mihi persodisti, holocaustum, et peccati oblationem non petiisti ; tuam voluntatem exequi, mi Deus, volui ; nam lex tua est in meis visceribus*. Vocat igitur illam tantum legem Dei, quae visceribus, vel menti inscripta est, et ab ea caeremonias secludit ; nam eae ex solo instituto, et non ex natura sunt bonae, adeoque neque mentibus inscriptae. Praeter haec alia adhuc in Scriptura reperiuntur, quae idem testantur, sed haec duo attulisse sufficit. Quod autem caeremoniae nihil ad beatitudinem juvent, sed quod tantum imperii temporaneam foelicitatem respiciant, etiam ex ipsa Scriptura constat, quae pro caeremoniis nihil nisi corporis commoda, et delicias promittit, et pro sola lege divina universali beatitudinem. In quinque enim libris, qui Mosis vulgo dicuntur, nihil aliud, ut supra diximus, promittitur, quam haec temporanea foelicitas, nempe honores, sive fama, victoriae, divitiae, deliciae, et valetudo. Et quamvis quinque illi libri, praeter caeremonias, multa moralia contineant, haec tamen in iis non continentur, tanquam documenta moralia, omnibus hominibus universalia, sed tanquam mandata ad captum, et ingenium solius hebraeae nationis maxime accommodata, et quae adeo etiam solius imperii utilitatem spectant. Ex gr. Moses non tanquam doctor aut propheta Judaeus docet, ne occidant neque furentur, sed haec tanquam legislator et princeps jubet ; non enim documenta ratione comprobant, sed jussibus poenam addit, quae pro ingenio uiscusque nationis variare potest et debet, ut experientia satis docuit. Sic etiam jussum de non committendo adulterio, solius rei publicae et imperii utilitatem respicit ; nam si documentum morale docere voluisset, quod non solam reipublicae utilitatem, sed animi tranquillitatem, et veram uniuscujusque beatitudinem respiceret, tum non tantum actionem externam, sed et ipsum animi consensum damnaret, ut Christus fecit, qui documenta universalia tantum docuit (vide Matth. ca v. 28), et hac de causa Christus praemium spirituale, non autem ut

Moses corporeum promittit ; nam Christus, uti dixi, non ad imperium conservandum, et leges instituendum, sed ad solam legem universalem docendum missus fuit ; et hinc facile intelligimus, Christum legem Mosis minime abrogavisse, quandoquidem Christus nullas novas leges in rempublicam introducere voluerit, nec aliud magis curaverit, quam documenta moralia docere, eaque a legibus Reipublicae distinguere, idque maxime propter Pharisaeorum ignorantiam, qui putabant, illum beate vivere, qui jura Reipublicae sive legem Mosis defendebat ; cum tamen ipsa, uti diximus, nullam nisi Reipublicae rationem habuerit, nec tam ad Hebraeos docendum, quam cogendum inserviverit. Sed ad nostrum propositum revertamur, et alia Scripturae loca, quae pro caeremoniis nihil praeter corporis commoda, et pro solâ lege divina universali beatitudinem promittunt, in medium proferamus. Inter prophetas nemo clarius quam Esaias hoc docuit ; hic enim ea, postquam hypocrisin damnavit, libertatem, et charitatem erga se, et proximum commendat, et pro his haec promittit [heb.] *tunc erumpet sicuti aurora lux tua, et tua sanitas protinus efflorescet, et ibit ante te justitia tua, et gloria Dei te aggregabit* etc. Post haec sabbatum etiam commendat, pro cuius in observando diligentia, hoc promittit [heb.] *tunc cum Deo delectaberis, et te quitare faciam super excelsa terrae, et faciam, ut comedas haereditatem Jacobi, tui patris, ut os Jehovae locutum est*. Videmus itaque prophetam pro libertate, et charitate mentem sanam in corpore sano, Deique gloriam etiam post mortem promittere : pro caeremoniis autem nihil nisi imperii securitatem, prosperitatem, et corporis foelicitatem. In Psalmis 15 et 24 nulla fit caeremoniarum mentio, sed tantum documentorum moralium, nimirum, quia in iis de sola beatitudine agitur, eaque sola proponitur, quamvis tamen parabolice ; nam certum est, ibi per montem Dei, ejusque tentoria, et horum inhabitationem, beatitudinem, et animi tranquillitatem, non vero montem Hierosolymae, neque Mosis tabernaculum intelligi ; haec enim loca a nemine inhabitabantur, nec nisi ab iis, qui ex sola tribu Levi erant, administrabantur. Porro omnes etiam illae Salomonis sententiae, quas in superiore capite attuli, pro solo cultu intellectus et sapientiae, veram promittunt beatitudinem, nempe, quod ex ea tandem timor Dei

intelligetur, et Dei scientia invenietur. Quod autem Hebraei post destructum eorum imperium non tenentur caeremonias exercere, patet ex Jeremia, qui, ubi urbis vastationem prope instare vidit, et praedicat, ait *Deum eos tantum diligere, qui sciunt et intelligunt, quod ipse exercet misericordiam, iudicium, et justitiam in mundo ; adeoque in posterum non nisi eos, qui haec norunt, laude dignos aestimandos esse* (vide ca v. 23), quasi diceret, Deum post urbis vastationem nihil singulare a Judaeis exigere, nec aliud ab iisdem in posterum petere praeter legem naturalem, quâ omnes mortales tenentur. Novum praeterea Testamentum hoc ipsum plane confirmat, in eo enim, uti diximus, documenta tantum moralia docentur, et pro iis regnum coeleste promittitur, caeremonias autem, postquam Euangelium aliis etiam gentibus, qui alterius Reipublicae jure tenebantur, praedicari incepit, missas fecerunt apostoli ; quod autem Pharisei post amissum imperium eas, aut saltem magnam earum partem retinuerint, id magis animo Christianis adversandi, quam Deo placendi fecerunt. Nam post primam urbis vastationem, cum Babylonem captivi ducti fuerunt, quia tum in sectas non erant, quod sciam, divisi, statim caeremonias neglexerunt, imo toti legi Mosis valedixerunt, patriaeque jura oblivioni, ut plane superflua, tradiderunt, et se cum caeteris nationibus immiscere inceperunt, ut ex Hezdra, et Nehemia satis superque constat ; quare non dubium est, quin Judaei, jam post dissolutum imperium, lege Mosis non magis teneantur, quam antequam eorum societas, et Respublica inceperit ; dum enim inter alias Nationes, ante exitum ex Aegypto vixerunt, nullas leges peculiares habuerunt, nec ullo, nisi naturali jure, et sine dubio, etiam jure Reipublicae, in qua vivebant, quatenus legi divinae naturali non repugnabat, tenebantur. Quod autem Patriarchae Deo sacrificaverunt, id fecisse puto, ut suum animum, quem a pueritia sacrificiis assuetum habebant, magis ad devotionem incitarent ; omnes enim homines a tempore Enos sacrificiis plane consueverant, ita ut iis solis maxime ad devotionem incitarentur. Patriarchae igitur non ex jure aliquo divino imperante, vel ex universalibus fundamentis legis divinae edocti, sed ex sola illius temporis consuetudine, Deo sacrificaverunt, et si ex alicujus mandato id fecerunt, mandatum illud nullum aliud fuit, quam jus Reipublicae, in

quâ vivebant, quo etiam (ut jam hic, et etiam capite tertio, cum de Malkitsedek loquuti sumus, notavimus) tenebantur.

His puto, me meam sententiam Scripturae autoritate confirmavisse ; superest jam ostendere, quomodo et qua ratione caeremoniae inserviebant ad imperium Hebraeorum conservandum, et stabiliendum ; quod quam paucissimis potero, ex universalibus fundamentis ostendam. Societas non tantum ad secure ab hostibus vivendum, sed etiam ad multarum rerum compendium faciendum, perutilis est, et maxime etiam necessaria ; nam, nisi homines invicem operam mutuam dare velint, ipsis et ars, et tempus deficeret ad se, quoad ejus fieri potest, sustentandum, et conservandum. Non enim omnes ad omnia aequae apti sunt, nec unusquisque potis esset ad ea comparandum, quibus solus maxime indiget. Vires, et tempus, inquam, unicuique deficerent, si solus deberet arare, feminare, metere, molere, coquere, texere, fuere, et alia perplurima, ad vitam sustentandum efficere, ut jam taceam artes, et scientias, quae etiam ad perfectionem humanae naturae, ejusque beatitudinem sunt summe necessariae. Videmus enim eos, qui barbarae sine politiâ vivunt, vitam miseram, et paene brutalem agere, nec tamen pauca illa, misera et impolita, quae habent, sine mutua opera, qualis qualis ea sit, sibi comparant. Jam si homines a natura ita essent constituti, ut nihil nisi id, quod vera ratio indicat, cuperent, nullis sane legibus indigeret societas, sed absolute sufficeret, homines vera documenta moralia docere, ut sponte integro et liberali animo id, quod vere utile est, agerent. Verum longe aliter cum humana natura constitutum est ; omnes quidem suum utile quaerunt, at minime ex sanae rationis dictamine, sed perplurimum ex sola libidine, et animi affectibus abrepti (qui nullam temporis futuri, aliarumque rerum rationem habent) res appetunt, utilesque judicant. Hinc fit, ut nulla societas possit subistere, absque imperio, et vi, et consequenter legibus, quae hominum libidinem, atque effraenatum impetum moderentur, et cohibeant : non tamen humana natura patitur absolute se cogi, ut Seneca Tragicus ait, violenta imperia nemo continuit diu ; moderata durant : quamdiu enim homines ex solo metu agunt, tamdiu id, quod maxime nolunt, faciunt, nec rationem utilitatis et necessitatis rei agenda tenent, sed id tantum curant, ne

capitis, aut supplicii rei sint scilicet. Imo non possunt malo, aut damno imperatoris, quamvis cum suo magno etiam malo non tamen laetari, ipsique omnia mala non cupere, et, ubi poterunt, adferre. Homines deinde nihil minus pati possunt, quam suis aequalibus servire, et ab iis regi. Denique nihil difficilius, quam libertatem hominibus semel concessam iterum adimere. Ex his sequitur primo, quod vel tota societas, si fieri potest, collegialiter imperium tenere debet, ut sic omnes sibi, et nemo suo aequali servire teneatur, vel, si pauci, aut unus solus imperium teneat, is aliquid supra communem humanam naturam habere, vel saltem summis viribus conari debet, vulgo id persuadere. Deinde leges in quocunque imperio ita institui debent, ut homines non tam metu, quam spe alicujus boni, quod maxime cupiunt, retineantur ; hoc enim modo unusquisque cupide suum officium faciet. Denique quoniam obedientia in eo consistit, quod aliquis mandata ex sola imperantis auctoritate exequatur, hinc sequitur eandem in societate, cujus imperium penes omnes est, et leges ex communi consensu sanciantur, nullum locum habere, et, sive in tali societate leges augeantur, vel minuantur, populum nihilominus aequae liberum manere, quia non ex auctoritate alterius, sed ex proprio suo consensu agit. At contra accidit, ubi unus solus imperium absolute tenet ; nam omnes ex sola auctoritate unius mandata imperii exequuntur, adeoque, nisi ita ab initio educati fuerint, ut ab ore imperantis pendeant, difficile is poterit, ubi opus erit, novas leges instituere, et libertatem semel concessam populo adimere.

His sic universaliter consideratis, ad Hebraeorum rempublicam descendamus. Hi cum primum Egypto exiverunt, nullo alterius nationis jure amplius tenebantur, adeoque iis licebat, novas leges ad libitum sancire, sive nova jura constituere, et imperium, ubicunque locorum vellent, tenere et, quas terra vellent, occupare. Attamen ad nihil minus erant apti, quam ad jura sapienter constituendum, et imperium penes sese collegialiter retinendum ; rudis fere ingenii omnes erant, et misera servitute confecti. Imperium igitur penes unum tantum manere debuit, qui caeteris imperaret, eosque vi cogeret, et qui denique leges praescriberet, et imposterum eas interpretaretur. Hoc autem imperium Moses facile retinere potuit,

quia divina virtute supra caeteros excellibat, et se eam habere populo persuasit, multisque testimoniis ostendit (vide Exodi ca. vers. ultimo, et ca. v. 9) ; is itaque virtute, qua pollebat, divinâ jura constituit, et populo praescipuit : at in iis summam curam gessit, ut populus, non tam metu, quam spontè suum officium faceret ; ad quod haec duo eum maxime cogeant, populi scilicet ingenium contumax (quod sola vi cogi non patitur), et instans bellum ; ubi, ut res prospere cedant, milites magis hortari, quam poenis, et minis territare necesse est : sic enim unusquisque magis studet virtute, et magnanimitate animi clarere, quam supplicium tantum vitare. Hac igitur de causâ Moses virtute, et jussu divino religionem in rempublicam introduxit, ut populus non tam ex metu, quam devotione suum officium faceret. Deinde eos beneficiis obligavit, et divinitus multa in futurum promisit, nec leges admodum severas sancivit, quod unusquisque, qui iis studuit, facile nobis concedet, praecipue si ad circumstantias, quae ad aliquem reum damnandum requirebantur, attenderit. Denique, ut populus, qui sui juris esse non poterat, ab ore imperantis penderet, nihil hominibus scilicet servituti assuetis ad libitum agere concessit ; nihil enim populus agere poterat, quin simul teneretur legis recordari, et mandata exequi, quae a solo imperantis arbitrio pendebant ; non enim ad libitum, sed secundum certum, et determinatum jussum legis licebat arare, seminare, metere, item nec aliquid comedere, induere, neque caput, et barbam radere, neque laetari, nec absolute aliquid agere licebat, nisi secundum jussa, et mandata in legibus praescripta, nec hoc tantum, sed etiam in postibus, manibus, et inter oculos signa quaedam habere tenebantur, quae eos semper obedientiam monerent. Hic igitur scopus caeremoniarum fuit, ut homines nihil ex proprio decreto, sed omnia ex mandato alterius agerent, et continuis actionibus, et meditationibus faterentur, se nihil prorsus sui, sed omnino alterius juris esse : ex quibus omnibus luce clarius constat, caeremonias ad beatitudinem nihil facere, et illas Veteris Testamenti, imo totam legem Mosis nihil aliud, quam Hebraeorum imperium, et consequenter nihil praeter corporis commoda spectavisse. Quod autem ad christianorum caeremonias attinet, nempe baptismum, coenam dominicam, festa, orationes externas, et si quae adhuc aliae,

quae toti christianismo communes sunt, semperque fuerunt, si eae unquam a Christo, aut ab apostolis institutae sunt (quod adhuc mihi non satis constat), eae nonnisi ut universalis Ecclesiae signa externa institutae sunt, non autem ut res, quae ad beatitudinem aliquid faciunt, vel quae aliquid sanctimoniae in se habeant ; quare, quamvis hae caeremoniae non ratione imperii, ratione tamen integrae societatis tantum institutae sunt ; adeoque ille, qui solus vivit, iis minime tenetur ; imo, qui in imperio, ubi christiana religio interdicta est, vivit, is ab his caeremoniis abstinere tenetur, et nihilominus poterit beate vivere. Hujus rei exemplum in regno Japonensium habetur, ubi christiana religio interdicta est, et Belgae, qui ibi habitant, ex mandato societatis Indiae Orientalis ab omni externo cultu abstinere tenentur ; nec hoc alia autoritate jam confirmare puto ; et quamvis non difficile foret, hoc ipsum etiam ex fundamentis Novi Testamenti deducere, et forte claris insuper testimoniis ostendere, haec tamen libentius missa facio, quia ad alia festinat animus. Pergo itaque ad id, de quo secundo loco in hoc capite agere constitui ; scilicet quibus, et qua ratione fides historiarum in Sacris contentarum necessaria sit : Ut autem hoc lumine naturali investigetur, sic procedendum videtur.

Si quis hominibus aliquid suadere, vel dissuadere vult, quod per se notum non est, is, ut id iidem amplectantur, rem suam ex concessis deducere, eosque experientia vel ratione convincere debet, nempe ex rebus, quas per sensus experti sunt, in natura contingere, vel ex axiomatibus intellectualibus per se notis : at ni experientia talis sit, ut clare, et distincte intelligatur, quamvis hominem convincat, non tamen poterit ipsa intellectum aequae afficere, ejusque nebulas dissipare, ac cum res docenda ex solis axiomatibus intellectualibus, hoc est, ex sola virtute intellectus, ejusque in percipiendo ordine, deducitur, praesertim si quaestio de re spirituali, et quae sub sensus nullo modo cadit, sit. Verum quia ad res ex solis notionibus intellectualibus deducendum, longa perceptionum concatenatio saepissime requiritur, et praeterea etiam summa praecautio, ingenii perspicacitas, et summa continentia, quae omnia raro in hominibus reperiuntur, ideo homines ab experientia doceri malunt, quam omnes suas perceptiones ex paucis axiomatibus

deducere, et invicem concatenare ; unde sequitur, quod si quis doctrinam aliquam integram nationem, ne dicam, universum humanum genus docere, et ab omnibus in omnibus intelligi vult, is rem suam solâ experientiâ confirmare tenetur, rationeque suas, et rerum docendarum definitiones ad captum plebis, quae maximam humani generis partem componit, maxime accommodare, non autem eas concatenare, neque definitiones, prout ad rationes melius concatenandum inserviunt, tradere ; alias doctis tantum scribet, hoc est, a paucissimis tantum hominibus, si cum reliquis comparentur, poterit intelligi. Cum itaque tota Scriptura in usum integrae nationis prius, et tandem universi humani generis revelata fuerit, necessario ea, quae in ipsa continentur, ad captum plebis maxime accommodari debuerunt, et solâ experientiâ comprobari. Rem clarius explicemus. Quae Scriptura docere vult, quae solam speculationem spectant, haec potissimum sunt, nempe dari Deum, sive ens, quod omnia fecit, et summâ sapientiâ dirigit, et sustentat, et quod hominum summam habet curam, nempe eorum, qui piè et honestè vivant : reliquos autem multis suppliciis punit, et a bonis segregat. Atque haec Scriptura sola experientia comprobatur, nempe iis, quas narrat, historiis, nec ullas harum rerum definitiones tradit, sed omnia verba, et rationes captui plebis accommodat. Et quamvis experientia nullam harum rerum claram cognitionem dare possit, nec docere, quid Deus sit, et qua ratione res omnes sustentet, et dirigat, hominumque curam habeat, potest tamen homines tantum docere, et illuminare, quantum ad obedientiam, et devotionem eorum animis imprimendum sufficit. Atque ex his satis clare constare puto, quibus, et qua ratione fides historiarum in Sacris contentarum necessaria sit : ex modo ostensis enim evidentissime sequitur, earum notitiam, et fidem vulgo, cujus ingenium ad res clare, et distincte percipiendum non valet, summe esse necessariam. Deinde, eum, qui eas negat, quia non credit Deum esse, neque eum rebus, et hominibus providere, impium esse : qui autem eas ignorat, et nihilominus lumine naturali novit, Deum esse, et quae porro diximus, et deinde veram vivendi rationem habet, beatum omnino esse, imo vulgo beatiorem, quia praeter veras opiniones, clarum insuper, et distinctum habet conceptum : denique sequitur, eum, qui has historias

Scripturae ignorat, nec lumine naturali aliquid novit, si non impium, sive contumacem, inhumanum tamen esse, et paene brutum, nec ullum Dei donum habere. Verum hic notandum, nos cum dicimus, notitiam historiarum vulgo summe esse necessariam, non intelligere notitiam omnium prorsus historiarum, quae in Sacris Literis continentur, sed tantum earum, quae praecipue sunt, et quae solae, sine reliquis, doctrinam, quam modo diximus, evidentius ostendunt, hominumque animos maxime movere possunt. Nam, si omnes Scripture historiae necessariae essent ad ejus doctrinam probandam, nec conclusio elici posset, nisi ex universali consideratione omnium prorsus historiarum, quae in ipsa continentur, tum sane ejus doctrinae demonstratio, et conclusio non tantum plebis, sed absolute humanum captum, et vires superaret ; quis enim ad tam magnum numerum historiarum simul attendere posset, et ad tot circumstantias, et partes doctrinae, quae ex tot tamque diversis historiis deberet elici. Ego saltem mihi non possum persuadere, quod homines illi, qui nobis Scripturam, prout eam habemus, reliquerunt, tanto ingenio abundaverint, ut talem demonstrationem investigare potuerint, et multo minus, quod doctrina Scripturae non posset intelligi, nisi auditis litibus Isaaci, Achitophelis consiliis Absolomo datis, et bello civili Judaeorum, et Israëlitarum, et aliis ad hunc modum Chronicis ; aut quod primis Judaeis, qui tempore Mosis vixerunt, ipsa doctrina ex historiis non aeque facile demonstrari potuerit, ac iis, qui tempore Hesdrae vixerunt. Sed de his fusius in sequentibus. Vulgus itaque eas tantum historias, quae maxime eorum animos ad obedientiam et devotionem movere possunt, scire tenetur. At ipsum vulgus non satis aptum est ad faciendum de iis judicium, utpote quod magis narrationibus, et rerum singulari et inexpectato eventu, quam ipsa historiarum doctrinâ delectatur : atque hac de causa praeter lectionem historiarum Pastoribus sive Ecclesiae ministris insuper indiget, qui ipsum pro imbecillitate ejus ingenii doceant. Attamen ne a nostro proposito divagemur, sed id, quod praecipue intendebamus ostendere, concludamus, nempe fidem historiarum, quaecunque demus eae sint, ad legem divinam non pertinere, nec homines per se beatos reddere, neque ullam utilitatem, nisi ratione doctrinae, habere, qua sola ratione aliae historiae aliis

praestantiores possunt esse. Narrationes igitur in Vetere, et Novo Testamento contentae, reliquis profanis, & ipsae etiam inter se, unae aliis praestantiores sunt, pro ratione salutarium opinionum, quae ex iis sequuntur. Quare si historias Sacrae Scripturae legerit, eique in omnibus fidem habuerit, nec tamen ad doctrinam, quam ipsa iisdem docere intendit, attenderit, nec vitam emendaverit, perinde ipsi est, ac si Alcoranum, aut poëtarum fabulas scenicas, aut saltem communia chronica ea attentione, qua vulgus solet, legisset ; et contra, uti diximus, is, qui eas plane ignorat, et nihilominus salutare habet opiniones, veramque vivendi rationem, is absolute beatus est, et revera Christi Spiritum in se habet. At Judaei contra plane sentiunt ; statuunt enim veras opiniones, veramque vivendi rationem nihil prodesse ad beatitudinem, quamdiu homines eas ex solo lumine naturali amplectuntur, et non ut documenta Mosi propheticè revelata : hoc enim Maimonides ca Regum lege 11 aperte his verbis audet affirmare, [heb.] *omnis, qui ad se suscipit septem praecepta, et ea diligenter exequutus fuerit, is ex piis Nationum est, et haeres futuri mundi : videlicet si ipsa suscepit et exequutus fuerit, propterea, quod Deus ea in lege praeceperit, et quod nobis per Mosen revelaverit, quod filiis Noae eadem antea praecepta fuerunt, sed si ea a ratione ductus exequutus fuerit, hic non est incola, nec ex piis, nec ex scientibus Nationum.* Haec sunt verba Maimonidis, quibus R. Joseph filius Shem Tob in suo libro, quem vocat Kebod Elohim, seu *gloriam Dei* addit, quod quamvis Aristoteles (quem summam Ethicam scripsisse putat, et supra omnes aestimat) nihil eorum, quae ad veram Ethicam spectant, et quae etiam in sua Ethica amplexus est, omisisset, sed omnia diligenter exequutus fuisset, hoc tamen ipsi ad salutem prodesse non potuit, quia ea, quae docet, non amplexus est, ut documenta divina propheticè revelata, sed ex solo dictamine rationis. Verum haec omnia mera esse figmenta, et nullis rationibus, neque Scripturae autoritate suffulta, unicuique haec attente legenti satis constare existimo, quare ad eandem rem refutandum, ipsam recenfuisse sufficit ; nec etiam eorum sententiam hic refutare in animo est, qui nimirum statuunt, lumen naturale nihil sani de iis, quae ad veram salutem spectant, docere posse ; hoc enim ipsi, qui nullam sanam rationem sibi

concedunt, nulla etiam ratione probare possunt ; et si aliquid supra rationem se habere venditant, id merum est figmentum, et longe infra rationem, quod jam satis eorum communis vivendi modus indicavit. Sed de his non est opus apertius loqui. Hoc tantum addam, nos neminem, nisi ex operibus cognoscere posse ; qui itaque his fructibus abundaverit, scilicet charitate, gaudio, pace, longanimitate, benignitate, bonitate, fide, mansuetudine, et continentia, adversus quos (ut Paulus in epistola ad Galatas ca v. 22 ait) lex non est posita, is, sive ex sola ratione, sive ex sola Scriptura edoctus sit, a Deo revera edoctus est, et omnino beatus. His itaque omnia, quae circa legem divinam agere constitueram, absolvi.

Caput VI



DE MIRACULIS

Sicuti scientiam illam, quae captum humanum superat, divinam, sic opus, cujus causa vulgo ignoratur, divinum, sive Dei opus vocare consueverunt homines : vulgus enim tum Dei potentiam et providentiam quam clarissime constare putat, cum aliquid in natura insolitum, et contra opinionem, quam ex consuetudine de naturâ habet, contingere videt ; praesertim si id in ejus lucrum aut commodum cesserit, et ex nulla re clarius existentiam Dei probari posse existimat, quam ex eo, quod natura, ut putant, suum ordinem non servet ; et propterea illos omnes Deum, aut saltem Dei providentiam tollere putant, qui res, et miracula per causas naturales explicant, aut intelligere student : Existimant scilicet, Deum tamdiu nihil agere, quamdiu natura solito ordine agit, et contra, potentiam naturae et causas naturales tamdiu esse otiosas, quamdiu Deus agit ; duas itaque potentias numero ab invicem distinctas imaginantur, scilicet, potentiam Dei, et potentiam rerum naturalium, a Deo tamen certo modo determinatam, vel (ut plerique magis hodierno tempore sentiunt) creatam. Quid autem per utramque, et quid per Deum et naturam intelligant, nesciunt sane, nisi quod Dei potentiam tanquam regiae cujusdam majestatis imperium, naturae autem tanquam vim et impetum imaginentur. Vulgus itaque opera naturae insolita vocat miracula, sive Dei opera, et partim ex devotione, partim ex cupiditate adversandi iis, qui scientias naturales colunt, rerum causas naturales nescire cupit, et ea tantum audire gestit, quae maxime ignorat, quaeque propterea maxime admiratur. Videlicet, quia nulla alia ratione, nisi causas naturales tollendo, resque extra naturae ordinem imaginando, Deum adorare, omniaque ad ejus imperium et voluntatem referre potest, nec Dei potentiam magis admiratur, nisi dum potentiam naturae a Deo quasi subactam

imaginatur. Quod quidem originem duxisse videtur a primis Judaeis, qui ut Ethnicos sui temporis, qui Deos visibiles adorabant, videlicet Solem, Lunam, Terram, Aquam, Aërem etc. convincerent, iisque ostenderent, Deos illos imbecilles et inconstantes, sive mutabiles, et sub imperio Dei invisibilis esse, miracula sua narrabant, quibus insuper conabantur ostendere, totam naturam ex Dei, quem adorabant, imperio in eorum tantum commodum dirigi, quod quidem hominibus adeo arrisit, ut in hoc usque tempus miracula fingere non cessaverint, ut ipsi Deo dilectiores reliquis, causaque finalis, propter quam Deus omnia creavit, et continuo dirigit, crederentur. Quid sibi vulgi stultitia non arrogat, quod nec de Deo, nec de natura ullum sanum habet conceptum, quod Dei placita cum hominum placitis confundit, et quod denique naturam adeo limitatam fingit, ut hominem ejus praecipuam partem esse credat. His vulgi de natura, et miraculis opiniones, et praejudicia satis prolixè enarravi ; attamen, ut rem ordine edoceam, ostendam I. Nihil contra naturam contingere, sed ipsam aeternum fixum, et immutabilem ordinem servare, et simul, quid per miraculum intelligendum sit. II. Nos ex miraculis, nec essentiam nec existentiam, et consequenter, nec providentiam Dei posse cognoscere, sed haec omnia longe melius percipi ex fixo et immutabili naturae ordine. III. Ex aliquot Scripturae exemplis ostendam, ipsam Scripturam per Dei decreta et volitiones, et consequenter providentiam nihil aliud intelligere, quam ipsum naturae ordinem, qui ex ejus aeternis legibus necessario sequitur. IV. Denique de modo miracula Scripturae interpretandi, et de iis, quae praecipue circa miraculorum narrationes notari debeant, agam. Et haec praecipua sunt, quae ad hujus capitis argumentum spectant, et quae praeterea ad intentum totius hujus operis non parum inservire existimo. Ad primum quod attinet, id facile ostenditur ex iis, quae in cap. IV circa legem divinam demonstravimus ; nempe, omne id, quod Deus vult sive determinat, aeternam necessitatem et veritatem involvere ; ostendimus enim ex eo, quod Dei intellectus a Dei voluntate non distinguitur, idem nos affirmare, cum dicimus Deum aliquid velle, ac cum dicimus, Deum id ipsum intelligere ; quare eadem necessitate, qua ex natura et perfectione divina sequitur, Deum rem aliquam, ut est, intelligere, ex eadem

sequitur, Deum eandem, ut est, velle. Cum autem nihil, nisi ex solo divino decreto necessario verum sit, hinc clarissime sequitur, leges naturae universales mera esse decreta Dei, quae ex necessitate et perfectione naturae divinae sequuntur. Si quid igitur in natura contingeret, quod ejus universalibus legibus repugnaret, id decreto, et intellectui, et naturae divinae necessario etiam repugnaret ; aut si quis statueret, Deum aliquid contra leges naturae agere, is simul etiam cogeretur statuere, Deum contra suam naturam agere, quo nihil absurdius. Idem etiam facile ex hoc posset ostendi, quod nimirum potentia naturae sit ipsa divina potentia et virtus ; divina autem potentia sit ipsissima Dei essentia, sed hoc impraesentiarum libentius omitto. Nihil igitur in natura contingit, quod ipsius legibus universalibus repugnet ; at nec etiam aliquid, quod cum iisdem non convenit, aut ex iisdem non sequitur : nam quicquid fit, per Dei voluntatem et aeternum decretum fit, hoc est, ut jam ostendimus, quicquid fit, id secundum leges et regulas, quae aeternam necessitatem et veritatem involvunt, fit ; natura itaque leges et regulas, quae aeternam necessitatem et veritatem involvunt, quamvis omnes nobis notae non sint, semper tamen observat, adeoque etiam fixum atque immutabilem ordinem ; nec ulla sana ratio suadet, naturae limitatam potentiam et virtutem tribuere, ejusque leges ad certa tantum, et non ad omnia aptas, statuere ; nam, cum virtus, et potentiae naturae sit ipsa Dei virtus et potentia, leges autem et regulae naturae ipsa Dei decreta, omnino credendum est, potentiam naturae infinitam esse, ejusque leges adeo latas, ut ad omnia, quae ab ipso divino intellectu concipiuntur, se extendant ; alias enim, quid aliud statuitur, quam quod Deus naturam adeo impotentem creaverit, ejusque leges et regulas adeo steriles statuerit, ut saepe de novo ei subvenire cogatur, si eam conservatam vult, et ut res ex voto succedant, quod sane a ratione alienissimum esse existimo. Ex his itaque, quod in natura nihil contingit, quod ex ejus legibus non sequitur, et quod ejus leges ad omnia, quae et ab ipso divino intellectu concipiuntur, se extendunt, et quod denique natura fixum atque immutabilem ordinem servat, clarissime sequitur, nomen miraculi non nisi respective ad hominum opiniones posse intelligi, et nihil aliud significare, quam opus, cujus causam naturalem exemplo alterius rei solitae

explicare non possumus, vel saltem ipse non potest, qui miraculum scribit aut narrat. Possem quidem dicere, miraculum esse id, cujus causa ex principiis rerum naturalium lumine naturali notis explicari nequit ; verum, quoniam miracula ad captum vulgi facta fuerunt, quod quidem principia rerum naturalium plane ignorabat, certum est, antiquos id pro miraculo habuisse, quod explicare non poterant eo modo, quo vulgus res naturales explicare solet, recurrendo scilicet ad memoriam, ut alterius rei similis, quam sine admiratione imaginari solet, recordetur ; tum enim vulgus rem aliquam se satis intelligere existimat, cum ipsam non admiratur. Antiqui itaque, et omnes fere in hoc usque tempus nullam praeter hanc normam miraculi habuerunt ; quare non dubitandum, quin in Sacris Literis multa tanquam miracula narrentur, quorum causae ex principiis rerum naturalium notis facile possunt explicari, ut jam supra innuimus in cap. II, cum de eo, quod sol steterit tempore Josuae, et quod retrogradatus fuerit tempore Achaz, loquuti sumus ; sed de his mox prolixius agemus, nempe circa miraculorum interpretationem, de quâ in hoc capite agere promisi. Hic jam tempus est, ut ad secundum transeam, nempe ut ostendam, nos ex miraculis nec Dei essentiam, nec existentiam, nec providentiam posse intelligere, sed contra haec longe melius percipi ex fixo atque immutabili naturae ordine ; ad quod demonstrandum sic procedo. Cum Dei existentia non sit per se nota , debet necessario concludi ex notionibus, quarum veritas adeo firma et inconcussa sit, ut nulla dari neque concipi possit potentia, a qua possint immutari : nobis saltem ab eo tempore, quo ex iis Dei existentiam concludimus, ita apparere debent, si ex ipsis eam extra omnem dubitationis aleam concludere volumus : nam si possemus concipere, ipsas notiones ab aliqua potentia, quaecunque demum ea fuerit, mutari posse, tum de earum veritate dubitarem, et consequenter etiam de nostra conclusione, nempe de Dei existentia, nec de ulla re unquam poterimus esse certi. Deinde nihil cum natura convenire, vel ei repugnare scimus, nisi id, quod ostendimus, cum istis principiis convenire, vel iis repugnare ; quare, si concipere possemus aliquid in natura ab aliqua potentia (quaecunque demum ea fuerit) posse fieri, quod naturae repugnet, id primis istis notionibus repugnabit, adeoque id ut absurdum

rejiciendum, vel de primis notionibus (ut modo ostendimus) et consequenter de Deo, et de omnibus quomodocunque perceptis, dubitandum. Longe igitur abest, ut miracula, quatenus per id intelligitur opus, quod ordini naturae repugnet, nobis Dei existentiam ostendant, cum contra nos de eadem dubitare facerent, quando absque iis absolute de ipsa possemus esse certi, nempe quando scimus, omnia naturae certum atque immutabilem ordinem sequi. At ponatur, id esse miraculum, quod per causas naturales explicari non potest, quod quidem duobus modis potest intelligi, vel quod causas naturales quidem habet, quae tamen ab humano intellectu investigari non possunt, vel quod nullam causam, praeter Deum, sive Dei voluntatem agnoscit : Verum quia omnia, quae per causas naturales fiunt, ex sola Dei potentia et voluntate etiam fiunt, necessario huc tandem perveniendum, nempe, miraculum, sive id causas naturales habeat, sive minus, opus esse, quod per causam explicari non potest, hoc est opus, quod captum humanum superat ; sed ex opere, et absolute ex eo, quod nostrum captum superat, nihil intelligere possumus. Nam quicquid clare et distincte intelligimus, id per se, vel per aliud, quod per se clare et distincte intelligitur, nobis debet innotescere. Quare ex miraculo, sive opere, quod nostrum captum superat, nec Dei essentiam, nec existentiam, nec absolute aliquid de Deo, et naturâ intelligere possumus, sed contra, cum omnia a Deo determinata et sancita scimus esse, et operationes naturae ex Dei essentiâ consequi, naturae vero leges Dei aeterna decreta et volitiones esse, absolute concludendum, nos eo melius Deum, Deique voluntatem cognoscere, quo melius res naturales cognoscimus, et clarius intelligimus, quomodo a prima sua causa dependent, et quomodo secundum aeternas naturae leges operantur. Quare ratione nostri intellectus, longe meliore jure ea opera, quae clare et distincte intelligimus, Dei opera vocanda, et ad Dei voluntatem referenda, quam ea, quae plane ignoramus, quamvis imaginationem valde occupent, et homines in admirationem sui rapiant ; quandoquidem ea sola naturae opera, quae clare et distincte intelligimus, Dei cognitionem reddunt sublimiorem, et Dei voluntatem et decreta quam clarissime indicant ; ii igitur plane nugantur, qui, ubi rem ignorant, ad Dei voluntatem recurrunt ; ridiculus sane modus ignorantiam

profitendi. Porro quamvis ex miraculis aliquid concludere possemus, nullo tamen modo Dei existentia inde posset concludi. Nam, cum miraculum opus limitatum sit, nec unquam, nisi certam et limitatam potentiam exprimat, certum est, nos ex tali effectu non posse concludere existentiam causae, cujus potentia sit infinita, sed ad summum causae, cujus potentia major sit ; dico ad summum, potest enim etiam consequi ex multis causis simul concurrentibus opus aliquod, cujus quidem vis et potentia minor sit potentiâ omnium causarum simul, at longe major potentiâ uniuscujusque causae. At quoniam naturae leges (ut jam ostendimus) ad infinita se extendunt, et sub quadam specie aeternitatis a nobis concipiuntur, et natura secundum eas certo, atque immutabili ordine procedat, ipsae nobis eatenus Dei infinitatem, aeternitatem, et immutabilitatem aliquo modo indicant. Concludimus itaque, nos per miracula Deum, ejusque existentiam et providentiam cognoscere non posse, sed haec longe melius concludi ex naturae fixo atque immutabili ordine. Loquor in hac conclusione de miraculo, quatenus per id nihil aliud intelligitur, quam opus, quod hominum captum superat, aut superare creditur ; nam quatenus supponeretur ordinem naturae destruere, sive interrumpere, aut ejus legibus repugnare, eatenus (ut modo ostendimus) non tantum nullam Dei cognitionem dare posset, sed contra illam, quam naturaliter habemus, adimeret, et nos de Deo, et omnibus dubitare faceret. Neque hic ullam agnosco differentiam inter opus contra naturam, et opus supra naturam (hoc est, ut quidam ajunt, opus, quod quidem naturae non repugnat, attamen ab ipsa non potest produci, aut effici) ; nam cum miraculum non extra naturam, sed in ipsa natura fiat, quamvis supra naturam statuatur, tamen necesse est, ut naturae ordinem interrumpat, quem alias fixum atque immutabilem ex Dei decretis concipimus. Si quid igitur in natura fieret, quod ex ipsius legibus non sequeretur, id necessario ordini, quem Deus in aeternum per leges naturae universales in natura statuit, repugnaret, adeoque id contra naturam ejusque leges esset, et consequenter ejus fides nos de omnibus dubitare faceret, et ad atheismum duceret. Et his puto, me id, quod secundo intendebar, satis firmis rationibus ostendisse, ex quibus de novo concludere possumus, miraculum sive contra naturam, sive supra naturam, merum esse

absurdum ; et propterea per miraculum in Sacris Literis nihil aliud posse intelligi, quam opus naturae, uti diximus, quod captum humanum superat, aut superare creditur. Jam antequam ad III pergam, libet prius hanc nostram sententiam, nempe, quod ex miraculis Deum non possumus cognoscere, autoritate Scripturae confirmare ; et quamvis Scriptura hoc nullibi aperte doceat, facile tamen ex ipsa potest concludi, imprimis ex eo, quod Moses (Deut. ca) praecipit, ut prophetam seductorem, quamvis faciat miracula, mortis tamen damnetur : sic enim ait, [heb.] et (quamvis) *contigerit signum, et portentum, quod tibi praedixit etc., noli* (tamen) *assentire verbis ejus prophetae etc., quia Dominus vester Deus vos tentat etc. Propheta* (igitur) *ille mortis damnetur* etc. Ex quibus clare sequitur, miracula a falsis etiam prophetis posse fieri, et homines, nisi Dei vera cognitione et amore probe sint muniti, aequae facile ex miraculis falsos Deos, ac Verum posse amplecti. Nam addit [heb.] *quoniam Jehova vester Deus vos tentat, ut sciat, num eum amatis integro corde vestro, et animo vestro*. Deinde Israëlitae ex tot miraculis nullum de Deo sanum conceptum formare potuerunt, quod ipsa experientia testata est ; nam, cum sibi persuaderent, Mosen ab iis abiisse, numina visibilia ab Aharone petierunt, et vitulus, proh pudor ! eorum Dei fuit idea, quam tandem ex tot miraculis formaverunt. Asaph quamvis tot miracula audivisset, de Dei providentia tamen dubitavit, et fere a vera via deflexisset, nisi tandem veram beatitudinem intellexisset (vide Psal. 73). Salomon etiam, cujus tempore res Judaeorum in summo vigore erant, suspicatur omnia casu contingere. Vide Eccl. ca v. 19-21 et ca v. 2-3 etc. Denique omnibus fere prophetis hoc ipsum valde obscurum fuit, nempe, quomodo ordo naturae et hominum eventus cum conceptu, quem de providentia Dei formaverant, possent convenire, quod tamen philosophis, qui non ex miraculis, sed ex claris conceptibus res conantur intelligere, semper admodum clarum fuit, iis nimirum, qui veram foelicitatem in sola virtute, et tranquillitate animi constituunt, nec student, ut natura iis, sed contra, ut ipsi naturae pareant ; utpote qui certe sciunt, Deum naturam dirigere, prout ejus leges universales, non autem prout humanae naturae particulares leges exigunt, adeoque Deum non solius humani generis, sed totius naturae rationem

habere. Constat itaque etiam ex ipsa Scriptura, miracula veram Dei cognitionem non dare, nec Dei providentiam clare docere. Quod autem in Scriptura saepe reperitur, Deum portenta fecisse, ut hominibus innotesceret, ut in Exodi ca. v. 2 Deum Aegyptios illuisse, et signa sui dedisse, ut Israëlitae cognoscerent eum esse Deum, inde tamen non sequitur, miracula id revera docere, sed tantum sequitur, Judaeos tales habuisse opiniones, ut facile iis miraculis convinci possent ; supra enim in capite secundo clare ostendimus, rationes propheticas, sive quae ex revelatione formantur, non elici ex notionibus universalibus et communibus, sed ex concessis, quamvis absurdis, et opinionibus eorum, quibus res revelantur, sive quos Spiritus Sanctus convincere vult, quod multis exemplis illustravimus, et etiam testimonio Pauli, qui cum Graecis erat Graecus, et cum Judaeis Judaeus. Verum quamvis illa miracula Aegyptios, et Judaeos ex suis concessis convincere, non tamen veram Dei ideam, et cognitionem dare poterant, sed tantum facere, ut concederent, dari Numen, omnibus rebus, iis notis, potentius, deinde quod Hebraeos, quibus cum temporis omnia praeter spem foelicissime cesserunt, supra omnes curabat, non autem quod Deus omnes aequè curet ; nam hoc sola philosophia docere potest ; ideo Judaei et omnes, qui non nisi ex dissimili rerum humanarum statu et impari hominum fortuna Dei providentiam cognoverunt, sibi persuaserunt, Judaeos Deo dilectiores reliquis fuisse, quamvis tamen reliquos vera humana perfectione non superaverint, ut jam cap. III ostendimus. Ad tertium igitur pergo, ut scilicet ex Scriptura ostendam, Dei decreta et mandata, et consequenter providentiam nihil esse revera praeter naturae ordinem, hoc est, quando Scriptura dicit hoc vel illud a Deo vel Dei voluntate factum, nihil aliud revera intelligere, quam quod id ipsum secundum leges et ordinem naturae fuerit factum, non autem, ut vulgus opinatur, quod natura tamdiu cessavit agere, aut quod ejus ordo aliquamdiu interruptus fuit. At Scriptura ea, quae ad ejus doctrinam non spectant, directe non docet, quia ejus non est (ut circa legem divinam ostendimus) res per causas naturales, neque res mere speculativas docere : Quare id, quod hic volumus, ex quibusdam Scripturae Historiis, quae casu prolixius et pluribus circumstantiis narrantur, per consequentiam eliciendum est ;

talium itaque aliquot in medium proferam. In libro 1 Shamuëlis ca v. 15-16 narratur, quod Deus Shamuëli revelavit, se Saulum ad eum missurum ; nec tamen Deus eum ad Shamuëlem misit, ut homines solent aliquem ad alium mittere, sed haec Dei missio nihil aliud fuit, quam ipse naturae ordo ; quaerebat nimirum Saul (ut in praedicto capite narratur) asinas, quas perdiderat, et jam absque iis domum redire deliberans, ex consilio sui famuli Shamuëlem prophetam adivit, ut ex eo sciret, ubi easdem invenire posset, nec ex tota narratione constat, Saulum aliud Dei mandatum praeter hunc naturae ordinem habuisse, ut Shamuëlem adiret. In Psalm. 105 v. 24 dicitur, quod Deus Aegyptiorum animum mutavit, ut odio haberent Israëlitas, quae etiam mutatio naturalis plane fuit, ut patet ex ca Exodi, ubi ratio non levis Aegyptiorum narratur, quae eos movit, Israëlitas ad servitutem redigere. Ca Genes. v. 13 ait Deus Noae, se iridem in nube daturum, quae etiam Dei actio nulla sane alia est, nisi radiorum solis refractio et reflexio, quam ipsi radii in aquae guttulis patiuntur. Psalmo 147 v. 18 vocatur illa venti naturalis actio et calor, quo pruina et nix liquescunt, verbum Dei ; et v. 15 dictum Dei et verbum ventus et frigus vocantur. Ventus et ignis vocantur in Psalmo 104 v. 4 legati, et ministri Dei, et alia ad hunc modum plura in Scriptura reperiuntur, quae clarissime indicant, Dei decretum, jussum, dictum, et verbum nihil aliud esse, quam ipsam naturae actionem, et ordinem. [q]uare non dubium est, quin omnia, quae in Scriptura narrantur, naturaliter contigerint, et tamen ad Deum referuntur, quia Scripturae, ut jam ostendimus, non est, res per causas naturales docere, sed tantum eas res narrare, quae imaginationem late occupant, idque ea methodo, et stylo, qui melius inservit ad res magis admirandum, et consequenter ad devotionem in animis vulgi imprimendum. Si igitur quaedam in Sacris Literis reperiuntur, quorum causas reddere nescimus, et quae praeter, imo contra ordinem naturae videntur contigisse, ea moram nobis injicere non debent, sed omnino credendum, id, quod revera contigit, naturaliter contigisse ; quod etiam ex hoc confirmatur, quod in miraculis plures circumstantiae reperiiebantur, quamvis tamen non semper narrentur, praecipue cum stylo poëtico canantur ; circumstantiae, inquam, miraculorum clare ostendunt, ipsa causas naturales

requirere. Nempe ut Aegyptii scabie infestarentur, opus fuit, ut Moses favillam in aërem sursum spargeret (vide Exodi ca v. 10) ; locustae etiam ex mandato Dei naturali, nempe ex vento orientali integro die et nocte stante, Aegyptiorum regionem petierunt, et vento occidentali fortissimo eandem reliquerunt (vide Exod. ca v. 14,[-] 19). Eodem etiam Dei jussu mare viam Judaeis aperuit (vide Exod. ca v. 21), nempe Euro, qui fortissime integra nocte flavit. Deinde ut Elisa puerum, qui mortuus credebatur, excitaret, aliquoties puero incumbere debuit, donec prius incaluerit, et tandem oculos aperuit (vide Regum lib. 2 ca v. 34-35). Sic etiam in Euangelio Johannis ca quaedam narratur circumstantiae, quibus Christus usus est, ad sanandum caecum, et sic alia multa in Scripturis reperiuntur, quae omnia satis ostendunt, miracula aliud, quam absolutum Dei, ut ajunt, mandatum requirere. Quare credendum, quamvis circumstantiae miraculorum, eorumque naturales causae non semper, neque omnes enarrentur, miracula tamen non sine iisdem contigisse. Quod etiam constat ex Exodi ca v. 27, ubi tantum narratur, quod ex solo nutu Mosis mare iterum intumuit, nec ulla venti mentio fit. Et tamen in Cantico (ca v. 10) dicitur, id contigisse ex eo, quod Deus vento suo (id est, vento fortissimo) flaverit ; quare haec circumstantia in historia omittitur, et miraculum ea de causa majus videtur. At forsitan instabit aliquis, nos perplura in Scripturis reperire, quae nullo modo per causas naturales videntur posse explicari, ut quod peccata hominum, eorumque preces, possunt esse pluviae terraeque fertilitatis causa, aut quod fides caecos sanare potuit, et alia ad hunc modum, quae in Bibliis narrantur. Sed ad haec me jam respondiisse puto : ostendi enim, Scripturam res non docere per proximas suas causas, sed tantum res eo ordine, iisque phrasibus narrare, quibus maxime homines, et praecipue plebem ad devotionem movere potest, et hac de causa de Deo, et de rebus admodum improprie loquitur, quia nimirum non rationem convincere, sed hominum phantasiam et imaginationem afficere et occupare studet. Si enim Scriptura vastationem alicujus imperii, ut historici politici solent, narraret, id plebem nihil commoveret, at contra maxime, si omnia poëtice depingat et ad Deum referat, quod facere solet. Cum itaque Scriptura narrat, terram propter hominum peccata

sterilem esse, aut quod caeci ex fide sanabantur, ea nos non magis movere debent, quam cum narrat, Deum propter hominum peccata irasci, contristari, poenitere boni promissi et facti, aut quod Deus, ex eo quod signum videt, promissi recordetur et alia perplurima, quae vel poëtice dicta sunt, vel secundum scriptoris opiniones, et praejudicia relata. Quare hic absolute concludimus, omnia, quae in Scriptura vere narrantur contigisse, ea secundum leges naturae ut omnia necessario contigisse, et si quid reperiatur, quod apodictice demonstrari potest, legibus naturae repugnare, aut ex iis consequi non potuisse, plane credendum id a sacrilegis hominibus Sacris Literis adjectum fuisse ; quicquid enim contra naturam est, id contra rationem est, et quod contra rationem, id absurdum est, ac proinde etiam refutandum. Superest jam, tantum pauca adhuc de miraculorum interpretatione notare, vel potius recolligere (nam praecipua jam dicta sunt), et uno aut altero exemplo illustrare, quod hic quarto facere promisi, idque propterea volo, ne quis, miraculum aliquod male interpretando, temere suspicetur, se aliquid in Scriptura reperisse, quod lumini naturae repugnet. Raro admodum fit, ut homines rem aliquam, ut gesta est, ita simpliciter narrent, ut nihil sui iudicii narrationi immisceant. Imo, cum aliquid novi vident aut audiunt, nisi maxime a suis praeconceptis opinionibus caveant, iis plerumque ita praeoccupabantur, ut plane aliud, quam quod vident, aut contigisse audiunt, percipiant, praesertim si res acta captum narrantis, aut audientis superat, et maxime si ad ejus rem referat, ut ipsa certo modo contingat. Hinc sit, ut homines in suis chronicis et historiis magis suas opiniones, quam res ipsas actas narrent, et ut unus, idemque casus, a duobus hominibus, qui diversas habent opiniones, ita diverse narretur, ut non nisi de duobus casibus loqui videantur, et denique, ut saepe non admodum difficile sit, ex solis historiis opiniones chronographi et historici investigare. Ad hoc confirmandum multa adferre possem, tam philosophorum, qui historiam naturae scripserunt, quam chronographorum exempla, nisi id superfluum existimarem ; ex Sacra autem Scriptura unum tantum adferam, de reliquis lector ipse iudicet. Tempore Josuae Hebraei (ut jam supra monuimus) cum vulgo credebant, solem motu, ut vocant, diurno moveri, terram autem quiescere, et huic praeconceptae

opinionem miraculum, quod iis contigit, cum contra quinque illos reges pugnarent, adaptaverunt ; non enim simpliciter narraverunt, diem illum solito longiorem fuisse, sed solem et lunam stetisse, sive a suo motu cessavisse, quod ipsis etiam cum temporis non parum inservire poterat, ad Ethnicos, qui solem adorabant, convincendum et ipsa experientia comprobandum, solem sub alterius numinis imperio esse, ex cuius nutu ordinem suum naturalem mutare tenetur. Quare partim ex religione, partim ex praeconceptis opinionibus rem longe aliter, quam revera contingere potuit, conceperunt, atque enarraverunt. Igitur ad miracula Scripturae interpretandum, et ex eorum narrationibus intelligendum, quomodo ipsa revera contigerint, necesse est, opiniones eorum scire, qui ipsa primi narraverunt, et qui nobis ea scripto reliquerunt, et eas ab eo, quod sensus iis repraesentare potuerunt, distinguere ; alias enim eorum opiniones et iudicia cum ipso miraculo, prout revera contigit, confundemus : nec ad haec tantum, sed ne etiam confundamus res, quae revera contigerunt, cum rebus imaginariis, et quae non nisi repraesentationes prophetae fuerunt, eorum opiniones scire refert. In Scriptura enim multa, ut realia narrantur, et quae etiam realia esse credebantur, quae tamen non nisi repraesentationes, resque imaginariae fuerunt ; ut quod Deus (summum ens) e coelo descenderit (vide Exodi ca. v. 18 et Deut. ca. v. 19), et quod mons Sinai propterea fumabat, quia Deus supra eundem descenderat, igne circumdatus, quod Elias ad coelum igneo curru, et igneis equis ascenderit ; quae sane omnia non nisi repraesentationes fuerunt, adaptatae opinionibus eorum, qui eas nobis, ut iis repraesentatae sunt, nempe ut res actuales, tradiderunt. Omnes enim, qui aliquantulum supra vulgum sapiunt, sciunt, Deum non habere dextram, neque sinistram, neque moveri, neque quiescere, neque in loco, sed absolute infinitum esse, et in eo omnes contineri perfectiones. Haec, inquam, ii sciunt, qui res ex perceptionibus puri intellectus iudicant, et non prout imaginatio a sensibus externis afficitur, ut vulgus solet, quod ideo Deum corporeum, et imperium regum tenentem imaginatur, cuius solium in convexitate coeli supra stellas esse fingit, quarum a terra distantiam non admodum longam credit esse. Et his et similibus opinionibus (uti diximus) perplurimi Scripturae casus adaptati sunt, qui

proinde non debent ut reales a philosophis accipi. Refert denique ad miracula, ut realiter contigerint, intelligendum, Hebraeorum phrases et tropos scire ; qui enim ad ipsos non satis attenderit, multa Scripturae affinget miracula, quae ejus scriptores nunquam enanarre cogitaverunt, adeoque non tantum res et miracula, prout revera contigerint, sed mentem etiam authorum sacrorum codicum plane ignorabit. Ex. gr. Zacharias ca v. 7 de quodam bello futuro loquens, ait [heb.] *et dies erit unicus, Deo tantum notus, non (enim erit) dies neque nox, tempore autem vespertino lux erit.* Quibus verbis magnum miraculum praedicere videtur, et tamen iis nihil aliud significare vult, quam quod bellum toto die erit anceps, ejusque eventus Deo tantum notus, et quod tempore vespertino victoriam adipiscentur ; similibus enim phrasibus victorias et clades nationum praedicere et scribere solebant prophetae. Sicuti videmus Esaïam, qui ca vastationem Babiloniae sic depingit [heb.] *quoniam stellae coeli, ejusque fidera, non illuminabunt luce sua, sol in ortu suo tenebrescet, et luna non emittet splendorem suae lucis :* quae sane neminem credere existimo in vastatione illius imperii contigisse ; ut neque etiam ea, quae mox addit, nempe [heb.] *propterea coelos contremiscere faciam, et terra e suo loco dimovebitur.* Sic etiam Esaïas ca v. paenult., ut Judaeis significaret, eos Babilonia Hierosolymam secure redituros, neque in itinere sitim passuros, ait, [heb.] *et non sitiverunt, per deserta eos duxit, aquam ex petra iis instillare fecit, petram rupit, et fluxerunt aquae.* His inquam verbis nihil aliud significare vult, quam quod Judaei fontes in desertis, ut fit, invenient, quibus sitim suam mitigabunt ; nam cum ex consensu Cyri Hierosolymam petierunt, nulla similia miracula iis contigisse constat ; et ad hunc modum perplurima in Sacris Literis occurrunt, quae tantum modi loquendi inter Judaeos fuerunt, nec opus est, omnia hic singulatim recensere ; sed tantum hoc in genere notari velim, Hebraeos his phrasibus non tantum consuevisse ornate, sed etiam et quidem maxime, devote loqui. Hac enim de causa in Sacris Literis invenitur, *Deo benedicere pro maledicere* (vide lib. 1 Regum ca v. 10 et Job. ca v. 9), et eadem etiam de causa omnia ad Deum referebant, et ideo Scriptura nihil nisi miracula narrare videtur, idque, cum de rebus maxime naturalibus loquitur, cujus

rei exempla aliquot jam supra retulimus ; quare credendum, cum Scriptura dicit, Deum cor Pharaonis induravisse, nihil aliud tum significari, quam quod Pharaon fuit contumax. Et cum dicitur Deum fenestras coeli aperire, nihil aliud significat, quam quod multa aqua pluerit, et sic alia. Ad haec igitur, et, quod multa admodum breviter, sine ullis circumstantiis, et fere mutilate narrentur, si quis probe attenderit, nihil fere in Scriptura reperiet, quod possit demonstrari lumini naturae repugnare, et contra multa, quae obscurissima visa sunt, mediocri meditatione intelligere poterit et facile interpretari. Atque his existimo, me id, quod intenderam, satis clare ostendisse. Attamen antequam huic capiti finem dem, aliud adhuc restat, quod hic monere volo ; nempe, me alia prorsus methodo hic circa miracula processisse, quam circa prophetiam. De prophetia enim nihil affirmavi, nisi quod ex fundamentis in Sacris Literis revelatis concludere potui, at his praecipua ex solis principiis lumine naturali notis elicui, quod etiam consulto feci ; quia de prophetia, quandoquidem ipsa captum humanum superat, et quaestio mere theologica est, nihil affirmare, neque etiam scire poteram, in quo ipsa potissimum constiterit, nisi ex fundamentis revelatis ; atque adeo coactus tum sui historiam prophetiae concinare, et ex ea quaedam dogmata formare, quae me naturam prophetiae, ejusque proprietates, quoad fieri potest, docerent. At hic circa miracula, quia id, quod inquirimus (nempe an concedere possumus, aliquid in natura contingere, quod ejus legibus repugnet, aut quod ex iis non posset sequi) philosophicum plane est, nullo simili indegebam ; imo consultius duxi, hanc quaestionem ex fundamentis lumine naturali cognitis utpote maxime notis enodare. Dico, me id consultius duxisse : nam eam etiam ex solis Scripturae dogmatibus et fundamentis facile solvere potueram ; quod, ut unicuique pateat, hic paucis ostendam. Scriptura de natura in genere quibusdam in locis affirmat, eam fixum atque immutabilem ordinem servare, ut in Psal. 148 v. 6 et Jerem. ca v. 35-36. Philosophus praeterea in suo Eccl. ca v. 10 clarissime docet, nihil novi in natura contingere ; et v. 11-12 hoc idem illustrans, ait, quod, quamvis aliquando aliquid contingat, quod novum videtur, id tamen novum non est, sed in saeculis, quae antea fuerunt, et quorum nulla est memoria, contigit ; nam ut ipse ait,

antiquorum nulla est apud hodiernos memoria, nec ulla etiam hodiernorum apud posteros erit. Deinde ca v. 11 dicit, Deum omnia probe in eorum tempus ordinavisse, et v. 14 se novisse, ait, quod, quicquid Deus facit, id in aeternum permanebit, nec ei aliquid addi, nec de eo aliquid subtrahi posse ; quae omnia clarissime docent, naturam fixum atque immutabilem ordinem servare, Deum omnibus saeculis nobis notis et ignotis eundem fuisse, legesque naturae adeo perfectas et fertiles esse, ut iis nihil addi neque detrahi possit, et denique miracula, non nisi propter hominum ignorantiam, ut aliquid novi, videri. Haec igitur in Scriptura expresse docentur, at nullibi, quod in natura aliquid contingat, quod ipsius legibus repugnet, aut quod ex iis nequeat sequi, adeoque neque etiam Scripturae affingendum. At haec accedit, quod miracula causas et circumstantias requirant (ut jam ostendimus), et quod non sequantur ex nescio quo imperio regio; quod vulgus Deo affingit, sed ex imperio et decreto divino, hoc est (ut etiam ex ipsa Scriptura ostendimus), ex legibus naturae ejusque ordine, et quod denique miracula etiam a seductoribus fieri possint, ut convincitur ex ca Deut. et ca v. 24 Matthaei. Ex quibus porro evidentissime sequitur, miracula res naturales fuisse, atque adeo eadem ita explicanda, ut neque nova (ut Salomonis verbo utar) neque naturae repugnantia videantur, sed, si fieri potuit, ad res naturales maxime accedentia, quod ut facilius ab unoquoque possit fieri, quasdam regulas ex sola Scriptura petitas tradidi. Attamen, quamvis dicam, Scripturam haec docere, non tamen intelligo, haec ab eadem doceri tanquam documenta ad salutem necessaria, sed tantum quo prophetae haec eadem uti nos amplexi sunt ; quare de his unicuique, prout sibi melius esse sentiet, ad Dei cultum, et religionem integro animo suscipiendum, liberum est existimare. Quod etiam Josephus sentit ; sic enim in conclusione libri II Antiquit. scribit. *Nullus vero discredat verbo miraculi, si antiquis hominibus, et malitia privatis via salutis liquet per mare facta, sive voluntate Dei, sive sponte revelata : dum et eis, qui cum Alexandro rege Macedoniae fuerint olim, et antiquitus a resistentibus Pamphylicum mare divisum sit, et cum aliud iter non esset, transitum praebuit iis, volente Deo, per eum Persarum destruere principatum ; et hoc confitentur omnes, qui actus Alexandri*

scripserunt, de his itaque, sicut placuerit cuilibet, existimet. Haec sunt verba Josephi, ejusque de fide miraculorum iudicium.

Caput VII



DE INTERPRETATIONE SCRIPTURAE

Omnibus in ore quidem est, Sacram Scripturam verbum esse Dei, quod homines veram beatitudinem vel salutis viam docet : Verum re ipsa aliud planè indicant. Vulgus enim nihil minus curare videtur, quam ex documentis Sacrae Scripturae vivere, et omnes fere sua commenta pro Dei verbo venditare videmus, nec aliud studere, quam sub praetextu religionis caeteros cogere, ut secum sentiant. Videmus, inquam, Thelogos sollicitos plerumque fuisse, quomodo sua figmenta et placita ex Sacris Literis extorquere possent, et divina authoritate munire, nec aliud minore cum scrupulo majoreque cum temeritate agere, quam Scripturas sive Spiritus Sancti mentem interpretari, et si tum eos aliquid sollicitos habet, non est, quod verentur, ne Spiritui sancto aliquem errorem affingant, et a via salutis aberrant, sed ne erroris ab aliis convincantur, atque ita propria eorum sub pedibus jaceat authoritas, et ab aliis contemnantur. Quod si homines id, quod verbis de Scriptura testantur, ex vero animo dicerent, tum aliam prorsus vivendi rationem haberent, neque tot discordiae eorum mentes agitent, neque tot odiis certarent, nec tam caeca et temeraria cupiditate interpretandi Scripturam, novaque in Religione excogitandi tenerentur : Sec contra nihil tanquam Scripturae doctrinam amplecti auderent, quod ab ipsa quam clarissime non edocerentur : et denique sacrilegi illi, qui Scripturam plurimis in locis adulterare non sunt veriti, a tanto scelere maxime cavissent, manusque sacrilegas ab iis abstinuissent. At ambitio et scelus tantum tandem potuerunt, ut religio non tam in obtemperandis Spiritus Sancti documentis, quam in defendendis hominum commentis sita sit, imo ut religio non charitate, sed disseminandis discordiis inter homines, et odio infensissimo, quod falso nomine zeli divini et ardentis studii adumbrant,

propagando contineatur. Ad haec mala accessit superstitio, quae homines rationem et naturam contemnere docet, et id tantum admirari ac venerari, quod huic utrique repugnat : quare non mirum est, quod homines, ut Scripturam magis admirentur et venerentur, eam ita explicare studeant, ut his, rationi scilicet et naturae, quam maxime repugnare videatur ; ideoque in Sacris Literis profundissima mysteria latere somniant, et in iis, hoc est, in absurdis investigandis, caeteris utilibus neglectis, defatigantur, et quicquid sic delirando fingunt, id omne Spiritui Sancto tribuunt, et summa vi atque affectum impetu defendere conantur. Ita enim cum hominibus comparatum est, ut quicquid puro intellectu concipiunt, solo intellectu et ratione, quicquid contra ex animi affectibus opinantur, iisdem etiam defendant. Ut autem ab his turbis extricemur, et mentem a praejudiciis theologicis liberemus, nec temere hominum figmenta pro divinis documentis amplectamur, nobis de vera methodo Scripturam interpretandi agendum est, et de eadem differendum : hac enim ignorata nihil certò scire possumus, quid Scriptura, quidve Spiritus Sanctus docere vult. Eam autem, ut his paucis complectar, dico methodum interpretandi Scripturam haud differre a methodo interpretandi naturam, sed cum ea prorsus convenire. Nam sicuti methodus interpretandi naturam in hoc potissimum consistit, in concinnanda scilicet historia naturae, ex qua, utpote ex certis datis, rerum naturalium definitiones concludimus : sic etiam ad Scripturam interpretandam necesse est ejus sinceram historiam adornare, et ex ea tanquam ex certis datis et principiis mentem authorum Scripturae legitimis consequentiis concludere : sic enim unusquisque (si nimirum nulla alia principia, neque data ad interpretandam Scripturam et de rebus, quae in eadem continentur, differendum, admiserit, nisi ea tantummodo, quae ex ipsa Scriptura ejusque historia depromuntur) sine ullo periculo errandi semper procedet, et de iis, quae nostrum captum superant, aequè securè differere poterit, ac de iis, quae lumine naturali cognoscimus. Sed ut clare constet, hanc viam non tantum certam, sed etiam unicam esse, eamque cum methodo interpretandi naturam convenire, notandum, quod Scriptura de rebus saepissime agit, quae ex principiis lumine naturali notis de duci nequeunt ; ejus

enim maximam partem historiae et revelationes componunt : at historiae miracula potissimum continent, hoc est (ut in superiore capite ostendimus) narrationes rerum insolitarum naturae, opinionibus et judiciis historicorum, qui eas scripserunt, accommodatas ; revelationes autem opinionibus etiam Prophetarum accommodatae sunt, ut in secundocapite ostendimus, et ipsae revera captum humanum superant. Quare cognitio horum omnium, hoc est, omnium ferè rerum, quae in Scriptura continentur, ab ipsa Scriptura sola peti debet : sicuti cognitio naturae ab ipsa natura. Quod ad documenta moralia, quae etiam in Bibliis continentur, attinet, etsi ipsa ex notionibus communibus demonstrari possunt, non potest tamen ex iisdem demonstrari, Scripturam eadem docere, sed hoc ex sola ipsa Scriptura constare potest. Imo si sine praejudicio Scripturae divinitatem testari volumus, nobis ex eadem sola constare debet, ipsam vera documenta moralia docere ; ex hoc enim solo ejus divinitas demonstrari potest : nam certitudinem Prophetarum ex hoc praecipue constare ostendimus, quod Prophetae animum ad aequum et bonum inclinatum habebant. Quare hoc idem etiam nobis constare debet, ut fidem ipsis possimus habere. Ex miraculis autem Dei divinitatem non posse convinci, jam etiam demonstravimus, ut jam taceam, quod etiam a Pseudo-propheta fieri poterant. Quare Scripturae divinitas ex hoc solo constare debet, quod ipsa veram virtutem doceat. Atqui hoc ex sola Scriptura constare potest. Quod si non posset fieri, non sine magno praejudicio eandem amplecteremur, et de ejus divinitate testaremur. Tota itaque Scripturae cognitio ibi ipsa sola peti debet. Denique Scriptura rerum, de quibus loquitur, definitiones non tradit, ut nec etiam natura. Quare quemadmodum ex diversi naturae actionibus definitiones rerum naturalium concludendae sunt, eodem modo hae ex diversis narrationibus, quae de unaquaque re in Scriptis occurrunt, sunt eliciendae. Regula igitur universalis interpretandi Scripturam est, nihil Scripturae tanquam ejus documentum tribuere, quod ex ipsis historia quam maxime perspectum non habeamus. Qualis autem ejus historia debeat esse, et quae potissimum enarrare, hîc jam dicendum.

Nempe I. continere debet naturam et proprietates linguae, qua libri Scripturae scripti fuerunt, et quam eorum Authores loqui solebant. Sic enim omnes sensus, quos una quaeque oratio ex communi loquendi usu admittere potest, investigare poterimus. Et quia omnes tam Veteris, quam Novi Testamenti scriptores hebraei fuerunt, certum est, Historiam linguae hebraicae prae omnibus necessariam esse, non tantum ad intelligentiam librorum Veteris Testamenti, qui hac lingua scripti sunt, sed etiam Novi ; nam quamvis aliis linguis vulgati fuerint, hebraizant tamen.

II. Sententias uniuscujusque libri colligere debet, easque ad summa capita redigere, ut sic omnes, quae de eadem re reperiuntur, in promptu habere possimus : deinde eas omnes, quae ambiguae vel obscurae sunt, vel quae invicem repugnare videntur, notare. Atque eas sententias hîc obscuras aut claras voco, quarum sensus ex contextu orationis facile vel difficulter elicitur, at non quatenus earum veritas facile vel difficulter ratione percipitur. De solo enim sensu orationum, non autem de earum veritate laboramus. Quin imo apprime cavendum est, quamdiu sensum Scripturae quaerimus, ne ratiocino nostro, quatenus principiis naturalis cognitionis fundatum est (ut jam taceam praejudicia), praeoccupemur ; sed ne verum sensum cum rerum veritate confundamus, ille ex solo linguae usu erit investigandus, vel ex ratiocinio, quod nullum aliud fundamentum agnoscit, quam Scripturam. Quae omnia, ut clarius intelligantur, exemplo illustrabo : Hae Mosis sententiae, quod *Deus sit ignis*, et quod *Deus sit zelotypus*, quam clarissimae sunt, quamdiu ad solam verborum significationem attendimus, ideoque eas etiam inter claras repono, tametsi respectu veritatis et rationis obscurissimae sunt ; imo quamvis earum literalis sensus lumini naturali repugnet, nisi etiam principiis et fundamentis ex historiae Scripturae petitis clarè opponatur, is sensus, nempe literalis, erit tamen retinendus ; et contra, si hae sententiae ex literalis earum interpretatione principiis ex Scriptura petitis reperirentur repugnare, quanquam cum ratione maxime convenirent, aliter tamen (metaphoricè scilicet) essent interpretandae. Ut itaque sciamus, an Moses crediderit, Deum esse ignem, an secus, nullo modo id concludendum est ex eo, quod haec opinio cum ratione conveniat, aut quod ei repugnet, sed tantum ex aliis ipsius Mosis sententiis.

Videlicet quoniam Moses plurimis in locis clarè etiam docet, Deum nullam habere similitudinem cum rebus visibilibus, quae in coelis, in terra, aut in aqua sunt, hinc concludendum, hanc sententiam, aut illas omnes metaphorice esse explicandas. At quia a literalis sensu, quam minime fieri potest, est recedendum, ideo prius quaerendum, num haec unica sententia, *Deus est ignis*, alium praeter literalem sensum admittat, hoc est, an nomen *ignis* aliud quam naturalem ignem significet. Quod si non reperiatur ex usu linguae aliud significare, nullo etiam alio modo interpretanda esset haec sententia, quantumvis rationi repugnans ; sed contra reliquae omnes, quamvis rationi consentaneae, huic tamen essent accommodandae. Quod si nec hoc etiam ex usu linguae posset fieri, tum hae sententiae irreconciliabiles essent, ac proinde de iis iudicium erit suspendendum. Sed quia nomen ignis pro ira et zelotypia etiam sumitur (vide Jobi ca v. 12), hinc facile Mosis sententiae reconciliantur, atque legitime concludimus, duas has sententias, *Deus est ignis*, et *Deus est zelotypus*, unam eandemque esse sententiam. Porro quoniam Moses clarè docet, Deum esse zelotypum, nec ullibi docet, Deum carere passionibus sive animi pathematis, hinc plane concludendum, Mosem hoc ipsum credidisse aut saltem docere voluisse, quantumvis hanc sententiam rationi repugnare credamus. Nam, ut jam ostendimus, nobis non licet ad dictamina nostrae rationis, et ad nostras praeconceptas opiniones mentem Scripturae torquere, sed tota Bibliorum cognitio ab iisdem solis est petenda.

III. Denique enanarre debet haec historia casus omnium librorum Prophetarum, quorum memoria apud non est ; videlicet vitam, mores, ac studia authoris uniuscujusque libri, quisnam fuerit, qua occasione, quo tempore, cui, et denique qua lingua scripserit. Deinde uniuscujusque libri fortunam : nempe quomodo prius acceptus fuerit, et in quorum manus inciderit, deinde quot ejus variae lectiones fuerint, et quorum concilio inter sacros acceptus fuerit, et denique quomodo omnes libri, quos omnes jam sacros esse fatentur, in unum corpus coaluerint. Haec omnia inquam historia Scripturae continere debet. Nam ut sciamus, quaenam sententiae tanquam leges proferantur, quaenam vero tanquam documenta moralia, refert scire vitam, mores, ac studia authoris ; adde quod eò

facilius verba alicujus explicare possumus, quò ejus genium et ingenium melius noverimus. Deinde ne documenta aeterna cum iis, quae ad tempus tantum, vel paucis solummodo ex usu poterant esse, confundamus, refert etiam scire, qua occasione, quo tempore et cui nationi, aut saeculo omnia documenta scripta fuerunt. Refert denique reliqua, quae praeterea diximus, scire, ut praeter libri cujusque auctoritatem etiam sciamus, num ab adulterinis manibus conspurcari potuerit, an minus ; num errores irrepserint, num a viris satis peritis et fide dignis correcti fuerint. Quae omnia scitu admodum necessaria sunt, ut ne caeco impetu correpti, quicquid nobis obtruditur, sed tantum id, quod certum et indubitatum est, amplectamur.

Jam postquam hanc historiam Scripturae habuerimus, et firmiter decreverimus, nihil tanquam doctrinam prophetarum certò statuerere, quod ex hâc historiâ non sequatur, aut quam clarissime eliciatur, tum tempus erit, ut ad mentem prophetarum et Spiritus Sancti investigandam nos accingamus. Sed ad hoc etiam methodus et ordo requiritur similis ei, quo ad interpretationem naturae ex ipsius historia utimur. Sicuti enim in scrutandis rebus naturalibus ante omnia investigare conamur res maxime universales et toti naturae communes, videlicet motum et quietem, eorumque leges et regulas, quas natura semper observat, et per quas continuo agit, et ex his gradatim ad alia minus universalia procedimus ; sic etiam ex historia Scripturae id primum quaerendum, quod universalissimum, quodque totius Scripturae basis et fundamentum est, et quod denique in ipsa tanquam aeterna et omnibus mortalibus utilissima doctrina ab omnibus prophetis commendatur. Exempli gratia, quod Deus unicus et omnipotens existit, qui solus est adorandus, et qui omnes curat, eosque supra omnes diligit, qui ipsum adorant, et proximum tanquam semet ipsos amant etc. Haec et similia, inquam, Scriptura ubique tam clare, tamque expresse docet, ut nullus unquam fuerit, qui de ejus sensu circa haec ambegerit. Quid autem Deus sit, et qua ratione res omnes videat, iisque provideat, haec et similia Scriptura ex professo, et tanquam aeternam doctrinam non docet : Sed contrà prophetas ipsos circa haec non convenisse jam supra ostendimus ; adeoque de similibus nihil tanquam doctrinam Spiritus Sancti

statuendum, tametsi lumine naturali optime determinari possit. Hâc igitur universali Scripturae doctrinâ probe cognitâ procedendum deinde est ad alia minus universalia, et quae tamen communem usum vitae spectant, quaeque ex hac universali doctrina tanquam rivuli derivantur ; uti sunt omnes verae virtutis actiones particulares externae, quae non nisi data occasione exerceri possunt ; et quicquid circa haec obscurum sive ambiguum in Scriptis reperiatur, ex doctrina Scripturae universali explicandum et determinandum est : si quae autem invicem contraria reperiuntur, videndum, qua occasione, quo tempore, vel cui scripta fuerint. Ex. gr. cum Christus dicit, *beati lugentes, quoniam consolationem accipient*, ex hoc textu nescimus, quales lugentes intelligat ; sed quia postea docet, ut de nulla re simus solliciti, nisi de solo regno Dei ejusque justitia, quod ut summum bonum commendat (vide Matth. ca v. 33), hinc sequitur, eum per lugentes eos tantum intelligere, qui lugent regnum Dei et justitiam ab hominibus neglectam : hoc enim tantum lugere possunt ii, qui nihil nisi regnum divinum, sive aequitatem amant, et reliqua fortunae plane contemnunt. Sic etiam, cum ait, *sed ei, qui percutit te supra maxillam tuam dextram, obverte illi etiam alteram*, et quae deinde sequuntur. Si haec Christus tanquam legislator judices juberet, legem Mosis hoc praecepto destruxisset ; quod tamen contra aperte monet casino online (vide Matth. ca v. 17) ; quare videndum, quisnam haec dixit, quibus et quo tempore. Nempe Christus dixit, qui non tanquam legislator leges instituebat, sed ut doctor documenta docebat, quia (ut supra ostendimus) non tam actiones externas, quam animum corrigere voluit. Deinde haec hominibus oppressis dixit, qui vivebant in republica corrupta, et ubi justitia prorsus negligebatur, et cujus ruinam prope instare videbat. Atqui hoc idem ipsum, quod hîc Christus instante Urbis ruina docet, Jeremiam etiam in prima Urbis vastatione, simili nimirum tempore, docuisse videmus (vide Lament. ca lit. Tet, et Jot) ; quare cum hoc non, nisi tempore oppressionis, docuerint prophetae, nec id ullibi tanquam lex prolatum sit, et contra Moses (qui non tempore oppressionis scripsit, sed (et hoc nota) de instituenda bona republica laboravit), quamvis etiam vindictam et odium in proximum damnaverit, tamen jusserit oculum pro oculo solvere ; hinc

clarissime sequitur ex ipsis solis Scripturae fundamentis, hoc Christi et Jeremiae documentum de toleranda injuria, et impiis in omnibus concedendo, locum tantum habere in locis, ubi justitia neglegitur et temporibus oppressionis, non autem in bona republica : quinimo in bona republica, ubi justitia defenditur, tenetur unusquisque, si se vult perhiberi justum, injurias coram judice exigere (vide Levit. ca v. 1) non propter vindictam (vide Levit. ca v. 17-18), sed animo justitiam legesque Patriae defendendi, et ut ne malis expediat esse malos. Quae omnia etiam cum ratione naturali plane conveniunt. Ad hunc modum alia plura possem adferre exempla, sed haec sufficere arbitror ad meam mentem, et utilitatem hujus methodi explicandam, quod impraesentiarum tantum curo. At hucusque eas tantum Scripturae sententias investigare docuimus, quae usum vitae spectant, et quae propterea facilius investigari queunt ; nam revera de iis nulla inter scriptores biblicorum unquam fuit controversia. Reliqua autem, quae in Scriptis occurrunt, quaeque solius sunt speculationis, non tam facile indagari possunt ; via enim ad haec angustior est ; nam quandoquidem in rebus speculativis (ut jam ostendimus) prophetae inter se dissentiebant, et rerum narrationes maxime accommodatae sunt uniuscujusque aevi praejudiciis, minime nobis licet mentem unius prophetae ex locis clarioribus alterius concludere, neque explicare, nisi evidentissime constet, eos unam eandemque fovisse sententiam. Quomodo igitur mens prophetarum in similibus sit ex historia Scripturae eruenda, paucis jam exponam. Nempe circa haec etiam a maxime universalibus incipiendum, inquirendo scilicet ante omnia ex sententiis Scripturae maxime claris, quid sit prophetia sive revelatio, et qua in re potissimum consistat. Deinde quid sit miraculum, et sic porro res maxime communes : dehinc ad opiniones uniuscujusque prophetae descendendum ; et ex his tandem ad sensum uniuscujusque revelationis sive prophetiae, historiae, et miraculi procedendum. Qua autem cautione utendum sit, ne in his mentem prophetarum et historicorum cum mente Spiritus Sancti, et rei veritate confundamus, supra suis in locis multis exemplis ostendimus ; quare de his non necesse habeo prolixius agere ; hoc tamen circa sensum revelationum notandum, quod haec methodus tantum investigare

docet id, quod revera prophetae viderint aut audiverint, non autem quid illis hieroglyphicis significare aut repraesentare voluerint ; hoc enim hariolari possumus, non autem ex Scripturae fundamentis certo deducere. Ostendimus itaque rationem interpretandi Scripturam, et simul demonstravimus hanc unicam et certiore esse viam ad ejus verum sensum investigandum. Fateor quidem, eos de eodem certiores esse, si qui sunt, qui certam ejus traditionem, sive veram explicationem ab ipsis prophetis acceptam habent, ut pharisaei autumant, vel si qui pontificem habent, qui circa interpretationem Scripturae errare non potest, quod catholici romani jactant. Attamen quandoquidem nec de hac traditione, nec de pontificis autoritate possumus esse certi, nihil etiam certi super his fundare possumus ; hanc enim antiquissimi christianorum, illam autem antiquissimae Judaeorum sectae negaverunt ; et si deinde at seriem annorum attendamus (ut jam alia taceam), quam pharisaei acceperunt a suis rabbinis, qua hanc traditionem ad Mosen usque proferunt, eam falsam esse reperiemus, quod alio in loco ostendo. Quare talis traditio nobis admodum debet esse suspecta ; et quanquam nos in nostra methodo Judaeorum traditionem aliquam, ut incorruptam, cogimur supponere, nempe significationem verborum linguae hebraicae, quam ab iisdem accepimus, de illa tamen dubitamus, de hac autem minime. Nam nemini unquam ex usu esse potuit, alicujus verbi significationem mutare, at quidem non raro sensum alicujus orationis. Quin et factu difficillimum est ; nam qui verbi alicujus significationem conaretur mutare, cogeretur simul omnes authores, qui illa lingua scripserunt, et illo verbo in recepta sua significatione usi sunt, ex ingenio vel mente uniuscujusque explicare, vel summa cum cautione depravare. Deinde vulgus linguam cum doctis servat, sensus autem orationum et libros docti tantum ; ac proinde facile possumus concipere, doctos sensum orationis alicujus libri rarissimi, quem in sua potestate habuerunt, mutare vel corrumpere potuisse, non autem verborum significationem : adde quod si quis alicujus verbi significationem, cui consuevit, in aliam mutare velit, non poterit sine difficultate id imposterum et inter loquendum et scribendum observare. Ex his itaque et aliis rationibus facile nobis persuademus, nemini in mentem venire potuisse, linguam

aliquam corrumpere ; at quidem saepe mentem alicujus scriptoris, ejus orationes mutando, vel easdem perperam interpretando. Cum itaque haec nostra methodus (quae in eo fundatur, ut cognitio Scripturae ab eadem sola petatur) unica et vera sit, quicquid ipsa praestare non poterit ad integram Scripturae cognitionem acquirendam, de eo plande desperandum. Quid autem ipsa difficultatis habeat, vel quid in ipsa desiderandum, ut ad integram et certam Sacrorum Codicum cognitionem nos ducere possit, hic jam dicendum. Magna imprimis in hac methodo oritur difficultas ex eo, quod linguae hebraicae integram cognitionem exigit. At haec unde jam petenda ? antiqui linguae hebraicae cultores nihil posteritati ee fundamentis et doctrina hujus linguae reliquerunt : nos saltem ab iisdem nihil prorsus habemus : non ullum dictionarium, neque grammaticam, neque rhetoricam : hebraea autem natio omnia ornamenta, omneque decus perdidit (nec mirum, postquam tot clades et persecutiones passa est) nec nisi pauca quaedam fragmenta linguae et paucorum librorum retinuit ; omnia enim fere nomina fructuum, avium, piscium, et permulta alia temporum injuria periire. Significatio deinde multorum nominum, et verborum, quae in Bibliis occurrunt, vel prorsus ignoratur, vel de eadem disputatur. Cum haec omnia, tum praecipue hujus linguae phraseologiam desideramus ; ejus enim phrases et modos loquendi, hebraeae nationi peculiare, omnes fere tempus edax ex hominum memoria abolevit. Non itaque semper poterimus, ut desideramus, omnes uniuscujusque orationis sensus, quos ipsa ex linguae usu admittere potest, investigare, et multae occurrent orationes, quamvis notissimis vocibus expressae, quarum tamen sensus obscurissimus erit, et plane imperceptibilis. Ad haec, quod scilicet linguae hebraeae perfectam historiam non possumus habere, accedit ipsa hujus linguae constitutio et natura ; ex qua tot oriuntur ambiguitates, ut impossibile sit, talem invenire methodum , quae verum sensum omnium orationum Scripturae certò doceat investigare. Nam praeter ambiguitatum causas omnibus linguis communes, quaedam aliae in hac lingua dantur, ex quibus permultae nascuntur ambiguitates ; eas hîc notare, operae pretium duco.

Prima oritur in Bibliis saepe ambiguitas, et orationum obscuritas ex eo, quod literae ejusdem organi unae pro aliis sumantur : Dividunt scilicet Hebraei omnes alphabeti literas in quinque classes, propter quinque oris instrumenta, quae pronuntiationi inserviunt, nempe labia, lingua, dentes, palatum et gutturales. Ex. gr. [heb.] alpha, ghet, hgain, he gutturales vocantur, et sine ullo discrimine, nobis saltem noto, una pro alia usurpatur. Nempe [heb.] *el*, quod significat *ad*, sumitur saepe pro [heb.] *hgal*, quod significat *super*, et viceversa. Unde fit, ut omnes orationis partes saepe vel ambiguae reddantur, vel tanquam voces, quae nullam habent significationem.

Secunda deinde oritur orationum ambiguitas ex multiplici conjunctionum et adverbiorum significatione. Ex. gr. [heb.] *vau* promiscue inservit ad conjungendum et disjungendum, significat *et*, *sed*, *quia*, *autem*, *tum*. [heb.] *ki* septem aut octo habet significationes ; nempe, *quia*, *quamvis*, *si*, *quando*, *quemadmodum*, *quod*, *combustio* etc. Et sic fere omnes particulae.

Tertia est, et quae multarum ambiguitatum fons est, quia verba in indicativo carent praesenti, praeterito imperfecto, plusquam perfecto, futuro perfecto et aliis in aliis linguis usitatissimis ; in imperativo autem et infinitivo omnibus, praeter praesens, et in subjunctivo omnibus absolute carent. Et quamvis haec omnia temporum et modorum defecta certis regulis ex fundamentis linguae deductis facile imo summa cum elegantia suppleri possent, scriptores tamen antiquissimi eas plane neglexerunt, et promiscue tempus futurum pro praesenti et praeterito, et contra praeteritum pro futuro, et praeterea indicativum pro imperativo et subjunctivo usurpaverunt, idque non sine magna amphibolia orationum. Praeter has tres ambiguitatum linguae hebraicae causas, duae adhuc aliae supersunt notandae, quarum unaquaeque longe majoris est momenti. Harum prima est, quod Hebraei literas vocales non habent. Secunda, quod nullis signis orationes distinguere solebant, neque exprimere sive intendere : et quamvis haec duo, vocales scilicet et signa, punctis et accentibus suppleri soleant, eis tamen acquiescere non possumus, quandoquidem a posterioris aevi hominibus, quorum autoritas apud nos nihil debet valere, inventa et instituta sunt : antiqui autem sine

punctis (hoc est sine vocalibus et accentibus) scripserunt (ut ex multis testimoniis constat). Posterius vero, prout iis Biblia interpretari visum est, haec duo addiderunt ; quare accentus et puncta, quae jam habemus, merae hodiernorum interpretationes sunt, nec plus fidei neque auctoritatis merentur, quam reliquae authorum explicationes. Qui autem hoc ignorant, nesciunt, quâ ratione author, qui Epistolam ad Hebraeos scripsit, excusandus sit, quod ca. v. 21 interpretatus est textum Geneseos ca. v. 31 longè aliter, quam in punctato hebraeo textu habetur, quasi apostolus sensum Scripturae a punctistis discere debuerit. Mihi sane punctistae potius culpandi videntur, quod ut unusquisque videat, et simul quod haec discrepantia a solo vocalium defectu orta est, utramque interpretationem hic ponam. Punctistae, suis punctis scilicet, interpretati sunt, *et incurvavit se Israël supra*, vel (mutando [heb.] hgain in [heb.] aleph, in literam scilicet ejusdem organi) *versus caput lecti* : author autem epistolae, *et incurvavit se Israël supra caput bacilli*, legendo nimirum [heb.] *mate*, loco quod alii [heb.] *mita*, quae differentia a solis vocalibus oritur. Jam quandoquidem in illa narratione de sola senectute Jacobi, non autem, ut in sequenti capite, de ipsius morbo agitur, magis vero simile videtur, mentem historici fuisse, quod Jacobus supra caput bacilli (quo nimirum senes provectissimae aetatis ad se sustinendum indigent), non autem lecti, se incurvaverit, praecipue cum hoc modo non necesse sit, ullam literarum subalternationem supponere. Atque hoc exemplo non tantum volui locum istum epistolae ad Hebraeos cum textu Geneseos reconciliare, sed praecipue ostendere, quam parum fidei hodiernis punctis et accentibus sit habendum : atque adeo qui Scripturam sine ullo praejudicio interpretari vult, de hisce dubitare tenetur et de integro examinare.

Ex hac igitur (ut ad nostrum propositum revertamur) linguae hebraeae constitutione et natura facile unusquisque conjicere potest, tot debere oriri ambiguitates, ut nulla possit dari methodus, qua eae omnes determinari queant. Nam nihil est, quod speramus, ex mutua orationum collatione (quam unicam esse viam ostendimus ad verum sensum ex multis, quos una quaeque oratio ex usu linguae admittere potest, eruendum) hoc posse absolute fieri ; cum quia haec

orationum collatio, non nisi casu, orationem aliquam illustrare potest, quandoquidem nullus propheta eo fine scripsit, ut verba alterius aut sua ipsa ex professo explicaret ; tum etiam quia mentem unius prophetae, apostoli etc. ex mente alterius concludere non possumus, nisi in rebus usum vitae spectantibus, ut jam evidenter ostendimus ; at non, cum de rebus speculativis loquuntur, sive cum miracula aut historias narrant. Possum hoc praeterea, nempe quod multae orationes inexplicabiles in Sanctis Scriptis occurrunt, quibusdam exemplis ostendere, sed impraesentiarum iis lubentius supersedeo, et ad reliqua, quae supersunt, notanda, quid scilicet haec vera methodus Scripturam interpretandi difficultatis adhuc habeat, vel quid in ipsa desideretur, pergam.

Oritur in hac methodo alia praeterea difficultas ex eo, quod ipsa historiam casuum omnium librorum Scripturae exigit, cujus maximam partem ignoramus ; multorum enim librorum authores, vel (si mavis) Scriptores vel prorsus ignoramus, vel de iisdem dubitamus, ut in sequentibus fuse ostendam. Deinde neque etiam scimus, qua occasione, neque quo tempore hi libri, quorum scriptores ignoramus, scripti fuerunt. Nescimus praeterea, in quorum manus libri omnes inciderint, neque in quorum exemplaribus tot variae lectiones repertae sint, nec denique an non plures aliae fuerint apud alios lectiones. Quid autem haec omnia scire referat, suo in loco breviter indicavi, quaedam tamen ibi consultò omisi, quae jam hic veniunt considerata. Si quem librum res incredibiles aut imperceptibiles continentem, vel terminis admodum obscuris scriptum, legimus, neque ejus authorem novimus, neque etiam quo tempore et qua occasione scripserit, frustra de ejus vero sensu certiores fieri conabimur. His enim omnibus ignoratis, minime scire possumus, quid author intenderit, aut intendere potuerit : cum contra his probè cognitis nostras cogitationes ita determinamus, ut nullo praejudicio praeoccupemur, ne scilicet authori, vel ei, in cujus gratiam author scripsit, plus minusve justò tribuamus, et ne de ullis aliis rebus cogitemus, quam de iis, quas author in mente habere potuerit, vel quas tempus et occasio exegerit. Quod quidem omnibus constare existimo. Saepissime enim contingit, ut consimiles historias in diversis libris legamus, de quibus longe diversum judicium

facimus, pro diversitate scilicet opinionum, quas de scriptoribus habemus. Scio, me olim in libro quodam legisse, virum, cui nomen erat Orlandus furiosus, monstrum quoddam alatum in aëre agitare solere, et quascunque volebat regiones supervolare, ingentem numerum hominum, et gigantum solum trucidare, et alia hujusmodi phantasmata, quae ratione intellectus plane imperceptibilia sunt. Huic autem consimilem historiam in Ovidio de Perseo legeram, et aliam denique in libris Judicum, et Regum de Samsone (qui solus et inermis millia hominum trucidavit) et de Elia, qui per aëra volitabat, et tandem igneis equis et curru coelum petiit. Hae, inquam, consimiles plane historiae sunt, attamen longe dissimile iudicium de unaquaque facimus : nempe primum non nisi nugas scribere voluisse, secundum autem res politicas, tertium denique sacras, hocque nulla alia de causa nobis persuademus, quam propter opiniones, quas de earum scriptoribus habemus. Constat itaque, notitiam authorum, qui res obscuras aut intellectu imperceptibiles scripserunt, apprimè necessariam esse, si eorum scripta interpretari volumus ; iisdem etiam de causis, ut ex variis obscurarum historiarum lectionibus veras eligere possemus, necesse est scire, in quorum exemplari variae hae lectiones repertae sint, et an non plures aliae apud alios majoris authoritatis viros unquam fuerint inventae.

Alia denique difficultas quosdam libros Scripturae ex hac methodo interpretandi in eo est, quod eos eadem lingua, qua primum scripti fuerunt, non habeamus. Euangelium enim secundum Matthaeum, et sine dubio etiam Epistolae ad Hebraeos hebraicè ex communi opinione scripta sunt, quae tamen non extant. De libro autem Jobi dubitatur, quae lingua scriptus fuerit. Aben Hezra in suis commentariis affirmat, eum ex alia lingua in hebraeam translatum fuisse, et hanc esse ejus obscuritatis causam. De libris apocryphis nihil dico, quandoquidem longe dissimilis sunt authoritatis. Atque hae omnes hujus methodi interpretandi Scripturam ex ipsius, quam habere possumus, historia difficultates sunt, quas enanarre suscepam, quasque ego adeo magnas existimo, ut affirmare non dubitem, nos verum Scripturae sensum plurimis in locis vel ignorare, vel sine certitudine hariolari. Verum enimvero hoc iterum contra notandum venit, has

omnes difficultas impedire tantum posse, quominus mentem prophetarum assequamur circa res imperceptibiles, et quas tantum imaginari, at non circa res, quas et intellectu assequi, et quarum clarum possumus facile formare conceptum : res enim, quae sua natura facile percipiuntur, nunquam tam obscure dici possunt, quin facile intelligantur, juxta illud proverbium, intelligenti dictum sat est. Euclides, qui non nisi res admodum simplices et maxime intelligibiles scripsit, facile ab unoquoque in quavis lingua explicatur ; non enim ut ejus mentem assequamur, et de vero ejus sensu certi simus, opus est integram linguae, qua scripsit, cognitionem habere, sed tantum admodum communem et fere puerilem, non vitam, studia, et mores authoris scire, neque qua lingua, cui, neque quando scripserit, non libri fortunam neque varias ejus lectiones, nec quomodo, nec denique quorum concilio acceptus fuerit. Et quod hic de Euclide, id de omnibus, qui de rebus sua natura perceptibilibus scripserunt, dicendum ; adeoque concludimus, nos mentem Scripturae circa documenta moralia ex ipsius, quam habere possumus, historia facile posse assequi, et de vero ejus sensu esse certos. Verae enim pietatis documenta verbis usitatissimis exprimuntur, quandoquidem admodum communia, nec minus simplicia, et intellectu facilia sunt ; et quia vera salus et beatitudo in vera animi acquiescentia consistit, et nos in iis tantum vere acquiescimus, quae clarissime intelligimus, hinc evidentissime sequitur, nos mentem Scripturae circa res salutes, et ad beatitudinem necessarias certò posse assequi ; quare non est, cur de reliquis simus adeo solliciti : reliqua enim, quandoquidem ea ut plurimum ratione et intellectu complecti non possumus, plus curiositatis quam utilitatis habent. His existimo me veram methodum Scripturam interpretandi ostendisse, meamque de eadem sententiam satis explicasse. Praeterea non dubito, quin unusquisque jam videat, hanc methodum nullum lumen praeter ipsum naturale exigere. Hujus enim luminis natura et virtus in hoc potissimum consistit, quod res scilicet obscuras ex notis, aut tanquam notis datis, legitimis consequentiis deducat atque concludat, nec aliud est, quod haec nostra methodus exigit : et quamvis concedamus, eandem non sufficere ad omnia, quae in Bibliis occurrunt, certò investigandum, id tamen non ex ipsius defectu oritur,

sed ex eo, quod via, quam veram et rectam esse docet, nunquam fuerit culta, nec ab hominibus trita, adeoque successu temporis admodum ardua et ferè invia facta sit, ut ex ipsis difficultatibus, quas retuli, clarissime constare puto. Superest jam discrepantium a nobis sententias examinare. Quae hîc primum examinanda venit, eorum est sententia, qui statuunt lumen naturale non habere vim ad Scripturam interpretandam, sed ad hoc maxime requirit lumen supernaturale ; quid autem hoc lumen praeter naturale sit, ipsis explicandum relinquo. Ego saltem nihil aliud possum conjicere, quam quod ipsi obscurioribus terminis etiam voluerunt fateri, se de vero Scripturae sensu ut plurimum dubitare : si enim ad eorum explicationes attendimus, eas nihil supra naturale continere, imò nihil nisi meras conjecturas esse reperiemus. Considerantur, si placet, cum explicationibus eorum, qui ingenuè fatentur, se nullum lumen praeter naturale habere, et planè consimiles reperientur, humanae scilicet, diu cogitatae, et cum labore inventae : quod autem ajunt lumen naturale ad hoc non sufficere, falsum esse constat, tum ex eo, quod jam demonstravimus, quod difficultas interpretandi Scripturam nulla orta est defectu virium luminis naturalis, sed tantum ex hominum socordia (ne dicam malitia), qui historiam Scripturae, dum eam concinnare poterant, neglexerunt : tum etiam ex hoc, quod (ut omnes, nî fallor, fatentur) hoc lumen supranaturale donum sit divinum fidelibus tantum concessum. At prophetae et apostoli non fidelibus tantum, sed maxime infidelibus et impiis praedicare solebant, quique adeo apti erant ad mentem prophetarum et apostolorum intelligendam. Alias visi essent prophetae et apostoli puerulis et infantibus praedicare, non viris ratione praeditis : et frustra Moses leges praescripsisset, si ipsae non nisi a fidelibus, qui nulla indigent lege, intelligi poterant. Quare qui lumen supranaturale quaerunt ad mentem prophetarum et apostolorum intelligendam, ii sane lumine naturali indigere videntur ; longe igitur abest, ut tales donum divinum supranaturale habere existimem. Maimonidae alia planè fuit sententia : sensit enim unumquemque Scripturae locum varios, imo contrarios sensus admittere, nec nos de vero ullius esse certos, nisi sciamus locum illum, prout illum interpretamur, nihil continere, quod cum ratione non conveniat, aut quod ei repugnet ; si enim

rationi ex ipsius literali sensu reperiatur repugnare, quantumvis ipse clarus videatur, locum tamen aliter interpretandum censet, atque hoc ca P. II libr. More Nebuchim quam clarissime indicat ; ait enim, [heb.] *Scito, quod non fugimus dicere mundum fuisse ab aeterno propter textus, qui in Scriptura occurrunt de creatione mundi. Nam textus, qui docent mundum esse creatum, non plures sunt iis, qui docent Deum esse corporeum ; nec aditus ad eos explicandum, qui in hac materia de mundi creatione reperiuntur, nobis interclusi sunt, nec etiam impediti, sed ipsos explicare potuissemus, sicut fecimus, cum corporeitatem a Deo removimus ; et fortè hoc multò facilius factu esset, et magis commodè potuissemus eos explicare et mundi aeternitatem statuminare, quam cum: explicuimus Scripturas, ut removeremus Deum benedictum esse corporeum : at huc hoc non facerem et ne hoc credam (mundum scilicet esse aeternum) duae causae me movent, I. quia clara demonstratione constat Deum non esse corporeum, et necesse est, omnia illa loca explicare, quorum literalis sensus demonstrationi repugnat, nam certum est ea necessario tum explicationem (aliā praeter literalem) habere. At mundi aeternitas nulla demonstratione ostenditur ; adeoque non est necesse Scripturis vim facere easque explicare propter apparentem opinionem, ad cuius contrariam inclinare, aliqua suadente ratione, possemus. Secunda causa, quia credere Deum esse incorporeum fundamentalibus Legis non repugnat etc. Sed mundi aeternitatem credere, eò modò, quò Aristoteli visum fuit, legem a suo fundamento destruit etc.* Haec sunt verba Maimonidae, ex quibus evidenter sequitur id, quod modo diximus ; si enim ipsi constaret ex ratione mundum esse aeternum, non dubitaret Scripturam torquere et explicare, ut tandem hoc idem ipsum docere videretur. Imo statim certus esset Scripturam, quanquam ubique aperte reclamantem, hanc tamen mundi aeternitatem docere voluisse ; adeoque de vero sensu Scripturae, quantumvis claro, non poterit esse certus, quamdiu de rei veritate dubitare poterit, aut quamdiu de eadem ipsi non constet. Nam quamdiu de rei veritate non constat, tamdiu nescimus, an res cum ratione conveniat, an vero eidem repugnet ; et consequenter etiam tamdiu nescimus, an literalis sensus verus sit an falsus. Quae quidem sententia si vera

esset, absolute concederem nos alio praeter lumen naturale indigere ad Scripturam interpretandam. Nam fere omnia, quae in Scriptis reperiuntur, deduci nequeunt ex principiis lumine naturali notis (ut jam ostendimus), adeoque de eorum veritate ex vi luminis naturalis nihil nobis constare potest, et consequenter neque etiam de vero sensu et mente Scripturae, sed ad hoc alio necessariò lumine indigeremus. Deinde si haec sententia vera esset, sequeretur, quod vulgus, qui ut plurimum demonstrationes ignorat, vel iis vacare nequit, de Scriptura nihil nisi ex sola autoritate et testimoniis philosophantium admittere poterit, et consequenter supponere debebit, philosophos circa Scripturae interpretationem errare non posse, quae sanè nova esset Ecclesiae autoritas, novumque sacerdotum vel pontificum genus, quod vulgus magis irrideret, quam veneraretur ; et quamvis nostra methodus linguae hebraeae cognitionem exigat, cujus etiam studio vulgus vacare non potest, nihil tamen simile nobis objici potest ; nam vulgus Judaeorum et gentilium, quibus olim prophetae et apostoli praedicaverunt et scripserunt, linguam prophetarum et apostolorum intelligebant, ex qua etiam mentem prophetarum percipiebant, at non ratione rerum, quas praedicabant, quas ex sententia Maimonidae etiam scire deberent, ut mentem prophetarum capere possent. Ex ratione igitur nostrae methodi non sequitur necessario vulgus testimonio interpretum acquiescere ; ostendo enim vulgus, quod linguam prophetarum et apostolorum ; at Maimonides nullum ostendet vulgus, quod rerum causas intelligat, ex quibus eorum mentem percipiat. Et quod ad hodiernum vulgus attinet, jam ostendimus omnia ad salutem necessaria, quamvis eorum rationes ignorentur, facile tamen in quavis lingua posse percipi, propterea quod adeo communia et usitata sunt, et in hac perceptione, non quidem in testimonio interpretum, vulgus acquiescit ; et quod ad reliqua attinet, eandem in his cum doctis sequitur fortunam. Sed ad Maimonidae sententiam revertamur, atque ipsam accuratius examinemus. Primò supponit prophetas in omnibus inter se convenisse, summosque fuisse philosophos et theologos ; ex rei enim veritate eos concludisse vult : atqui hoc falsum esse in cap. II ostendimus. Deinde supponit sensum Scripturae ex ipsa Scriptura constare non posse ; rerum enim veritas ex ipsa

Scriptura non constat (utpote quae nihil demonstrat, nec res, de quibus loquitur, per definitiones et primas suas causas docet) ; quare ex sententia Maimonidae neque ejus verus sensus ex ipsa constare potest, adeoque neque ab ipsa erit petendus. Atqui hoc etiam falsum esse ex hoc capite constat : ostendimus enim et ratione et exemplis sensum Scripturae ex ipsa sola Scriptura constare, et ab ipsa sola, etiam cum de rebus loquitur lumine naturali notis, petendum. Supponit denique nobis licere secundum nostras praeconceptas opiniones Scripturae verba explicare, torquere, et literalem sensum, quanquam perspectissimum sive expressissimum, negare, et in alium quemvis mutare. Quam quidem licentiam, praeterquam quod ipsa ex diametro iis, quae in hoc capite et aliis demonstravimus, repugnat, nemo non videt nimiam et temerariam esse : Sed magnam hanc libertatem ipsi concedamus, quid tandem promovet ? Nihil sanè ; quae enim indemonstrabilia sunt, et quae maximam Scripturae partem componunt, hac ratione investigare non poterimus, neque ex hac norma explicare, neque interpretari ; cum contra nostram methodum insequendo, plurima hujus generis explicare, et de iis secure differere possumus, ut jam et ratione, et ipso facto ostendimus : quae autem sua natura perceptibilia sunt, eorum sensus facile, ut jam etiam ostendimus, ex solo orationum contextu elicitur. Quare haec methodus plane inutilis est. Adde quod omnem certitudinem, quam vulgus ex sincera lectione, et quam omnes aliam methodum insequendo, de sensu Scripturae habere possunt, plane iis adimit. Quapropter hanc Maimonidae sententiam ut noxiam, inutilem, et absurdam explodimus. Quod porro Phariseorum traditionem attinet, jam supra diximus, eam sibi non constare ; pontificum autem romanorum auctoritatem luculentiori testimonio indigere ; et nulla alia de causa hanc reprobare. Nam si ex ipsa Scriptura eam nobis aequè certò ostendere, ad Judaeorum pontifices olim poterant, nihil me moveret, quod inter romanos pontifices reperti fuerint haeretici et impii ; cum olim inter Hebraeorum pontifices etiam reperti fuerint haeretici et impii, qui sinistris mediis pontificatum adepti sunt, penes quos tamen ex Scripturae mandato summa erat potestas legem interpretandi. Vide Deut. ca v. 11-12 et ca v. 10 et Malach. ca v. 8. At quoniam nullum tale testimonium

nobis ostendunt, eorum autoritas admodum suspecta manet ; et ne quis exemplo pontificis Hebraeorum deceptus putet religionem catholicam etiam indigere pontifice, venit notandum, quod leges Mosis, quia publica jura patriae erant, indigebant necessario, ut conservarentur, autoritate quadam publica ; si enim unusquisque libertatem haberet jura publica ex suo arbitrio interpretandi, nulla respublica subsistere posset, sed hoc ipso statim dissolveretur, et jus publicum jus esset privatum. At religionis longe alia est ratio. Nam quandoquidem ipsa non tam in actionibus externis, quam in animi simplicitate et veracitate consistit, nullius juris neque autoritatis publicae est. Animi enim simplicitas et veracitas non imperio legum, neque autoritate publica hominibus infunditur, et absolute nemo vi aut legibus potest cogi, ut fiat beatus, sed ad hoc requiritur pia et fraterna monitio, bona educatio et supra omnia proprium et liberum judicium. Cum igitur summum jus liberè sentiendi, etiam de religione, penes unumquemque sit, nec possit concipi aliquem hoc jure decedere posse, erit ergo etiam penes unumquemque summum jus summaque autoritas de religione liberè judicandi, et consequenter eandem sibi explicandi et interpretandi ; nam nulla alia de causa summa autoritas leges interpretandi, et summum de rebus publicis judicium penes magistratum est, quam quia publici juris sunt : adeoque eadem de causa summa autoritas religionem explicandi, et de eadem judicandi penes unumquemque erit, scilicet quia uniuscujusque juris est. Longè igitur abest, ut ex autoritate pontificis Hebraeorum ad leges patriae interpretandum posset concludi romani pontificis autoritas ad interpretandam religionem ; cum contrà hanc unumquemque maximè habere facilius ex illa concludatur ; atque etiam hinc ostendere possumus nostram methodum Scripturam interpretandi apud unumquemque sit, interpretandi ergo norma nihil debet esse praeter lumen naturale omnibus commune, non ullum supra naturam lumen, neque ulla externa autoritas ; non etiam debet esse adeo difficilis, ut non nisi ab acutissimis philosophis dirigi possit, sed naturali et communi hominum ingenio et capacitati accommodata, ut nostram esse ostendimus. Vidimus enim eas, quas jam habet difficultates, orta fuisse ob hominum socordia, non autem ex natura methodi.

Caput VIII



In quo ostenditur Pentateuchon et libros Josuae,
Judicum, Rut, Samuëlis et Regum non esse autographa.
Deinde inquiritur, an eorum omnium scriptores plures fuerint,
an unus tantum, et quinam

In praecedenti capite de fundamenta et principiis cognitionis Scripturarum egimus, eaque nulla alia esse ostendimus, quam harum sinceram historiam. Hanc autem, quanquam apprime necessariam, Veteres tamen neglexisse, vel, si quam scripserint aut tradiderint, temporum unjuria periisse, et consequenter magnam partem fundamentorum et principiorum hujus cognitionis intercidisse. Quod adhuc tolerandum esset, si posterius intra veros limites se continuissent, et pauca, quae acceperant aut invenerant, bona cum fide successoribus suis tradidissent, nec nova ex proprio cerebro excussissent : quo factum est, ut Scripturae historia non tantum imperfecta, sed etiam mendosior manserit, hoc est, ut fundamenta cognitionis Scripturarum non tantum pauciora, ut iis integra superstrui possit, sed etiam vitiosa sint. Haec emendare et communia theologiae praejudicia tollere ad meum institutum spectat. At vereor, ne nimis sero hoc tentare aggrediar ; res enim eò jam ferme pervenit, ut homines circa hoc non patiantur corrigi, sed id, quod sub specie religionis amplexi sunt, pertinaciter defendant ; nec ullus locus rationi, nisi apud paucissimos (si cum reliquis comparentur) relictus videtur, adeo late haec praejudicia hominum mentes occupaverunt. Enitar tamen, remque experiri non desinam, quandoquidem nihil est, cur de hac re prorsus sit desperandum. Ut ea autem ordine ostendam, a praejudiciis circa veros Scriptores Sacrorum Librorum incipiam, et primò de scriptore Pentateuchi : quem fere omnes Mosen

esse crediderunt, imo adeò pertinaciter defenderunt Pharisei, ut eum haereticum habuerint, qui aliud visus est sentire, et hac de causa Aben Hezra, liberioris ingenii Vir, et non mediocris eruditionis, et qui primus omnium, quos legi, hoc praejudicium animadvertit, non ausus est mentem suam apertè explicare, sed rem obscurioribus verbis tantum indicare, quae ego hîc clariora reddere non verebor, remque ipsam evidenter ostendere. Verba itaque Aben Hezrae, quae habentur in suis commentariis supra Deuteronomium, haec sunt. [heb.] *Ultra Jordanem etc. modo intelligas mysterium duodecim, etiam et scripsit Moses legem et Kenahanita tunc erat in terra, in Dei monte revelabitur, tum etiam ecce lectum suum lectum ferreum, tum cognosces veritatem.* His autem paucis indicat simulque ostendit non fuisse Mosen, qui Pentateuchon scripsit, sed alium quempiam, qui longe post vixit, et denique quem Moses scripsit librum, alium fuisse. Ad haec, inquam, ostendendum, notat I. ipsam Deuteronomii praefationem, quae a Mose, qui Jordanem non transivit, scribi non potuit. Notat II., quod totus liber Mosis descriptus fuerit admodum diserte in solo ambitu unius arae (vide Deuter. ca et Josuae ca v. 37 etc.), quae ex Rabinorum relatione duodecim tantum lapidibus constabat ; ex quo sequitur librum Mosis longè minoris fuisse molis, quam Pentateuchon : Hoc, inquam, puto authorem hunc significare voluisse per mysterium duodecim ; nisi forte intellexit duodecim illas maledictiones, quae in praedicto cap. Deut. habentur, quas fortasse credidit non fuisse in libro legis descriptas, idque propterea, quod Moses praeter descriptionem legis Levitas insuper recitare illas maledictiones jubet, ut populum jurejurando ad leges descriptas observandum adstringerent. Vel forte ultimum caput Deuteronomii de morte Mosis significare voluit, quod caput duodecim versibus constat. Sed haec et quae praeterea alii hariolantur, non est opus curiosus hîc examinare. Notat deinde III. dici in Deuter. ca v. 9 [heb.] *et scripsit Moses legem* ; quae quidem verba non possunt esse Mosis, sed alterius scriptoris, Mosis facta et scripta narrantis. Notat IV. locum Genes. ca v. 6, ubi narrando, quod Abrahamus terram Kanahanitarum lustrabat, addit historicus, quod *Kanahanita tum temporis erat in illa terra* : quibus tempus, quo haec scripsit, clare secludit. Adeoque post

mortem Mosis, et cum Kanahanitae jam erant expulsi, illasque regiones non amplius possidebant, haec debuerunt scribi ; quod idem Aben Hezra super hunc locum commentando etiam his significat, [heb.] *et Kanahanita tum erat in illa terra : videtur, quod Kanahan (nepos Noae) terram Kanahanitae ab alio possessam cepit, quod si non verum est, inest huic rei mysterium, et qui id intelligit, taceat.* Hoc est, si Kanahan regiones illas invadit, tum sensus erit, *Kanahanitam jam tum fuisse in illa terra*, excludendo scilicet tempus praeteritum, quo ab alia natione inhabitabatur. At si Kanahan regiones illas primus coluit (ut ex ca Genes. sequitur), tum textus tempus praesens, scriptoris scilicet secludit ; adeoque non Mosis, cujus nimirum tempore etiamdum illas regiones possidebant ; hoc est mysterium, quod tacendum commendat. V. Notat, quod Genes. ca v. 14 vocetur mons Morya mons Dei, quod quidem nomen non habuit, nisi postquam aedificationi templi dicatus fuit ; et haec montis electio nondum erat tempore Mosis facta ; Moses enim nullum locum a Deo electum indicat, sed contra praedicat Deum locum aliquem olim electurum, cui nomen Dei imponetur. VI. Denique notat, quod ca Deuter. narrationi Og regis Basan haec interponantur, *Solus Og rex Basan mansit ex reliquis gigantibus, ecce quod lectus ejus erat lectus ferreus, is certe (lectus), qui est in Rabat filiorum Hamon novem cubitos longus* etc. Quae parenthesis clarissime indicat horum librorum Scriptorem longe vixisse post Mosen ; hic enim modus loquendi ejus tantum est, qui res antiquissimas narrat, quique rerum reliquias ad fidem faciendam indicat ; et sine dubio hîc lectus tempore primum Davidis, qui hanc urbem subegit, ut in libro 2 Samuël. ca v. 30 narratur, inventus est. At non hîc tantum, sed paulo etiam infra idem hic historicus verbis Mosis inserit *Jair filius Manassis cepit totam jurisdictionem Argobi usque ad terminum Gesuritae, et Mahachatitae, vocavitque illa loca suo nomine cum Bassan pagos Jairi usque in hunc diem.* Haec, inquam, addit historicus ad explicanda verba Mosis, quae modo retulerat, nempe *et reliquum Giliad et totum Bassan regnum Og, dedi dimidiaei tribui Manassis, tota jurisdictio Argobi sub toto Bassan, quae vocatur terra Gigantum.* Noverant procul dubio Hebraei tempore hujus scriptoris, quinam essent pagi Jairi tribulis Jehudae,

at non nomine jurisdictionis Argobi, nec terrae Gigantum, ideoque coactus est explicare, quaenam essent haec loca, quae antiquitus sic vocabantur, et simul rationem dare, cur suo tempore nomine Jairi, qui tribulis Judae, non vero Manassis erat (vide 1 Paralip. ca v. 21-22) insignirentur. His Aben Hezrae sententiam explicuimus, ut et loca Pentateuchi, quae ad eandem confirmandam adfert. Verum enimvero nec omnia, nec praecipua notavit, plura enim in hisce libris et majoris momenti notanda supersunt. Nempe I. quod horum librorum scriptor de Mose non tantum in tertia persona loquatur, sed quod insuper de eo multa testetur : Videlicet *Deus cum Mose loquutus est. Deus loquebatur cum Mose de facie ad faciem. Moses omnium hominum erat humillimus* (Num. ca v. 3). *Moses irâ captus est in duces exercitus* (Num. ca v. 14). *Moses vir divinus* (Deuter. ca v. 1). *Moses servus Dei mortuus est. Nunquam extitit propheta in Israël sicut Moses etc.* At contra in Deuteronomio, ubi lex, quam Moses populo explicuerat, quamque scripserat, describitur, loquitur, suaque facta narrat Moses in prima persona ; nempe *Deus mihi loquutus est* (Deuter. ca v. 1, 17, etc.), *Deum precatus sum* etc. Nisi quod postea historicus in fine libri, postquam verba Mosis retulit, iterum in tertia persona loquendo narrare pergit, quomodo Moses hanc legem (quam scilicet explicuerat) populo scripto tradidit, eumque novissime monuit et quomodo tandem vitam finierit. Quae omnia, nempe modus loquendi, testimonia, et ipse totius historiae contextus plane suadent hos libros ab alio, non ab ipso Mose fuisse conscriptos. II. Venit etiam notandum, quod in hac historia non tantum narratur, quomodo Moses obierit, sepultus fuerit, et Hebraeos triginta dies in luctum conjecerit, sed quod insuper facta comparatione ejus cum omnibus prophetis, qui postea vixerunt, dicitur ipsum omnes excelluisse. *Non extitit unquam, inquit, propheta in Israël, sicut Moses, quem Deus noverit de facie ad faciem.* Quod sane testimonium non Moses ipse de se, nec alius, qui eum immediate secutus est, sed aliquis, qui multis post saeculis vixit, dare potuit, praesertim quia historicus de praeterito tempore loquitur, nempe nunquam extitit propheta etc. Et de sepultura, quod nemo illam novit in hunc usque diem. III. Notandum, quod quaedam loca non iis indicentur nominibus, quae vivente Mose

obtinebant, sed aliis, quibus dudum postea insignita sunt. Ut quod Abrahamus *persecutus est hostes usque ad Dan* (vide Gen. 14 v. 14), quod nomen haec urbs non obtinuit, nisi longe post mortem Josuae (vide Judic. ca v. 29). IV. Quod historiae aliquando etiam ultra tempus vitae Mosis producantur. Nam Exod. ca v. 34 narratur, quod filii Israël comederunt Man quadraginta annos, donec venerunt ad terram habitatam, donec venerunt ad finem terrae Kanahan, nempe usque in tempus, de quo in libro Josuae ca v. 12. In libro etiam Genes. ca v. 31 dicitur, *Hi sunt reges, qui regnaverunt in Edom, antequam regnavit rex in filiis Israël* : Narrat sine dubio ibi historicus, quos reges Idumaei habuerint, antequam David eos subegit et praesides in ipsa Idumaea constituit. (Vide Samuël. 2 ca v. 14.) Ex his itaque omnibus luce meridiana clarius apparet, Pentateuchon non a Mose, sed ab alio, et qui a Mose multis post saeculis vixit, scriptum fuisse : sed si placet, attendamus insuper ad libros, quos ipse Moses scripsit, et qui in Pentateucho citantur ; ex iis ipsis enim constabit, eos alios, quam Pentateuchon fuisse. Primò itaque constat ex Exod. ca v. 14 Mosen ex Dei mandato bellum contra Hamalek scripsisse ; in quo autem libro, non constat ex illo ipso capite : at Numer. ca v. 12 citatur quidam liber, qui *bellorum Dei* vocabatur, et in hoc sine dubio bellum hoc contra Hamalek, et praeterea etiam castrametationes omnes (quas etiam author Pentateuchi Numer. ca v. 2 testatur a Mose descriptas fuisse) narrabantur. Constat praeterea de alio in Exod. ca v. 4, 7, qui vocabatur [heb.] *liber pacti*, quem coram Israëlitis legit, quando primum cum Deo pactum iniverant : At hic liber sive haec epistola pauca admodum continebat ; videlicet leges sive Dei jussa, quae narrantur ex v. 22 ca Exod. usque ad ca ejusdem libri, quod nemo inficias ibit, qui sano aliquo judicio, et sine partium studio praedictum caput legerit. Narratur enim ibi, quod, simul ac Moses sententiam populi intellexit de ineundo cum Deo pacto, statim Dei eloquia et jura scripsit, et matutina luce, quibusdam caeremoniis peractis, universae concioni pacti ineundi conditiones praelegit, quibus praelectis et sine dubio ab universa plebe perceptis, populus se pleno consensu adstrinxit. Quare tam ex temporis brevitate, quo descriptus fuit, quam ex ratione pacti ineundi sequitur hunc librum nihil praeter pauca ea, quae modo dixi, continuisse.

Constat denique, anno quadragesimo ab exitu Aegypti Mosen leges omnes, quas tulerat, explicuisse (vide Deuter. ca v. 5) populumque de novo iisdem obligavisse (vide Deuter. ca v. 14) et tandem librum, qui has leges explicatas, novumque hoc pactum continebat, scripsisse (vide Deuter. ca v. 9), et hic vocatus est *liber legis Dei*, quem Josua postea auxit, narratione scilicet pacti, quo suo tempore populus se de integro obligavit, quodque cum Deo tertio inivit (vide Josuae ca v. 25-26). At quoniam nullum habemus librum, qui hoc pactum Mosis, simul et pactum Josuae contineat, necessario concedendum hunc librum periisse, vel cum Paraphraste chaldaeo Jonatane insaniendum, et verba Scripturae ad libitum torquenda : Hic enim hac difficultate motus maluit Scripturam corrumpere, quam ignorantiam suam fateri. Nempe haec libri Josuae verba (vide ca v. 26) [heb.] *scripsitque Josua haec verba in libro legis Dei*, chaldaice sic transtulit [heb.] *et scripsit Josua haec verba et custodivit ea cum libro legis Dei*. Quid cum illis agas, qui nihil vident, nisi quod lubet ? quid, inquam, hoc aliud est, quam ipsam Scripturam negare, et novam ex proprio cerebro cudere ? Nos igitur concludimus, hunc librum legis Dei, quem Moses scripsit, non fuisse Pentateuchon, sed prorsus alium, quem author Pentateuchi suo operi ordine inseruit, quod cum ex modo dictis, tum ex jam dicendis eventissime sequitur. Nempe cum in Deuteronomii loco jam citato narratur, quod Moses legis librum scripsit, addit historicus, quod Moses eum sacerdotibus tradidit, et quod praeterea eos jussit, ut ipsum certo tempore omni populo praelegerent : quod ostendit, hunc librum longe minoris molis fuisse, quam Pentateuchon, quandoquidem in una concione ita perlegi poterat, ut ab omnibus intelligeretur : nec hic praetereundum, quod ex omnibus libris, quos Moses scripsit, hunc unum secundi pacti et canticum (quod postea etiam scripsit, ut id universus populus edisceret) religiosè servare et custodire jussit. Nam quia primo pacto non nisi praesentes, qui aderant, obligaverat, at secundo omnes etiam eorum posteros (vide Deuter. ca v. 14-15), ideo hujus secundi pacti librum futuris saeculis religiose servandum jussit, et praeterea etiam, ut diximus, canticum, quod futura saecula potissimum respicit : cum itaque non constet Mosen alios, praeter hos libros scripsisse, et ipse nullum alium,

praeter libellum legis cum cantico posteritati religiose servandum mandaverit, et denique plura in Pentateucho occurrant, quae a Mose scribi non potuerunt, sequitur, neminem cum fundamento, sed omnino contra rationem affirmare Mosen autorem esse Pentateuchi. At hic aliquis forsitan rogabit, num Moses praeter haec non etiam scripserit leges, cum ipsi primum revelarentur ? hoc est, an spatio quadraginta annorum nullas legum, quas tulerat, scripserit, praeter paucas illas, quas in primi pacti libro contentas fuisse dixi ? Sed ad haec respondeo, quamvis concederem rationi consentaneum videri, quod Moses eo ipso tempore et loco, quod leges communicare contigit, eo etiam easdem scripserit, nego tamen nobis hac de causa licere hoc affirmare ; supra enim ostendimus nobis de similibus nihil esse statuendum, nisi id, quod ex ipsa Scriptura constat, aut quod ex solis ipsius fundamentis legitima consequentia elicitur, at non ex eo, quod rationi consentaneum videtur. Adde, quod nec ipsa ratio nos cogat hoc statuere. Nam forsitan senatus Mosis edicta populo scripto communicabat, quae postea historicus collegit, et historiae vitae Mosis ordine inseruit. Atque haec de quinque libris Mosis : nunc tempus est, ut reliquos etiam examinemus. Josuae librum similibus etiam rationibus ostenditur non esse autographon : alius enim est, qui de Josua testatur, quod ejus fama fuerit per totam tellurem (vide ca v. 27), quod nihil eorum omiserit, quae Moses praeceperat (vide vers. ult. ca et 11 v. 15), quod senuerit, omnesque in concionem vocaverit, et quod tamen animam egerit. Deinde etiam quaedam narrantur, quae post ipsius mortem contigerunt. Videlicet quod post ejus mortem Israëlitae Deum coluerunt, quamdius senes, qui ipsum noverant, vixerunt. Et ca v. 10, quod (Ephraim et Manasse) *non expulerunt Kanahanitam habitantem in Gazer, sed* (addit) *quod Kanahanita inter Ephraim habitavit usque in hunc diem, et fuit tributarius*. Quod idem ipsum est, quod libro Judicum ca narratur, et modus etiam loquendi *in hunc usque diem* ostendit, Scriptorem rem antiquam narrare. Huic etiam consimilis est textus ca vers. ult. de filiis Jehudae, et historia Kalebi, ex v. 13 ejusdem capitis. Et casus ille etiam, qui ca ex v. 10 etc. narratur de duabus tribubus et dimidia, quae aram ultra Jordanem aedificaverunt, post mortem Josuae contigisse videtur : quandoquidem in tota illa historia nulla Josuae

fit mentio, sed solus populus bellum gerere deliberat, legatos mitti, eorumque responsum expectat et tandem approbat. Denique ex ca v. 14 evidenter sequitur hunc librum multis post Josuam saeculis scriptum fuisse : Sic enim testatur, *nullus alius, sicuti ille dies, fuit nec antea neque postea, quo Deus (ita) obediret cuiquam* etc. Si quem igitur librum Josua unquam scripsit, fuit sane ille, qui ca v. 13 in hac eadem scilicet historia citatur. Librum autem Judicum neminem sanae mentis sibi persuadere credo ab ipsis Judicibus esse scriptum : epilogus enim totius historiae, qui habetur ca, clare ostendit, eum totum ab uno solo historico scriptum fuisse. Deinde quia ejus scriptor saepe monet, quod illis temporibus nullus erat rex in Israël, non dubium est, quin scriptus fuerit, postquam imperium reges obtinuerant. Circa Samuëlis libros non etiam est, cur diu moremur, quandoquidem historia longe post ejus vitam producit. Hoc tamen tantum notari velim, hunc librum etiam multis post Samuëlem saeculis scriptum fuisse. Nam libr. 1 ca v. 9 historicus per parenthesin monet, *antiquitus in Israël sic dicebat quisque, quando ibat ad consulendum Deum, age eamus ad videntem, nam qui hodie propheta, antiquitus videns vocabatur*. Libri denique Regum, ut ex iisdem constat, decerpti sunt ex libris rerum Salomonis (vide Reg. 1 ca v. 41), chronicorum regum Jehudae (vide ca v. 19-29 ejusdem), et chronicorum regum Israël. Concludimus itaque omnes hos libros, quos huc usque recensuimus, esse apographa, resque in iis contentas ut antiquas enarrari. Si jam ad connexionem et argumentum horum omnium librorum attendamus, facile colligemus eos omnes ab uno eodemque historico scriptos fuisse, qui Judaeorum antiquitates ab eorum prima origine usque ad primam Urbis vastationem scribere voluit. Hi enim libri ita invicem connectuntur, ut ex hoc solo dignoscere possimus, eos non nisi unam unius historici narrationem continere. Nam simulac Mosis vitam narrare desinit, ad historiam Josuae sic transit, *et contigit, postquam mortuus est Moses servus Dei, ut Deus diceret Josuae* etc. Et hac morte Josuae finita, eadem transitione et conjunctione historiam Judicum incipit, nempe, *Et contigit, postquam mortuus est Josua, ut filii Israël a Deo quaererent* etc. Et huic libro, tanquam appendicem, librum Rut sic annectit, *Et contigit iis diebus, quibus Judices judicabant, ut fames*

esset in illa terra. Cui etiam eodem modo librum primum Samuëlis annectit, quo finito solita sua transitione ad secundum pergit ; et huic, historia Davidis nondum finita, librum primum Regum jungit, et historiam Davidis narrare pergens, tandem huic eadem conjuntione librum secundum annectit. Contextus deinde et ordo historiarum etiam indicat unum tantum fuisse historicum, qui certum sibi scopum praefixit : incipit enim primam nationis hebraeae originem narrare, deinde ordine dicere, qua occasione et quibus temporibus Moses leges tulerit, ipsisque multa praedixerit : Deinde quomodo secundum Mosis praedictiones terram promissam (vide ca Deuter.) invaserint, eâ vero possessâ legibus valedixerant (Deuter. ca v. 16), indeque ipsos multa mala consequuta sunt (ejusdem 17). Quomodo deinde reges eligere voluerunt (Deuter. ca v. 14), qui etiam prout leges curaverant, ita res ipsis prospere vel infoeliciter cesserunt (Deut. ca v. 36 et v. ult.), donec tandem imperii ruinam, sicuti ipsam Moses praedixerat, narrat. Reliqua autem, quae ad confirmandam legem nihil faciunt, vel prorsus silentio mandavit, vel lectorem ad alios historicos ablegat. Omnes igitur hi libri in unum conspirant, nempe dicta et edicta Mosis docere, eaque per rerum eventus demonstrare. Ex his igitur tribus simul consideratis, nempe simplicitate argumenti horum omnium librorum, connexionem, et quod sint apographa multis post saeculis a rebus gestis scripta, concludimus, ut modo diximus, eos omnes ab uno solo historico scriptos fuisse. Quisnam autem is fuerit, non ita evidenter ostendere possum, suspicor tamen ipsum Hesdram fuisse, et quaedam non levia concurrunt, ex quibus conjecturam facio. Nam cum Historicus (quem jam scimus unum tantum fuisse) historiam producat usque ad Jojachini libertatem, et insuper addat, ipsum regis mensae accubuisse tota ejus vita (hoc est vel Jojachini vel filii Nebucadnesoris, nam sensus est planè ambiguus), hinc sequitur eum nullum ante Hesdram fuisse. At Scriptura de nullo, qui tum floruit, nisi de solo Hesdra testatur (vide Hesdrae ca v. 10), quod ipse suum studium applicuerit ad quaerendam legem Dei, et adornandam, et quod erat scriptor (ejusdem cap. v. 6) promptus in Lege Mosis. Quare nullum praeter Hesdram suspicari possum fuisse, qui hos libros scripserit. Deinde in hoc de Hesdra testimonio videmus, quod ipse non tantum studium

adhibuerit ad quaerendam legem Dei, sed etiam ad eandem adornandam, et in Nehemiae ca. v. 9 etiam dicitur, *quod legerunt librum legis Dei explicatum, et adhibuerunt intellectum et intellexerunt Scripturam*. Cum autem in Deuteronomii libro non tantum liber legis Mosis, vel maxima ejus pars contineatur, sed insuper multa ad pleniorum explicationem inserta reperiantur, hinc conjicio librum Deuteronomii illum esse librum legis Dei ad Hesdra scriptum, adornatum et explicatum, quem tum legerunt. Quod autem in hoc libro Deuteronomii multa per parenthesin ad pleniorum explicationem inferantur, duo de hac re exempla ostendimus, cum sententiam Aben Hezrae explicaremus, cujus notae plura alia reperiuntur, ut ex. gr. in ca. v. 12 *et in Sehir habitaverunt Horitae antea, filii autem Hesau eos expulerunt et a suo conspectu deleverunt et loco eorum habitaverunt, sicuti Israël fecit in terra suae haereditatis, quam Deus ipsi dedit*. Explicat scilicet v. 3-4 ejusdem cap., nempe quod montem Sehir, qui filiis Hesau haereditate venerat, ipsi eum non inhabitatum occupaverunt, sed quod ipsum invaserunt, et Horitas, qui ipsum prius inhabitabant, inde, sicuti Israëlites post mortem Mosis Kenahanitas, deturbaverunt et deleverunt. Per parenthesin etiam inseruntur verbis Mosis v. 6-9 ca. ; nemo enim non videt, quod v. 8, qui incipit *in illo tempore separavit Deus tribum Levi*, necessario debeat referri ad v. 5, non autem ad mortem Aharonis, quam nulla alia de causa Hezras hîc inseruisse videtur, quam quia Moses in hac narratione vituli, quem populus adoraverat, dixerat (vide ca. v. 20) se Deum pro Aharone oravisse. Explicat deinde, quod Deus eo tempore, de quo Moses hic loquitur, tribum Levi sibi elegit, ut causam electionis, et cur Levitae in partem haereditatis non fuerint vocati, ostenderet, et hoc facto pergit verbis Mosis filum historiae persequi. His adde libri praefationem et omnia loca, quae de Mose in tertia persona loquuntur : et praeter haec alia multa, quae jam a nobis dignosci nequeunt, sine dubio, ut facilius ab hominibus sui aevi perciperentur, addidit, vel aliis verbis expressit : Si, inquam, ipsum Mosis librum legis haberemus, non dubito, quin tam in verbis, quam in ordine, et rationibus praeceptorum magnam discrepantiam reperimus. Dum enim solum Decalogum hujus libri cum Decalogo Exodi (ubi ejus historia ex professo narratur) confero,

eum ab hoc in his omnibus discrepare video : quartum enim praeceptum non tantum alio modo imperatur, sed insuper multo prolixius extenditur : ejus autem ratio ab ea, quae in Decalogo Exodi adfertur, toto coelo discrepat. Denique ordo, quo hîc decimum praeceptum explicatur, etiam alius est, quam in Exodo. Haec igitur cum hîc, tum in aliis locis, ut jam dixi, ab Hezra facta existimo, quia is legem Dei hominibus sui temporis explicuit, atque proinde hunc esse librum legis Dei ab ipso ornatae et explicatae : et hunc librum omnium, quos ipsum scripsisse dixi, primum fuisse puto ; quod hinc conjicio, quia leges patriae continet, quibus populus maxime indiget : et etiam quia hic liber antecedenti nulla conjunctione, ut reliqui omnes, annectitur, sed soluta oratione incipit, *Haec sunt verba Mosis*, etc. At postquam hunc absolvit et populum leges edocuit, tum studium adhibuisse credo ad integram historiam Hebraeae nationis describendam, a mundo scilicet condito usque ad summam Urbis vastationem, cui hunc librum Deuteronomii suo loco inseruit ; et forte ejus primos quinque libros nomine Mosis vocavit, quia in iis praecipue ejus vita continetur et nomen a potiore sumpsit : Et hac etiam de causa sextum nomine Josuae, septimum Judicum, octavum Ruth, nonum et forte etiam decimum Samuelis, et denique undecimum et duodecimum Regum appellavit. An vero Hezras huic operi ultimam manum imposuerit, idque, ut desiderabat, perfecit, de eo vide sequens caput.

Caput IX



De iisdem Libris alia inquiruntur,
nempe an Hezras iis ultimam manum imposuerit :
et deinde utrum notae marginales,
quae in hebraeis codicibus reperiuntur,
variae fuerint lectiones

Quantum superior disquisitio de vero horum librorum Scriptore juvet ad eorundem perfectam intelligentiam, facile colligitur ex solis ipsis locis, quae ad nostram de hac re sententiam confirmandam attulimus, quaeque absque ea unicuique deberent obscurissima videri. Verum praeter Scriptorem alia animadvertenda in ipsis libris supersunt, quae communis superstitio vulgus deprehendere non sinit. Horum praecipuum est, quod Hezras (eum pro Scriptore praedictorum librorum habeo, donec aliquis alium certiore ostendat) narrationibus in hisce libris contentis ultimam manum non imposuit, nec aliud fecit, quam historias ex diversis scriptoribus colligere, et quandoque non nisi simpliciter describere, atque eas nondum examinatas neque ordinatas posteris reliquit. Quae autem causae impediverint (nisi fortè intempestiva mors), quo minus hoc opus omnibus suis numeris adimpleret, nequeo conjicere. At reipsa, quamvis antiquis Hebraeorum historicis destituti simus, ex paucissimis tamen eorum fragmentis, quae habemus, evidentissime constat. Nam historia Hiskiae ex v. 17 ca lib. 2 Regum, ex relatione Esaiae, prout ipsa reperta est scripta in Chronicis Regum Judae, descripta est : hanc namque totam in libro Esaiae, qui in Chronicis Regum Judae continebatur (vide lib. 2 Paralip. ca vers. paenult.) iisdem, quibus hîc, verbis narratam legimus, exceptis tantum paucissimis ; ex

quibus tamen nihil aliud concludi potest, quam quod hujus Esaiæ narrationis variae lectiones repertae fuerint, nisi quis mallet in his etiam mysteria somniare. Deinde etiam caput ultimum hujus libri in Jeremiae cap. ultimo, 39 et 40 continetur. Praeterea ca Samuël. 2 in libr. 1 Paralip. ca descriptum reperimus : at verba variis in locis adeo mirifice mutata deprehenduntur, ut facillimè dignoscatur, haec duo capita ex duobus diversis exemplaribus historiae Natanis desumpta esse. Denique genealogia regum Idumaeae, quae habetur Genesis ca ex v. 31, iisdem etiam verbis in libro 1 Paralip. ca deducitur, cum tamen hujus libri authorem ea, quae narrat, ex aliis historicis sumsisse constat, non vero ex his duodecim libris, quos Hezrae tribuimus. Quare non dubium est, quin, si ipsos haberemus historicos, res ipsa directè constaret : sed quia iisdem, ut dixi, destituti sumus, id nobis tantum restat, ut ipsas historias examinemus : nempe earum ordinem et connexionem, variam repetitionem, et denique in annorum computatione discrepantiam, ut de reliquis judicare possimus. Eas itaque vel saltem praecipuas perpendamus ; et primò illam Judae et Tamar, quam ca Genesis historicus sic narrare incipit, *Contigit autem in illo tempore, ut Judas a suis fratribus discederet*. Quod tempus necessario referendum est ad aliud , de quo immediate loquutus est : at ad id, de quo in Genes. immediate agitur, minime referri potest. Ab eo enim, nempe a quo Josephus in Aegyptum ductus fuit, usque quo Jacobus patriarcha cum tota familia eò etiam profectus est, non plus, quam viginti duos annos numerare possumus ; nam Josephus, cum a fratribus venderetur, septendecim annos natus erat, et cum a pharaone e carceribus vocari juberetur, triginta : quibus si addantur septem anni fertilitatis et duo famis, conficient simul viginti duos annos. Atqui hoc temporis intervallo nemo concipere poterit tot res contingere potuisse. Nempe quod Juda tres liberos ex unica uxore, quam tum duxit, unum post alium procreaverit, quorum major natu, ubi per aetatem licuit, Tamar in uxorem duxit, eò vero mortuò secundus eam in matrimonium recepit, qui etiam obiit, et quod dudum postquam haec acta sunt, ipse Judas cum ipsa nuru Tamar ignarus rem habuerit, ex qua iterum duos, uno tamen partu, liberos acceperit, quorum etiam unus intra praedictum tempus factus

est parens. Cum igitur haec omnia non possunt referri ad illud tempus, de quo in Genesi, referendum necessario est ad aliud, de quo immediate in alio libro agebatur ; ac proinde Hezras hanc etiam historiam simpliciter descripsit, eamque nondum examinatam reliquis inservit. At non tantum hoc caput, sed totam Josephi et Jacobi historiam ex diversis historicis decerptam et descriptam esse necessario fatendum est, adeo parum sibi constare videmus. Caput enim 47 Geneseos narrat, quod Jahacob, cum primum pharahonem ducente Josepho salutavit, annos 130 natus erat, a quibus si auferantur viginti duo, quos propter Josephi absentiam in maerore transegit et praeterea septemdecim aetatis Josephi, cum venderetur, et denique septem, quos propter Rachelem servivit, reperietur ipsum provectissimae aetatis fuisse, octoginta scilicet et quatuor annorum, cum Leam in uxorem duceret, et contra Dinam vix septem fuisse annorum , cum a Sechemo vim passa est, Simeon autem et Levi vix duodecim et undecim, cum totam illam civitatem depraedati sunt, ejusque omnes cives gladio confecerunt. Nec hic opus habeo omnia Pentateuchi recensere. Si quis modo ad hoc attenderit, quod in hisce quinque libris omnia praecepta scilicet et historiae promiscue sine ordine narrentur, neque ratio temporum habeatur, et quod una eademque historia saepe, et aliquando diversimode repetatur, facile dignoscet haec omnia promiscue collecta, et coacervata fuisse, ut postea facilius examinarentur, et in ordinem redigerentur. At non tantum haec, quae in quinque libris, sed etiam reliquae historiae usque ad vastationem urbis, quae in reliquis septem libris continentur, eodem modo collectae sunt. Quis enim non videt, in ca Judicum ex v. 6 novum Historicum adferri (qui res a Josua gestas etiam scripserat) ejusque verba simpliciter describi. Nam postquam historicus noster in ultimo capite Josuae narravit, quod ipse mortem obierit, quodque sepultus fuerit, et in primo hujus libri narrare ea promiserit, quae post ejusdem mortem contigerunt, qua ratione, si filum suae historiae sequi volebat, potuisset superioribus annectere, quae hîc de ipso Josua narrare incipit . Sic etiam capita 17, 18 etc. Samuëlis 1 ex alio historico desumpta sunt, qui aliam causam sentiebat fuisse, cur David aulam Saulis frequentare inceperit, longe diversam ab illa, quae in ca libri ejusdem narratur :

non enim sensit, quod David ex consilio servorum a Saulo vocatus ipsum adiit (ut in ca narratur), sed quod casu a patre ad fratres in castra missus Saulo ex occasione victoriae, quam contra Philistaeum Goliath habuit, tum demum innotuit, et in aula detentus fuit. Idem de ca ejusdem libri suspicor, quod nimirum historicus eandem ibi historiam, quae ca habetur, secundum opinionem alterius narrare videatur. Sed hoc missum facio, et ad annorum computationem examinandam pergo. Ca libri 1 Regum dicitur, quod Salomon templum aedificavit anno 480 ab Aegypti exitu, at ex historiis ipsis longe majorem numerum concludimus. Nam

Annos

Moses populum in desertis gubernavit 40

Josuae, qui centum et decem annos vixit, non plus tribuuntur ex Josephi et aliorum sententia quam 26

Kusan Rishgataim populum in ditione tenuit 8

Hotniel filius Kenaz judicavit 40

Heglon rex Moabi imperium in populum tenuit 18

Eud et Sangar eundem judicaverunt 80

Jachin rex Kanahani populum iterum in ditione tenuit 20

Quievit postea populus 40

Fuit deinde in ditione Midiani 7

Tempore Gidehonis transegit in libertate 40

Sub imperio autem Abimelechi 3

Tola filius Puae judicavit 23

Jair autem 22

Populus iterum in ditione Philistaeorum et Hamonitarum fuit 18

Jephta judicavit 6

Absan Bethlehemita 7

Elon Sebulonita 10

Habdan Pirhatonita 8

Populus fuit iterum in ditione Philistaeorum 40

Samson judicavit 20

Heli autem 40

Fuit iterum populus in ditione Philistaeorum, antequam a Samuële
liberaretur 20

David regnavit 40

Quibus deinde addendi sunt anni illius saeculi, quo post mortem Josuae Respublica Hebraeorum floruit, donec a Kusan Rishgataim subacta fuit, quorum numerum magnum fuisse credo ; non enim mihi persuadere possum, quod statim post mortem Josuae omnes, qui ejus portenta viderant, uno momento perierunt, nec quod eorum successores uno actu et ictu legibus valedixerunt, et ex summa virtute in summam nequitiam et socordiam lapsi sunt, nec denique quod Kusan Rishgataim eos dictum factum subegit. Sed cum horum singula aetatem fere requirant, non dubium est, quin Scriptura ca v. 7, 9, 10 libri Judicum historias multorum annorum comprehenderit, quas silentio transmisit. Sunt praeterea addendi anni, quibus Samuël fuit Judex, quorum etiam numerus in Scriptura non habetur. Sunt deinde addendi anni Regni Saulis, quos in superiore computatione omisi, quia ex ejus historia non satis constat, quot annos regnaverit ; dicitur quidem ca v. 1 lib. 1 Samuëlis, eundem duos annos regnavisse, sed et ille textus truncatus est, et ex ipsa historia majorem numerum colligimus. Quod textus truncatus sit, nemo, qui hebraeam linguam vel a primo lime salutavit, dubitare potest. Sic enim incipit *במלכו ושתי שנים מלך על ישראל annum natus erat Saul, cum regnaret, et duos annos regnavit supra Israëlem*. Quis, inquam, non videt numerum annorum aetatis Saulis, cum regnum adeptus esset, omissum esse ? At quod ex ipsa historia major numerus concluditur, credo neminem etiam dubitare. Nam ca v. 7 ejusdem libri habetur, quod David apud Philistaeos, ad quos propter Saulum confugit, moratus fuit unum annum et quatuor menses : quare ex hac computatione reliqua spatio octo mensium contingere debuerunt, quod neminem credere existimo. Josephus saltem in fine libri sexti Antiquitatum textum sic correxit, *Regnavit itaque Saul Samuële vivente annos decem et octo, moriente*

autem alios duos. Quin tota haec historia ea nullo modo cum antecedentibus convenit. In fine ea narratur, quod Philistaei ab Hebraeis ita debellati fuerunt, ut non fuerint ausi vivente Samuële terminos Israëlitis ingredi ; at hîc, quod Hebraei (vivente Samuële) a Philistaeis invaduntur, a quibus ad tantam miseriam et paupertatem redacti fuerant ut armis, quibus se defendere posset, destituerentur, et insuper mediis eadem conficiendi. Sudarem sane satis, si omnes has historias, quae in hoc primo libro Samuëlis habentur, ita conarer conciliare, ut omnes ab uno Historico descriptae et ordinatae viderentur. Sed ad meum propositum revertor. Anni itaque regni Saulis superiori computationi sunt addendi. Denique annos anarchiae Hebraeorum etiam non numeravi, quia non constant ex ipsa Scriptura. Non, inquam, mihi constat tempus, quo illa contigerint, quae ex ea usque ad finem libri Judicum narrantur. Ex his itaque clarissime sequitur veram annorum computationem neque ex ipsis historiis constare, neque ipsas historias in una eademque convenire, sed valde diversas supponere. Ac proinde fatendum has historias ex diversis scriptoribus collectas esse, nec adhuc ordinatas neque examinatas fuisse. Nec minor videtur fuisse circa annorum computationem discrepantia in libris Chronicorum Regum Judae et libris Chronicorum Regum Israëlitis. In Chronicis enim Regum Israëlitis habebatur, quod Jehoram filius Aghabi regnare incepit anno secundo regni Jehorami filii Jehosaphat (vide Regum libr. 2 ca v. 17). At in Chronicis Regum Judae, quod Jehoram filius Jehosaphat regnare incepit anno quinto regni Jehorami filii Aghabi (vide ca v. 16 ejusdem libri). Et si quis praeterea historias libri Paralip. conferre velit cum historiis librorum Regum, plures similes discrepantias inveniet, quas hic non opus habeo recensere, et multo minus authorum commenta, quibus has historias conciliare conantur. Rabini namque planè delirant. Commentatores autem, quos legi, somniant, fingunt, et linguam denique ipsam planè corrumpunt. Ex. gr. cum in libro 2 Paralip. dicitur, *annos quadraginta duos natus erat Aghazia, cum regnaret* : fingunt quidam hos annos initium capere a regno Homri, non autem a nativitate Aghaziae : quod si possent ostendere intentum authoris librorum Paralip. hoc fuisse, non dubitaverim affirmare, eundem loqui nescivisse. Et ad hunc modum plura alia fingunt, quae si

vera essent, absolute dicerem antiquos Hebraeos et linguam suam, et narrandi ordinem plane ignoravisse, nec ullam rationem neque normam Scripturas interpretandi agnoscerem, sed ad libitum omnia fingere liceret. Si quis tamen putat, me hîc nimis generaliter, nec satis cum fundamento loqui, ipsum rogo, ut hoc agat, et nobis ostendat certum aliquem ordinem in hisce historiis, quem Historici in Chronologicis sine peccato imitari possent, et dum historias interpretatur et conciliare conatur, phrases et modos loquendi, et orationes disponendi, et contexendi adeo strictè observet, atque ita explicet, ut eos secundum suam explicationem in scribendo imitari etiam possimus : quod si praestiterit, manus ipsi statim dabo, et erit mihi magnus Apollo ; nam fateor, quamvis diu quaesiverim, me nihil tamen unquam simile invenire potuisse : Quin addo me nihil hîc scribere, quod dudum et diu meditatum non habuerim, et quanquam a pueritia opinionibus de Scriptura communibus imbutus fuerim, non tamen potui tandem haec non admittere. Sed non est, cur circa haec lectorem diu detineam, et ad rem desperatam provocem ; opus tamen fuit rem ipsam proponere, ut meam mentem clarius explicarem : ad reliqua igitur, quae circa fortunam horum librorum notanda suscepi, pergo. Nam venit praeterea, quae modo ostendimus, notandum, quod hi libri ea diligentia a Posteris servati non fuerint, ut nullae mendae irrepserint ; plures enim dubias lectiones animadverterunt antiquiores Scribae, et praeterea aliquot loca truncata, non tamen omnia ; an autem mendae talis notae sint, ut lectori magnam moram injiciant, de eo jam non disputo ; credo tamen eas levioris esse momenti, iis saltem, qui Scripturas liberiore judicio legunt, et hoc certò affirmare possum, me nullam animadvertisse mendam, nec lectionum varietatem circa moralia documenta, quae ipsa obscura aut dubia reddere possent. At plerique nec in reliquis aliquod vitium incidisse concedunt ; sed statuunt Deum singulari quadam providentia omnia Biblia incorrupta servasse : varias autem lectiones signa profundissimorum mysteriorum esse dicunt, idem de asterismis, qui in medio paragrapho 28 habentur, contendunt, imo in ipsis apicibus literarum magna arcana contineri. Quod sane an ex stultitia et anili devotione, an autem ex arrogantia et malitia, ut Dei arcana soli habere

crederentur, haec dixerint, nescio ; hoc saltem scio, me nihil, quod arcanum redoleat, sed tantum pueriles cogitationes apud istos legisse. Legi etiam et insuper novi nugatores aliquos Kabbalistas, quorum insaniam nunquam mirari satis potui. Quod autem mendae, uti diximus, irrepserint, neminem sani iudicii dubitare credo, qui textum illum Sauli (quem jam ex libr. 1 Samuël. ca v. 1 allegavimus) legit et etiam v. 2 ca Samuël. 2, nempe *et surrexit et ivit David et omnis populus, qui ipsi aderat, ex Juda, ut inde auferrent arcam Dei*. Nemo hîc etiam non videre potest locum, quo iverant, nempe Kirjat Jeharim , unde arcam auferrent, esse omissum : nec etiam negare possumus, quod v. 37 ca Sam. 2 perturbatus et truncatus sit, scilicet, *et Absalom fugit ivitque ad Ptolomaeum filium Hamihud Regem Gefur, et luxit filium suum omnibus diebus, et Absalom fugit ivitque Gefur mansitque ibi tres annos* . Et ad hunc modum scio me antehac alia notavisse, quae impraesentiarum non occurrunt. Quod autem notae marginales, quae in hebraeis Codicibus passim inveniuntur, dubiae fuerint lectiones, nemo etiam dubitare potest, qui attendit, quod pleraeque ex magna literarum hebraicarum similitudine inter se ortae sint. Nempe ex similitudine, quam habet *Kaf* cum *Bet*, *Jod* cum *Vau*, *Dalet* cum *Res* etc. Ex. gr. ubi libr. 2 Sam. ca v. paenult. scribitur [heb.] *et in eo* (tempore), *quo audies* habetur in margine [heb.] *cum audies*, etc. ca Jud. v. 22 [heb.] *et quando earum patres vel fratres in multitudine* (h.e. saepe) *ad nos venerint* etc., habetur in margine [heb.] *ad litigandum*. Et ad hunc modum permultae deinde etiam ortae sunt ex usu literarum, quas Quiescentes vocant, quarum nimirum pronuntiatio saepissime nulla sentitur, et promiscuè una pro alia sumitur. Ex. gr. Levit. ca v. 30 scribitur [heb.] *et confirmabitur domus, quae est in civitate, cui non est murus*, in margine autem habetur [heb.] *cui est murus* etc. At quamvis haec per se satis clara sint, libet rationibus quorundam Pharisaeorum respondere, quibus persuadere conantur notas marginales ad aliquod mysterium significandum ab ipsis librorum Sacrorum Scriptoribus appositae vel indicatas fuisse. Harum primam, quae quidem me parum tangit, sumunt ex usu legendi Scripturas : si, inquiunt, hae notae appositae sunt propter lectionum varietatem, quas posterî decidere non potuerunt, cur ergo usus invaluit, ut sensus marginalis

ubique retineatur ? cur, inquiunt, sensum, quem retinere volebant, in margine notaverunt ? debuerant contra ipsa volumina scribere, prout legi volebant, non autem sensum et lectionem, quam maxime probabant, in margine notare. Secunda vero ratio et quae aliquam speciem prae se ferre videtur, ex ipsa rei natura sumitur. Nempe quod mendae non data opera, sed casu in Codices irrepserunt, et quod ita fit, varie contingit. At in quinque libris semper nomen [heb.] *puella*, uno tantum excepto loco, defectivum contra regulam Grammatices sine litera *he* scribitur, in margine vero rectè secundum regulam Grammatices universalem. An hoc etiam ex eo, quod manus in describendo erravit, contigerit ? quo fato id fieri potuit, ut calamus semper, quotiescunque hoc nomen occurreret, festinaret ? deinde hunc defectum facile et sine scrupulo ex regulis Grammatices supplere et emendare potuissent. Igitur cum hae lectiones casu non contigerint, nec tam clara vitia correxerint, hinc concludunt, haec certo consilio a primis Scriptoribus facta fuisse, ut iis aliquid significarent. Verum his facile respondere possumus, nam quod ex usu, qui apud eos invaluit, argumentantur, nihil moror ; nescio quid superstitionis suadere potuit, et forte inde factum est, quia utramque lectionem aequè bonam seu tolerabilem aestimabant, ideoque, ne earum aliqua negligeretur, unam scribendam et aliam legendam voluerunt. Timebant scilicet in re tanta iudicium determinare, ne incerti falsam pro vera eligerent, ideoque neutram alterutri praeponere voluerunt, quod absolutè fecissent, si unam solam scribere et legere jussissent, praesertim cum in Sacris voluminibus notae marginales non scribantur : vel forte inde factum est, quia quaedam, quamvis recte descripta, aliter tamen legi, prout scilicet in margine notaverant, volebant. Ideoque universaliter instituerunt, ut Biblia secundum notas marginales legerentur. Quae causa autem Scribas moverit, quaedam expresse legenda in margine notare, jam dicam, nam non omnes marginales notae dubiae sunt lectiones, sed etiam, quae ab usu remota erant, notaverunt. Nempe verba obsoleta, et quae probati illius temporis mores non sinebant in publica concione legi. Nam antiqui Scriptores malitia privati nullis aulicis ambagibus, sed res propriis suis nominibus indicabant. At postquam malitia et luxus regnavit, illa, quae sine obscoenitate ab antiquis dicta sunt, in

obscoenis haberi inceperunt. Hac autem de causa Scripturam ipsam mutare non erat opus, attamen ut plebis imbecillitati subvenirent, introduxerunt, ut nomina coitus et excrementorum honestius in publico legerentur, videlicet sicuti ipsa in margine notaverunt. Denique quicquid fuerit, cur usu factum fuerit, ut Scripturas secundum marginales lectiones legant, et interpretentur, id saltem non fuit, quod vera interpretatio secundum ipsas debet fieri. Nam praeterquam quod ipsi Rabini in Talmud saepe a Masoretis recedunt, et alias habebant lectiones, quas probabant, ut mox ostendam, quaedam insuper in margine reperiuntur, quae minus secundum usum linguae probata videntur. Ex. gr. in libr. 2 Samuël. ca v. 22 scribitur [heb.] *quia Rex effecit secundum sententiam sui servi*, quae constructio planè regularis est et convenit cum illa v. 15 ejusdem cap., at quae in margine habetur ([heb.] *servi tui*) non convenit cum persona verbi. Sic etiam v. ult. ca ejusdem libri scribitur [heb.] *ut cum consultat* (id est consultatur) *verbum Dei*, ubi in margine additur [heb.] *quis* pro verbi nominativo. Quod non satis accurate factum videtur, nam communis hujus linguae usus est, verba impersonalia in tertia persona singularis verbi activi usurpare, ut Grammaticis notissimum. Et ad hunc modum plures inveniuntur notae, quae nullo modo scriptae lectioni praeponi possunt. Quod autem ad secundam rationem Pharisaeorum attinet, ei etiam ex modò dictis facile respondetur, nempe quod Scribae praeter dubias lectiones verba etiam obsoleta notaverunt : Nam non dubium est, quin in lingua hebraea, sicuti in reliquis, multa obsoleta et antiquata posterior usus fecerit, et reperta fuerint ab ultimis Scribis in Bibliis, quae, uti diximus, omnia notaverunt, ut coram populo secundum tum receptum usum legerentur. Hac igitur de causa nomen [heb.] *nahgar* ubique notatum reperitur, quia antiquitus communis erat generis, et idem significabat, quod apud Latinos *Juvenis*. Sic etiam Hebraeorum metropolis vocari apud antiquos solebat [heb.] *Jerusalem*, non autem [heb.] *Jerusalaim* : de pronomine [heb.] *ipse*, et *ipsa* idem sentio, quod scilicet recentiores *vau* in *jod* mutaverunt (quae mutatio in hebraea lingua frequens est), cum genus foemininum significare volebant ; at quod antiqui non, nisi vocalibus hujus pronominis foemininum a masculino solebant distinguere. Sic praeterea quorundam verborum

anomaliam aliam apud priores, aliam apud posteros fuit, et denique antiqui literis paragogicis [heb.] singulari sui temporis elegantia utebantur. Quae omnia hîc multis exemplis illustrare possem, sed nolo taediosa lectione lectorem detinere. At si quis roget, unde haec noverim ? respondeo, quia ipsa apud antiquissimos Scriptores, nempe in Bibliis saepe reperi, nec tamen eos posterius imitari voluerunt, quae unica est causa, unde in reliquis linguis, quamvis jam etiam mortuis, tamen verba obsoleta noscuntur. Sed fortè adhuc aliquis instabit, cum ego maximam harum notarum partem dubias esse lectiones statuerim, cur nunquam unius loci plures, quam duae lectiones repertae sint ? cur aliquando non tres vel plures ? Deinde quod quaedam in Scriptis adeo manifestè Grammaticae repugnant, quae in margine rectè notantur, ut minime credendum sit scribas haerere potuisse et, utra esset vera, dubitare. Sed ad haec etiam facile respondetur, et quidem ad primum dico, plures fuisse lectiones, quam quas in nostris codicibus notatas reperimus. In Talmude enim plures notantur, quae a Masoretis neglectae sunt, et tam apertè multis in locis ab iisdem recedunt, ut superstitiosus ille corrector Bibliorum Bombergianorum tandem coactus fuerit fateri, in sua praefatione, se eos reconciliare nescire [heb.] et, inquit, *hic nescimus respondere, nisi quod supra respondimus*, nempe, *quod usus Talmudis est Masoretis contradicere*. Quare non satis cum fundamento statuere possumus, unius loci non plures quam duas lectiones unquam fuisse. Attamen facile concedo, imò credo unius loci nunquam plures, quam duas lectiones repertas fuisse, idque ob duas rationes ; nempe

I. quia causa, unde harum lectionum varietatem ortam esse ostendimus, non plures quam duas concedere potest : ostendimus enim eas potissimum ex similitudine quarundam literarum ortas fuisse. Quare dubium ferè semper huc tandem redibat, videlicet utra ex duabus literis esset scribenda *Bet* an *Kaf*, *Jod* an *Vau*, *Dalet* an *Res* etc., quarum usus frequentissimus est ; et ideo saepe contingere poterat, ut utraque sensum tolerabilem pareret. Deinde utrum syllaba longa aut brevis esset, quarum quantitas iis literis, quas Quiescentes vocavimus, determinatur. His adde, quod non omnes notae dubiae sunt lectiones; multas enim

appositas esse diximus honestatis causa, et etiam ut verba obsoleta et antiquata explicarent.

II. Ratio, cur mihi persuadeo, unius loci non plures, quam duas lectiones reperiri, est, quia credo Scribas pauca admodum exemplaria reperisse, forte non plura, quam duo vel tria. In tractatu Scribarum [heb.] ca. non nisi de tribus fit mentio, quae fingunt tempore Hezrae inventa fuisse, quia venditant has notas ab ipso Hezra appositas fuisse. Quicquid sit, si tria habuerunt, facile concipere possumus, duo semper in eodem loco convenisse, quin imo unusquisque mirari sane potuisset, si in tribus tantum exemplaribus tres diversae unius ejusdemque loci lectiones reperirentur. Quo autem fato factum est, ut post Hezram tanta exemplarium penuria fuerit, is mirari desinet, qui vel solum cap. I. Libr. I. Machabaeorum legerit, vel ca. Libr. 12. Antiquit. Josephi. Imo prodigio simile videtur, quod post tantam tamque diuturnam persecutionem pauca illa retinere potuerint; de quo neminem dubitare opinor, qui illam historiam mediocri cum attentione legerit. Causas itaque videmus, cur nullibi plures quam duae dubiae lectiones occurrunt. Quapropter longe abest, ut ex eo, quod non plures duabus ubique dentur, concludi possit, Biblia in locis notatis data opera perperam scripta fuisse ad significanda mysteria. Quod autem ad secundum attinet, quod quaedam reperiantur adeo perperam scripta, ut nullo modo dubitare potuerint, quin omnium temporum scribendi usui repugnarent, quaeque adeo absolute corrigere, non autem im margine notare debuerant, me parum tangit, neque enim scire teneor, quae religio ipsos moverit, ut id non facerent. Et forte id ex animi sinceritate fecerunt, quod posteris Biblia, ut ab ipsis in paucis originalibus inventa fuerint, tradere voluerunt, atque originalium discrepantias notare, non quidem ut dubias, sed ut varias lectiones; nec ego easdem dubias vocavi, nisi quia revera fere omnes tales reperio, ut minime sciam, quaenam prae alia sit probanda. Denique praeter dubias has lectiones notaverunt insuper Scribae (vacuum spatium in mediis paragraphis interponendo) plura loca truncata, quorum numerum Masoretæ tradunt; numerant scilicet viginti octo loca, ubi in medio paragrapho spatium vacuum interponitur, nescio an etiam in numero aliquod mysterium latere credunt.

Spatii autem certam quantitatem religiose observant Pharisei. Horum exemplum (ut unum adferam) habetur in Genes. ca. v. 8., qui sic scribitur : *Et dixit Kain Habeli fratri suo... et contigit, dum erant in campo, ut Kain* etc., ubi spatium relinquitur vacuum, ubi scire expectabamus, quid id fuerit, quod Kain fratri dixerat. Et ad hunc modum (praeter illa, quae jam notavimus) a Scribis relicta vigintiocto reperiuntur. Quorum tamen multa non apparerent truncata, nisi spatium interjectum esset. Sed de his satis.

Caput X



Reliqui Veteris Testamenti libri
eodem modo quo superiores examinantur

Transeo ad reliquos Veteris Testamenti libros. At de duobus Paralipomenon nihil certi et quod operae pretium sit, notandum habeo, nisi quod dudum post Hezram, et forte postquam Judas Machabaeus templum restauravit, scripti fuerunt. Nam ca. libri I. narrat Historicus, *quaenam familiae primum* (tempore scilicet Hezrae) *Hierosolymae habitaverint*; et deinde v. 17. *Janitores*, quorum duo etiam in Nehem. ca v. 19. narrantur, indicat. Quod ostendit hos libros dudum post urbis reaedificationem scriptos fuisse. Caeterum de vero eorundem Scriptore, deque eorum autoritate, utilitate et doctrina nihil mihi constat. Imo non satis mirari possum, cur inter Sacros recepti fuerint ab iis, qui librum sapientiae, Tobiae et reliquos, qui apocryphi dicuntur, ex canone Sacrorum deleverunt: intentum tamen non est eorum auctoritatem elevare, sed quandoquidem ab omnibus sunt recepti, eos etiam, ut ut sunt, relinquo. Psalmi collecti etiam fuerunt, et in quinque libros dispartiti in secundo templo; nam Ps. 88. ex Philonis Judaei testimonio editus fuit, dum Rex Jehojachin Babiloniae in carcere detentus adhuc erat, et Ps. 89. cum idem Rex libertatem adeptus est; nec credo, quo Philo hoc unquam dixisset, nisi vel sui temporis recepta opinio fuisset, vel ab aliis fide dignis accepisset. Proverbia Salomonis eodem etiam tempore collecta fuisse credo, vel ad minimum tempore Josiae Regis, idque quia ca. vers. ult. dicitur, *Haec etiam sunt Salomonis Proverbia, quae transtulerunt viri Hiskiae Regis Judae*. At hic tacere nequeo Rabinorum audaciam, qui hunc librum cum Ecclesiaste ex canone Sacrorum exclusos volebant, et cum reliquis, quos jam desideramus, custodire. Quod absolute fecissent, nisi quaedam reperissent loca, ubi lex Mosis

commendatur. Dolendum sane, quod res sacrae et optimae ab horum electione dependerint. Ipsis tamen gratulor, quod hos etiam nobis communicare voluerunt, verum non possum non dubitare, num eos bona cum fide tradiderint, quod hic ad severum examen revocare nolo. Pergo igitur ad libros Prophetarum. Cum ad hos attendo, video Prophetias, quae in iis continentur, ex aliis libris collectas fuisse, neque in hisce eodem ordine semper describi, quo ab ipsis Prophetis dictae vel scriptae fuerunt, neque etiam omnes contineri, sed eas tantum, quas hinc illinc invenire potuerunt : quare hi libri non nisi fragmenta Prophetarum sunt. Nam Esaias regnante Huzia prophetare incepit, ut descriptor ipse primo versu testatur. At non tantum tum temporis prophetavit, sed insuper omnes res ab hoc Rege gestas descripsit (vide Paral. lib. 2. ca. v. 22.), quem librum jam desideramus. Quae autem habemus, ex Chronicis Regum Judae, et Isra,elis descripta esse ostendimus. His adde, quod Rabini statuunt hunc Prophetam etiam regnante Manasse, a quo tandem peremptus est, prophetavisse, et quamvis fabulam narrare videantur, videntur tamen credidisse omnes ejus Prophetias non extare. Jeremiae deinde Prophetiae, quae historice narrantur, ex variis Chronologis decerptae et collectae sunt. Nam praeterquam, quod perturbate accumuluntur nulla temporum ratione habita, eadem insuper historia diversis modis repetitur. Nam ca. causam apprehensionis Jeremiae exponit, quod scilicet urbis vastationem Zedechiae ipsum consulenti praedixerit, et hac historia interrupta transit ca. ad ejus in Jehojachinum, qui ante Zedechiam regnavit, declamationem narrandum, et quod Regis captivitatem praedixerit, et deinde ca. ea describit, quae ante haec anno scilicet quarto Jehojakimi, Prophetae revelata sunt. Deinde quae anno primo hujus Regis, et sic porro, nullo temporum ordine servato, Prophetias accumulare pergit, donec tandem ca. (quasi haec 15 capita per parenthesin dicta essent) ad id, quod ca. narrare incepit, revertitur. Nam conjunctio, qua illud caput incipit, ad v. 8. 9. et 10. hujus refertur; atque tum longe aliter ultimam Jeremiae apprehensionem describit, et causam diuturnae ejus detentionis in atrio custodiae longe aliam tradit, quam quae in ca. narratur : Ut clare videas haec omnia ex diversis Historicis esse collecta, nec ulla alia ratione excusari posse. At reliquae

Prophetiae, quae in reliquis capitibus continentur, ubi Jeremias in prima persona loquitur, ex volumine, quod Baruch, ipso Jeremia dictante, scripsit, descriptae videntur : Id enim (ut ex ca. v. 2. constat) ea tantum continebat, quae huic Prophetae revelata fuerant a tempore Josiae usque ad annum quartum Jehojakimi ; a quo etiam tempore hic liber incipit. Deinde ex eodem volumine etiam descripta videntur, quae habentur ex ca. v. 2. usque ad ca. v. 59. Quod autem Ezechiëlis liber fragmentum etiam tantum sit, id primi ejus versus clarissime indicant; quis enim non videt conjunctionem, qua liber incipit, ad alia jam dicta referri, et cum iis dicenda connectere? at non tantum conjunctio, sed totus etiam orationis contextus alia scripta supponit : annus enim trigesimus, a quo hic liber incipit, ostendit Prophetam in narrando pergere, non autem incipere; quod etiam Scriptor ipse per parenthesin v. 3. sic notat, *fuerat saepe verbum Dei Ezechiëli filio Buzi sacerdoti in terra Chaldaeorum* etc., quasi diceret, verba Ezechiëlis, quae huc usque descripserat, ad alia referri, quae ipsi ante hunc annum trigesimum revelata erant. Deinde Josephus lib. 10. Antiq. ca. narrat Ezechiëlem praedixisse, quod Tsedechias Babiloniam non videret, quod in nostro, quem ejus habemus, libro, non legitur, sed contra cap. scilicet 17., quod Babiloniam captus duceretur . De Hosea non certo dicere possumus, quod plura scripserit, quam quae in libro, qui ejus dicitur, continentur. Attamen miror nos ejus plura non habere, qui ex testimonio Scriptoris plus quam octoginta quatuor annos prophetavit. Hoc saltem in genere scimus, horum librorum Scriptores neque omnium Prophetarum, neque horum, quos habemus, omnes prophetias collegisse : Nam eorum Prophetarum, qui regnante Manasse prophetaverunt, et de quibus in Libr. 2. Paral. ca. v. 10. 18. 19. in genere fit mentio, nullas plane prophetias habemus; nec etiam omnes horum duodecim Prophetarum. Nam Jonae non nisi Prophetiae de Ninivitis describuntur, cum tamen etiam Israëlitis prophetaverit, qua de re vide Libr. 2. Reg. ca. v. 25.

De Libro Jobi, et de ipso Jobo multa inter Scriptores fuit controversia. Quidam putant Mosen eundem scripsisse, et totam historiam non nisi parabolam esse; quod quidam Rabinorum in Talmude tradunt, quibus Maimonides etiam favet in

suo libro More Nebuchim. Alii historiam veram esse crediderunt, quorum quidam sunt, qui putaverunt hunc Jobum tempore Jacobi vixisse, ejusque filiam Dinam in uxorem duxisse. At Aben Hezra, ut jam supra dixi, in suis commentariis supra hunc librum affirmat eum ex alia lingua in hebraeam fuisse translatum; quod quidem vellem, ut nobis evidentius ostendisset, nam inde possemus concludere gentiles etiam libros sacros habuisse. Rem itaque in dubio relinquo, hoc tamen conjicio, Jobum gentilem aliquem fuisse virum, et animi constantissimi, cui primo res prosperae, deinde adversissimae, et tandem foelicissimae fuerunt. Nam Ezechiël ca. v. 14. eum inter alios nominat : atque hanc Jobi variam fortunam, et animi constantiam multis occasionem dedisse credo de Dei providentia disputandi, vel saltem auctori hujus libri Dialogum componendi : nam quae in eo continentur, ut etiam stylus, non viri inter cineres misere aegrotantis, sed otiose in musaeo meditantis videntur : Et hic cum Aben Hezra crederem hunc librum ex alia lingua translatum fuisse, quia Gentilium po,sin affectare videtur; Deorum namque Pater bis concilium convocat, et Momus, qui hic Satan vocatur, Dei dicta summa cum libertate carpit etc.; sed haec merae conjecturae sunt, nec satis firmæ. Transeo ad Dani,elis librum; hic sine dubio ex ca. ipsius Dani,elis scripta continet. Undenam autem priora septem capita descripta fuerint, nescio. Possumus suspicari, quandoquidem praeter primum Chaldaice scripta sunt, ex Chaldaeorum Chronologiis. Quod si clare constaret, luculentissimum esset testimonium, unde evinceretur, Scripturam eatenus tantum esse sacram, quatenus per ipsam intelligimus res in eadem significatas, at non quatenus verba sive linguam et orationes, quibus res significantur, intellegimus : et praeterea libros, qui res optimas docent et narrant, quacunque demum lingua, et a quacunque natione scripti fuerint, aequè sacros esse. Hoc tamen notare saltem possumus, haec capita Chaldaice scripta esse, et nihilominus aequè sacra esse, ac reliqua Biblicorum. Huic autem Dani,elis libro primus Hezrae ita annectitur, ut facile dignoscatur eundem Scriptorem esse, qui res Judaeorum a prima captivitate successive narrare pergit. Atque huic non dubito annecti Librum Ester. Nam conjunctio, qua is liber incipit, ad nullum alium referri potest : nec credendum est,

eum eundem esse, quem Mardocheus scripsit. Nam ca. v. 20. 21. 22. narrat alter de ipso Mardocheo, quod Epistolas scripserit, et quid illae continuerint : deinde v. 31. ejusdem cap., quod regina Ester edicto firmaverit res ad festum Sortium (Purim) pertinentes, et quod scriptum fuerit in libro, hoc est (ut hebraice sonat) in libro omnibus tum temporis (quo haec scilicet scripta sunt) noto : atque hunc fatetur Aben Hezra, et omnes fateri tenentur, cum aliis periisse. Denique reliqua Mardochei refert Historicus ad Chronica Regum Persarum. Quare non dubitandum est, quin hic liber ab eodem Historico, qui res Dani, lis et Hezrae narravit, etiam scriptus fuerit; et insuper etiam liber Nehemiae , quia Hezrae secundus dicitur. Quatuor igitur hos libros, nempe Dani, lis, Hezrae, Esteris et Nehemiae ab uno eodemque Historico scriptos esse affirmamus : quisnam autem is fuerit, nec suspicari quidem possum. Ut autem sciamus, undenam ipse, quisquis tandem fuerit, notitiam harum historiarum acceperit, et forte etiam maximam earum partem descripserit, notandum, quod praefecti, sive principes Judaeorum in secundo templo, ut eorum Reges in primo, scribas sive historiographos habuerunt, qui annales sive eorum Chronologiam successive scribebant : Chronologiae enim Regum sive annales in libris Regum passim citantur : at Principum et sacerdotum secundi templi citantur primo in libr. Nehemiae ca. v. 23., deinde in Mach. lib. I. ca. v. 24. Et sine dubio hic ille est liber (vide Est. ca. v. 31.), de quo modo loquuti sumus, ubi edictum Esteris, et illa Mardochei scripta erant, quemque cum Aben Hezra periisse diximus. Ex hoc igitur libro omnia, quae in hisce continentur, desumpta vel descripta videntur; nullus enim alius ab eorum Scriptore citatur, neque ullum alium publicae auctoritatis novimus. Quod autem hi libri nec ab Hezra, nec a Nehemia scripti fuerint, patet ex eo, quod Nehem. ca. v. 10. 11. producit genealogia summi pontificis Jesuhgae usque ad Jaduah, sextum scilicet pontificem, et qui Alexandro Magno, jam fere Persarum imperio subacto, obviam ivit (vide Josephi Antiq. lib. II. ca.), vel ut Philo Judaeus in libro temporum ait, sextum et ultimum sub Persis pontificem. Imo in eodem hoc Nehemiae cap., vers. scilicet 22., hoc ipsum clare indicatur. *Levitae, inquit Historicus, temporis Eljasibi, Jojadae, Jonatanis et Jaduhae supra regnum Darii Persae scripti sunt,*

nempe in Chronologiis : atque neminem existimare credo, quod Hezras aut Nehemias adeo longaevi fuerint, ut quatuordecim Reges Persarum supervixerint; nam Cyrus omnium primus Judaei veniam largitus est templum reaedificandi, et ab eo tempore usque ad Darium decimumquartum, et ultimum Persarum Regem ultra 230 anni numerantur. Quare non dubito, quin hi libri, dudum postquam Judas Machabaeus templi cultum restauravit, scripti fuerint, idque quia tum temporis falsi Dani, lis, Hezrae et Esteris libri edebantur a malevolis quibusdam, qui sine dubio Sectae Zaducaeorum erant; nam Pharisei nunquam illos libros, quod sciam, receperunt. Et quamvis in libro, qui Hezrae quartus dicitur, fabulae quaedam reperiantur, quas etiam in Talmude legimus, non tamen ideo Phariseis sunt tribuendi, nam, si stupidissimos demas, nullus eorum est, qui non credat, illas fabulas ab aliquo nugatore adjectas fuisse; quod etiam credo aliquos fecisse, ut eorum traditiones omnibus ridendas praeberent. Vel forte ea de causa tum temporis descripti atque editi sunt, ut populo ostenderent, Dani, lis Prophetias adimpletas esse, atque eum hac ratione in religione confirmarent, ne de melioribus et futura salute in tantis calamitatibus desperaret. Verum enimvero quamvis hi libri adeo recentes et novi sint, multae tamen mendae ex festinatione, ni fallor, describentium in eosdem irrepserunt. In hisce enim, ut in reliquis, notae marginales, de quibus in praecedenti cap. egimus, plures etiam reperiuntur, et praeterea etiam loca quaedam, quae nulla alia ratione excusari possunt, ut jam ostendam : sed prius circa horum marginales lectiones notari volo, quod si Phariseis concedendum, eas aequae antiquas esse, ac ipsos horum librorum Scriptores, tum necessario dicendum erit Scriptores ipsos, si forte plures fuerunt, eas ea de causa notavisse, quia ipsas Chronologias, unde eas descripserunt, non satis accurate scriptas invenerunt; et quamvis quaedam mendae clarae essent, non tamen ausos fuisse antiquorum et majorum scripta emendare. Nec opus jam habeo, ut de his prolixius hic iterum agam. Transeo igitur ad eas indicandum, quae in margine non notantur. Atque I. nescio, quot dicam irrepsisse in ca. Hezrae : nam v. 64. traditur summa totalis eorum omnium, qui distributive in toto capite numerantur, atque iidem dicuntur simul fuisse 42360 : et tamen, si summas

partiales addas, non plures invenies, quam 29818. Error igitur hic est vel in totali, vel in partialibus summis. At totalis credenda videtur recte tradi, quia sine dubio eam unusquisque memoriter retinuit, ut rem memorabilem, partiales autem non item. Adeoque si error in totalem summam laberetur, statim unicuique pateret, et facile corrigeretur. Atque hoc ex eo plane confirmatur, quod in Nehem. ca., ubi hoc caput Hezrae (quod Epistola genealogiae vocatur) describitur, sicuti expresse v. 5. ejusdem cap. Nehemiae dicitur, summa totalis cum hac libri Hezrae plane convenit, partiales autem valde discrepant : quasdam enim majores, quasdam porro minores, quam in Hezra reperiens, easque omnes simul conficere 31089. Quare non dubium est, quin in solas summas partiales tam libri Hezrae quam Nehemiae plures mendae irrepserint. Commentatorum autem, qui has evidentes contradictiones reconciliare conantur, unusquisque pro viribus sui ingenii, quicquid potest, fingit et interea, dum scilicet literas et verba Scripturae adorant, nihil aliud faciunt, ut jam supra monuimus, quam Bibliorum Scriptores contemtui exponere, adeo ut viderentur nescivisse loqui, neque res dicendas ordinare : Imo nihil aliud faciunt, quam Scripturae perspicuitatem plane obscurare : nam si ubique liceret Scripturas ad eorum modum interpretari, nulla esset sane oratio, de cujus vero sensu non possemus dubitare. Sed non est, cur circa haec diu detinear : mihi enim persuadeo, quod si aliquis Historicus ea omnia imitari vellet, quae ipsi Scriptoribus Bibliorum devote concedunt, eum ipsi multis modis irriderent. Et si putant eum blasphemum esse, qui Scripturam alicubi mendosam esse dicit, quaeso quo nomine tum ipsos appellabo, qui Scripturis, quicquid lubet, affingunt? qui Sacros Historicos ita prostituunt, ut balbutire, et omnia confundere credantur? qui denique sensus Scripturae perspicuos et evidentissimos negant? quid enim in Scriptura clarius, quam quod Hezras cum sociis in Epistola Genealogiae, in ca. libri, qui ejus dicitur, descripta, numerum eorum omnium, qui Hierosolymam profecti sunt, per partes comprehenderit, quandoquidem in iis, non tantum eorum numerus traditur, qui suam Genealogiam, sed etiam eorum, qui eam non potuerunt indicare. Quid inquam clarius, ex v. 5. ca. Nehemiae, quam quod ipse hanc eandem Epistolam simpliciter descripserit? Ii igitur, qui haec aliter explicant, nihil

aliud faciunt, quam verum Scripturae sensum et consequenter Scripturam ipsam negare; quod autem putant pium esse, una loca Scripturae aliis accomodare, ridicula sane pietas, quod loca clara obscuris, et recta mendosis accommodent, et sana putridis corrumpant. Absit tamen, ut eos blasphemos appellem, qui nullum animum maledicendi habent; nam errare humanum quidem est. Sed ad propositum revertor. Praeter mendas, quae in summis Epistolae Genealogiae tam Hezrae quam Nehemiae sunt concedendae, plures etiam notantur in ipsis nominibus familiarum, plures insuper in ipsis Genealogiis, in historiis, et vereor ne etiam in ipsis Prophetiis. Nam sane Prophetia Jeremiae ca. de Jechonia nullo modo cum ejus historia (vide finem libri 2. Regum, et Jerem. et libr. I. Paral. ca. v. 17. 18. 19.) convenire videtur, et praecipue verba versus ultimi illius capitis; nec etiam video, qua ratione de Tsidchia, cujus oculi, simulac filios necare vidit, effossi sunt, dicere potuit pacifice morieris etc. (vide Jerem. ca. v. 5.). Si ex eventu Prophetiae interpretandae sunt, haec nomina mutanda essent, et pro Tsidchia Jechonias, et contra pro hoc ille sumendus videretur : Sed hoc nimis paradoxum, adeoque rem ut imperceptibilem relinquere malo, praecipue quia, si hic aliquis est error, is Historico, non vitio exemplarium tribuendus est. Quod ad reliquos attinet, quos dixi, eos hic notare non puto, quandoquidem id non sine magno lectoris taedio efficere possim; praesertim quia ab aliis jam animadversa sunt. Nam R. Selomo ob manifestissimas contradictiones, quas in relatis genealogiis observavit, coactus est in haec verba erumpere, nempe (vide ejus commentaria in lib. I. ca. Paralip.) *quod Hezras (quem libros Paral. scripsisse putat) filios Benjaminis aliis nominibus appellat, ejusque genealogiam aliter, quam eam habemus in libr. Geneseos, diducit, et quod denique maximam partem civitatum Levitarum aliter, quam Josua, indicat, inde evenit, quod discrepantia originalia invenit; et paulo infra quod Genealogia Gibeonis et aliorum bis et varie describitur, quia Hezras plures et varias uniuscujusque Genealogiae Epistolas invenit, et in his describendis maximum numerum exemplarium secutus est, at quando numerus discrepantium Genealogorum aequalis erat, tum utrorumque exemplaria descripsit ;* atque hoc modo absolute concedit hos libros ex

originalibus non satis correctis nec satis certis descriptos fuisse. Imo commentatores ipsi saepissime, dum loca conciliare student, nihil plus agunt quam errorum causas indicare; denique neminem sani iudicii credere existimo, quod Sacri Historici consulto ita scribere voluerint, ut sibi passim contradicere viderentur. At forte aliquis dicet, me hac ratione Scripturam plane evertere, nam hac ratione eam ubique mendosam esse suspicari omnes possunt : Sed ego contra ostendi, me hac ratione Scripturae consulere, ne ejus loca clara, et pura mendosis accommodentur, et corrumpantur : nec quia quaedam loca corrupta sunt, idem de omnibus suspicari licet : nullus enim liber unquam sine mendis repertus est. An quaeso ea de causa ubique mendosos aliquis unquam suspicatus est? nemo sane : praesertim quando oratio est perspicua, et mens authoris clare percipitur. His ea, quae circa historiam Librorum Veteris Testamenti notare volueram absolvi. Ex quibus facile colligimus ante tempus Machabaeorum nullum canonem Sacrorum Librorum fuisse , sed hos, quos jam habemus, a Phariseis secundi templi, qui etiam formulas precandi instituerunt, prae multis aliis selectos esse, et ex solo eorum decreto receptos. Qui itaque auctoritatem Sacrae Scripturae demonstrare volunt, ii auctoritatem uniuscujusque libri ostendere tenentur, nec sufficit divinitatem unius probare ad eandem de omnibus concludendam : alias statuendum concilium Phariseorum in hac electione librorum errare non potuisse, quod nemo unquam demonstrabit. Ratio autem, quae me cogit statuere, solos Phariseos libros Veteris Testamenti elegisse, et in canonem Sacrorum posuisse, est, quia in libro Danielis cap. ult. v. 2. resurrectio mortuorum praedicitur, quam Tsaducæi negabant : deinde quia ipsi Pharisei in Talmude hoc clare indicant. Nempe Tractatus Sabbathi ca. fol. 30. . dicitur [heb.] *dixit R. Jehuda nomine Rabi, quaesiverunt periti abscondere librum Ecclesiastis, quia ejus verba verbis legis* (NB libro legis Mosis) *repugnant. Cur autem ipsum non absconderunt? quia secundum legem incipit et secundum legem desinit.* Et paulo infra [heb.] *et etiam librum Proverbiorum quaesiverunt abscondere* etc. et denique ejusdem Tractatus cap. I. fol. 13. . [heb.] *profecto illum virum benignitatis causa nomina, cui nomen Neghunja filius Hiskiae ; nam ni ipse*

fuiisset, absconditus fuisse liber Ezechiëlis, quia ejus verba verbis legis repugnabant etc. Ex quibus clarissime sequitur, legis peritos concilium adhibuisse, quales libri ut sacri essent recipiendi, et quales excludendi. Qui igitur de omnium autoritate certus esse vult, consilium de integro ineat, et rationem cujusque exigat. Jam autem tempus esset libros etiam Novi Testamenti eodem modo examinare. Sed quia id a Viris cum scientiarum, tum maxime linguarum peritissimis factum esse audio, et etiam, quia tam exactam linguae Graecae cognitionem non habeo, ut hanc provinciam suscipere audeam, et denique quia librorum, qui hebraea lingua scripti fuerunt, exemplaribus destituimur, ideo huic negotio supersedere malo. Attamen ea notare puto, quae ad meum institutum maxime faciunt, de quibus in sequentibus.

Caput XI



Inquiritur, an apostoli epistolas suas tanquam
Apostoli et Prophetæ,
an vero tanquam Doctores scripserint.
Deinde Apostolorum officium ostenditur

Nemo, qui Novum Testamentum legit, dubitare potest apostolos prophetas fuisse. Verum quia prophetæ non semper ex revelatione loquebantur, sed contra admodum raro, ut in fine capitis I ostendimus, dubitare possumus, num apostoli tanquam prophetæ ex revelatione et expresso mandato, ut Moses, Jeremias et alii, an vero tanquam privati, vel doctores epistolas scripserint ; praesertim quia in epistola ad Corinthios 1, ca v. 6 Paulus duo praedicandi genera indicat, ex revelatione unum, ex cognitione alterum, atque ideo inquam dubitandum, an in epistolis prophetent, an vero doceant. Verum si ad earum stylum attendere volumus, eum a stylo prophetiae alienissimum inveniemus. Nam prophetis usitatissimum erat, ubique testari, se ex Dei edicto loqui ; nempe *sic dicit Deus, ait Deus exercituum, edictum Dei* etc., atque hoc non tantum videtur locum habuisse in publicis prophetarum concionibus, sed etiam in epistolis, quae revelationes continebant, ut ex illa Eliae Jehoramo scripta patet (vide librum 2 Paral. ca v. 12), quae etiam incipit [heb.] *sic dicit Deus*. At in epistolis apostolorum nihil simile legimus, sed contra in 1 ad Corinth. ca v. 40 Paulus secundum suam sententiam loquitur. Imo per plurimos in locis animi ambigui et perplexi modi loquendi occurrunt, ut (epist.ad Roman. ca v. 28) *arbitramur igitur*, etc. (ca v. 18) *arbitror enim ego*, et ad hunc modum plura. Praeter haec alii inveniuntur modi loquendi, ab autoritate prophetica plane remoti. Nempe, *hoc*

autem dico ego, tanquam infirmus, non autem ex mandato (vide Epistol. ad Corinth. 1 ca v. 6), *consilium de tanquam vir, quia Dei gratia fidelis est* (vide ejusdem ca v. 25) et sic alia multa ; et notandum, quod, cum in praedicto cap. ait, se praeceptum Dei vel mandatum habere vel non habere, non intelligit praeceptum vel mandatum sibi a Deo revelatum, sed tantum Christi documenta, quae discipulos in monte docuit. Praeterea si ad modum etiam attendamus, quo in his epistolis apostoli doctrinam euangelicam tradunt, eum etiam a modo prophetarum valde discedere videbimus. Apostoli namque ubique ratiocinantur, ita ut non prophetare, sed disputare videantur. Prophetiae verò contra mera tantum dogmata et decreta continent, quia in iis Deus quasi loquens introducit, qui non ratiocinatur, sed ex absoluto suae naturae imperio decernit, et etiam quia prophetae autoritas ratiocinari non patitur ; quisquis enim vult sua dogmata ratione confirmare, eò ipso ea arbitrari uniuscujusque judicio submittit. Quod etiam Paulus, quia ratiocinatur, fecisse videtur, qui in epistola ad Corinth. 1 ca v. 15 ait, *tanquam sapientibus loquor, judicate vos id, quod dico*. Et denique quia prophetae res revelatas non ex virtute luminis naturalis, hoc est, non ratiocinando percipiebant, ut in ca ostendimus. Et quamvis in quinque libris etiam quaedam per illationem concludi videantur, si quis tamen ad ea attenderit, eadem nullo modo tanquam peremptoria argumenta sumi posse videbit. Ex. gr. cum Moses Deuter. ca v. 27 Israëlitis dixit, *si, dum ego vobiscum vixi, rebelles fuistis contra Deum, multo magis postquam mortuus ero*. Nullo modo intelligendum est, quod Moses ratione convincere vult Israëlitas post ejus mortem a vero Dei cultu necessario deflexuros ; argumentum enim falsum esset, quod etiam ex ipsa Scriptura ostendi posset : nam Israëlitae constanter perseverarunt vivente Josua, et Senibus, et postea etiam vivente Samuële, Davide, Salomone etc. Quare verba illa Mosis moralis locutio tantum sunt, qua rhetorice et prout futuram populi defectionem vividius imaginari potuerat, praedicat : Ratio autem, cur non dico Mosen ex se ipso, ut populo suam praedictionem verisimilem faceret, et non tanquam Prophetam ex revelatione haec dixisse, est, quia v. 21 ejusdem cap. narratur Deum hoc ipsum Mosi aliis verbis revelavisse, quem sane non opus erat, verisimilibus

rationibus certiore de hac Dei praedictione et decreto reddere, at necesse erat, ipsam in ipsius imaginatione vivide repraesentari, ut in cap. I ostendimus ; quod nullo meliori modo fieri poterat, quam praesentem populi contumaciam, quam saepe expertus fuerat, tanquam futuram imaginando. Et ad hunc modum omnia argumenta Mosis, quae in quinque libris reperiuntur, intelligenda sunt; quod scilicet non sunt ex scriniis rationis desumpta, sed tantum dicendi modi, quibus Dei decreta efficacius exprimebat, et vivide imaginabatur. Nolo tamen absolute negare Prophetas ex revelatione argumentari potuisse, sed hoc tantum affirmo, quo Prophetas magis legitime argumentantur, eo eorum cognitio, quam rei revelatae habent, ad naturalem magis accedit, atque ex hoc maxime dignosci Prophetas cognitionem supra naturalem habere, quod scilicet pura dogmata, sive decreta, sive sententias loquantur; et ideo summum Prophetam Moysen nullum legitimum argumentum fecisse; et contra longas Pauli deductiones et argumentationes, quales in Epistol. ad Romanos reperiuntur, nullo modo ex revelatione supranaturali scriptas fuisse concedo. Itaque tam modi loquendi, quam disserendi Apostolorum in Epistolis clarissime indicant, easdem non ex revelatione, et divino mandato, sed tantum ex ipsorum naturali iudicio scriptas fuisse, et nihil continere praeter fraternas monitiones mixtas urbanitate (a qua sane Prophetica autoritas plane abhorret), qualis est illa Pauli excusatio in Epist. ad Rom. ca. v. 15., *paulo audacius scripsi vobis, fratres*. Possumus praeterea hoc ipsum ex eo concludere, quod nullibi legimus, quod Apostoli jussi sint scribere, sed tantum praedicare, quocunque irent, et dicta signis confirmare. Nam eorum praesentia, et signa absolute requirebantur ad gentes ad religionem convertendas, easque in eadem confirmandas, ut ipse Paulus in Epist. ad Rom. cap. I. v. II. expresse indicat; *quia valde, inquit, desidero, ut videam vos, ut impertiar vobis donum Spiritus, ut confirmemini*. At hic objici posset, quod eodem modo possemus concludere Apostolos nec etiam tanquam Prophetas praedicavisse : nam cum huc aut illuc praedicatum ibant, id non ex expresso mandato, sicuti olim Prophetas, faciebant. Legimus in Veteri Testamento, quod Jonas Niniven praedicatum ivit, ac simul, quod eo expresse missus est, et quod ei revelatum

fuerit id, quod ibi praedicare debebat. Sic etiam de Mose prolixè narratur, quod in Aegyptum tanquam Dei legatus profectus est, et simul, quid populo Israelitico et Regi Pharaoni dicere, et quanam signa ad fidem faciendam coram ipsis facere tenebatur. Esaias, Jeremias, Ezechiël expresse jubentur Israëlitis praedicare. Et denique nihil Prophetæ praedicaverunt, quod Scriptura non testetur eos id a Deo accepisse. At de Apostolis nihil simile, cum huc, aut illuc ibant praedicatum, in Novo Testamento, nisi admodum raro legimus. Sed contra quaedam reperiemus, quae expresse indicant, Apostolos ex proprio consilio loca ad praedicandum elegisse : ut contentio illa ad dissidium usque, Pauli et Barnabae, de qua vide Act. ca. v. 37. 38. etc. Et quod saepe etiam frustra aliquo ire tentaverint, ut idem Paulus in Epist. ad Rom. cap. I. v. 13. testatur, nempe *his temporibus multis volui venire ad vos et prohibitus sum*, et ca. v. 22. *propter hoc impeditus sum temporibus multis, quominus venirem ad vos*. Et cap. denique ult. Epist. ad Corinth. I. v. 12. *De Apollo autem fratre meo multum petii ab eo, ut proficisceretur ad vos cum fratribus, et omnino nulla erat ei voluntas, ut veniret ad vos; cum autem ei erit opportunitas* etc. Quare tam ex his modis loquendi, et contentione Apostolorum, quam ex eo, quod nec, cum ad praedicandum aliquo irent, testetur Scriptura, sicut de antiquis Prophetis, quod ex Dei mandato iverant, concludere debueram, Apostolos tanquam doctores, et non tanquam Prophetas etiam praedicavisse. Verum hanc quaestionem facile solvemus, modo attendamus ad differentiam vocationis Apostolorum et Prophetarum Veteris Testamenti. Nam hi non vocati sunt, ut omnibus nationibus praedicarent et prophetarent, sed quibusdam tantum peculiaribus, et propterea expressum et singulare mandatum ad unamquamque requirebant. At Apostoli vocati sunt, ut omnibus absolute praedicarent, omnesque ad religionem converterent. Quocunque igitur ibant, Christi mandatum exequabantur, nec ipsis opus erat, ut, antequam irent, res praedicandae iisdem revelarentur; discipulis scilicet Christi, quibus ipse dixerat, *quum autem tradiderint vos, ne sitis solliciti, quomodo aut quid loquamini; dabitur enim vobis in illa hora, quid loquemini* etc. (vide Matth. XI. 155. ca. v. 19. 20. Concludimus itaque Apostolos ea tantum ex singulari revelatione habuisse, quae viva voce

praedicaverunt, et simul signis confirmaverunt (vide quae in initio II. cap. ostendimus), quae autem simpliciter nullis adhibitis, tanquam testibus, signis, scripto vel viva voce docuerunt, ea ex cognitione (naturali scilicet) loquuti sunt, vel scripserunt; qua de re vide Epist. ad Corinth. I. ca. v. 6. Nec hic nobis moram injicit, quod omnes Epistolae exordiantur ab Apostolatus approbatione; nam Apostolis, ut mox ostendam, non tantum virtus ad prophetandum, sed etiam autoritas ad docendum concessa est. Et hac ratione concedimus eos tanquam Apostolos suas Epistolas scripsisse, et hac de causa exordium a sui Apostolatus approbatione unumquemque sumsisse : vel forte, ut animum lectoris facilius sibi conciliarent, et ad attentionem excitarent, voluerunt ante omnia testari, se illos esse, qui omnibus fidelibus ex suis praedicationibus innotuerant, et qui tum claris testimoniis ostenderant, se veram docere religionem et salutis viam. Nam quaecunque ego in hisce Epistolis dici video de Apostolorum vocatione, et Spiritu Sancto et divino, quem habebant, ad eorum, quas habuerant, praedicationes referri video, iis tantum locis exceptis, in quibus Spiritus Dei, et Spiritus Sanctus pro mente sana, beata et Deo dicata etc. (de quibus in primo cap. diximus) sumitur. Ex. gr. in Epist. ad Corinth. I. ca. v. 40. ait Paulus, *beata autem est, si ita maneat secundum sententiam meam, puto autem etiam ego, quod Spiritus Dei sit in me.* Ubi per *Spiritum Dei* ipsam suam mentem intelligit, ut ipse orationis contextus indicat : hoc enim vult, viduam, quae secundo non vult nubere marito, beatam judico secundum meam sententiam, qui caelebs vivere decrevi, et me beatum puto. Et ad hunc modum alia reperiuntur, quae hic adferre supervacaneum judico. Cum itaque statuendum sit Epistolas Apostolorum a solo lumine naturali dictatas fuisse, videndum jam est, quomodo Apostoli ex sola naturali cognitione res, quae sub eandem non cadunt, docere poterant. Verum si ad illa, quae circa Scripturae interpretationem cap. VII. hujus Tractatus diximus, attendamus, nulla hic nobis erit difficultas. Nam quamvis ea, quae in Bibliis continentur, ut plurimum nostrumXI. 156.captum superent, possumus tamen secure de iisdem disserere, modo nulla alia principia admittamus, quam ea, quae ex ipsa Scriptura petuntur; atque hoc eodem etiam modo Apostoli ex rebus, quas viderant, quasque

audiverant, et quas denique ex revelatione habuerant, multa concludere, et elicere, eaque homines, si libitum iis esset, docere poterant. Deinde quamvis religio, prout ab Apostolis praedicabatur, nempe simplicem Christi historiam narrando, sub rationem non cadat, ejus tamen summam, quae potissimum documentis moralibus constat, ut tota Christi doctrina, potest unusquisque lumine naturali facile assequi. Denique Apostoli non indigebant lumine supernaturali ad religionem, quam antea signis confirmaverant, communi hominum captui ita accommodandam, ut facile ab unoquoque ex animo acciperetur; neque etiam eodem indigebant ad homines de eadem monendos; atque hic finis Epistolarum est, homines scilicet ea via docere et monere, quam unusquisque Apostolorum optimam judicavit ad eosdem in religione confirmandos: et hic notandum id, quod paulo ante diximus, nempe, quod Apostoli non tantum virtutem acceperant ad historiam Christi tanquam Prophetae praedicandam, eandem scilicet signis [signis] confirmando, sed praeterea etiam auctoritatem docendi et monendi ea via, quam unusquisque optimam esse judicaret; quod utrumque donum Paulus in Epist. ad Timoth. 2. cap. I. v. II. clare his indicat, *in quo ego constitutus sum praeco et Apostolus et doctor gentium*. Et in I. ad eund. ca. v. 7., *cujus constitutus sum ego praeco et Apostolus (veritatem dico per Christum, non mentior) doctor gentium cum fide NB. ac veritate*. His, inquam, clare utramque approbationem, nempe Apostolatus et doctoratus, indicat; at auctoritatem monendi quemcunque et quandocunque voluerit, in Epist. ad Philem. v. 8. his significat, *quamvis multam in Christo libertatem habeam praecipendi tibi, quod convenit, tamen* etc. Ubi notandum, quod si ea, quae Philemoni praecipere oportebat, Paulus ut Propheta a Deo acceperat, et tanquam Propheta praecipere debebat, tum profecto ipsi non licuisset Dei praeceptum in preces mutare. Quare necessario intelligendum eum loqui de libertate monendi, quae ipsi tanquam Doctori, et non tanquam Prophetae erat. Attamen nondum satis clare sequitur Apostolos viam docendi, quam unusquisque meliorem judicasset, eligere potuisse, sed tantum eos ex officio Apostolatus non solum Prophetas, sed etiam Doctores fuisse, nisi rationem in auxilium vocare velimus, quae plane docet eum, qui auctoritatem docendi habet,

habere etiam auctoritatem eligendi, quam velit, viam. Sed satius erit rem omnem ex sola Scriptura demonstrare : Ex ipsa enim clare constat, unumquemque Apostolorum singularem viam elegisse; nempe ex his verbis Pauli Epist. ad Rom. ca. v. 20., *Sollicite curans, ut praedicarem non, ubi invocatum erat nomen Christi, ne aedificarem supra alienum fundamentum.* Sane si omnes eandem docendi viam habebant et omnes supra idem fundamentum Christianam religionem aedificaverant, nulla ratione Paulus alterius Apostoli fundamenta aliena vocare poterat, utpote quae et ipsius eadem erant : Sed quandoquidem ipsa aliena vocat, necessario concludendum, unumquemque religionem diverso fundamento supraedificasse, et Apostolis in suo doctoratu idem contigisse, quod reliquis Doctoribus, qui singularem docendi methodum habent, ut semper magis eos docere cupiant, qui plane rudes sunt, et linguas vel scientias, etiam mathematicas, de quarum veritate nemo dubitat, ex nullo alio discere inceperunt. Deinde si ipsas Epistolas aliqua cum attentione percurramus, videbimus Apostolos in ipsa religione quidem convenire, in fundamentis autem admodum discrepare. Nam Paulus ut homines in religione confirmaret, et iis ostenderet salutem a sola Dei gratia pendere, docuit neminem ex operibus, sed sola fide gloriari posse, neminemque ex operibus justificari (vide Epist. ad Rom. ca. v. 27. 28.) et porro totam illam doctrinam de praedestinatione. Jacobus autem contra in sua Epistola hominem ex operibus justificari et non ex fide tantum (vide ejus Epist. ca. v. 24.) et totam doctrinam religionis, missis omnibus illis Pauli disputationibus, paucis admodum comprehendit. Denique non dubium est, quin ex hoc, quod scilicet Apostoli diversis fundamentis religionem supraedificaverint, ortae sint multae contentiones et schismata, quibus ecclesia jam inde ab Apostolorum temporibus indesinenter vexata fuit, et profecto in aeternum vexabitur, donec tandem aliquando religio a speculationibus philosophicis separetur et ad paucissima et simplicissima dogmata, quae Christus suos docuit, redigatur : quod Apostolis impossibile fuit, quia Euangelium ignotum erat hominibus; adeoque ejus ne doctrinae novitas eorum aures multum laederet, eam, quoad fieri poterat, hominum sui temporis ingenio accommodaverunt (vide Epist. ad Cor. ca. v. 19.

20. etc.), et fundamentis tum temporis maxime notis, et acceptis superstruxerunt : et ideo nemo Apostolorum magis philosophatus est, quam Paulus, qui ad gentibus praedicandum vocatus fuit. Reliqui autem, qui Judaeis praedicaverunt, Philosophiae scilicet contemtoribus, eorum etiam ingenio sese accomodaverunt (de hoc vide Epist. ad Galat. ca. v. II. etc.) et religionem nudam a speculationibus philosophicis docuerunt. Jam autem foelix profecto nostra esset aetas, si ipsam etiam ab omni superstitione liberam videremus.

Caput XII



et qua ratione Scriptura sacra vocatur,
et qua ratione Verbum Dei,
et denique ostenditur ipsam, quatenus Verbum Dei continet,
incompactam ad nos pervenisse

Qui Biblia ut ut sunt, tanquam Epistolam Dei, e coelo hominibus missam considerant, clamabunt sine dubio me peccatum in Spiritum Sanctum commisisse, qui scilicet Dei verbum mendosum, truncatum, adulteratum, et sibi non constans statuerim, nosque ejus non nisi fragmenta habere et denique syngraphum pacti Dei, quod cum Judaeis pepigit, periisse. Verum non dubito, si rem ipsam perpendere velint, quin statim clamare desinent : Nam tam ipsa ratio, quam Prophetarum et Apostolorum sententiae aperte clamant Dei aeternum verbum et pactum, veramque religionem hominum cordibus, hoc est, humanae menti divinitus inscriptam esse, eamque verum esse Dei syngraphum, quod ipse suo sigillo, nempe sui idea, tanquam imagine suae divinitatis consignavit. Primis Judaeis Religio tanquam lex scripto tradita est, nimirum quia tum temporis veluti infantes habebantur. Verum imposterum Moses (Deuter. ca. v. 6.) et Jeremias (ca. v. 33.) tempus futurum ipsis praedicant, quo Deus suam legem eorum cordibus inscribet. Adeoque solis Judaeis, et praecipue Zaducis competebat olim pro lege in tabulis scripta pugnare, at iis minime, qui ipsam mentibus inscriptam habent : qui igitur ad haec attendere velit, nihil in supradictis reperiet, quod Dei verbo sive verae Religioni, et fidei repugnet, vel quod eam infirmare possit, sed contra nos eandem confirmare, ut etiam circa finem cap. X. ostendimus; et ni hoc esset, plane de his tacere decrevissem, imo libenter concessissem ad effugiendas omnes

difficultates, in Scripturis profundissima latere mysteria : sed quia inde intolerabilis orta est superstitio, et alia perniciosissima incommoda, de quibus in praefatione cap. VII. loquutus sum, his minime supersedendum esse duxi; praesertim quia religio nullis superstitiosis ornamentis indiget, sed contra de ipsius splendore adimitur, quando similibus figmentis adornatur. At dicent, quamvis lex divina cordibus inscripta sit, Scripturam nihilominus Dei esse verbum, adeoque non magis de Scriptura, quam de Dei Verbo dicere licet, eandem truncatam, et depravatam esse : Verum ego contra vereor, ne nimis studeant esse sancti et Religionem in superstitionem convertant, imo ne simulacra et imagines, hoc est chartam et atramentum pro Dei Verbo adorare incipiant. Hoc scio, me nihil indignum Scriptura aut Dei verbo dixisse, qui nihil statuerim, quod non evidentissimis rationibus verum esse demonstraverim; et hac de causa etiam certo affirmare possim, me nihil dixisse, quod impium sit, vel quod impietatem redoleat. Fateor profanos quosdam homines, quibus religio onus est, ex his licentiam peccandi sumere posse, et sine ulla ratione, sed tantum ut voluptati concedant, hinc concludere Scripturam ubique esse mendosam et falsificatam, et consequenter nullius etiam autoritatis. Verum similibus subvenire impossibile est secundum illud tritum, quod nihil adeo recte dici potest, quin male interpretando possit depravari. Qui voluptatibus indulgere volunt, facile causam quamcumque invenire possunt, nec olim ii, qui ipsa originalia, arcam foederis, imo ipsos Prophetas et Apostolos habebant, meliores fuerunt, nec magis obtemperantes, sed omnes tam Judaei, quam Gentiles iidem semper fuerunt, et in omni aevo virtus admodum rara fuit. Attamen ut omnem amoveam scrupulum, ostendendum hic est, qua ratione Scriptura, et quaecunque res muta sacra et divina dici debeat, deinde quid sit revera verbum Dei, et quod id non contineatur in certo numero librorum, et denique Scripturam, quatenus ea docet, quae ad obedientiam et salutem necessaria sunt, non potuisse corrumpi. Nam ex his facile unusquisque judicare poterit, nos nihil contra Dei verbum dixisse, nec ullum locum impietati dedisse.

Id sacrum et divinum vocatur, quod pietati et religioni exercendae destinatum est, et tamdiu tantum sacrum erit, quamdiu homines eo religiose utuntur : quod si pii esse desinant, et id etiam simul sacrum esse desinet : at si idem ad res impias patrandas dedicent, tum id ipsum, quod antea sacrum erat, immundum et profanum reddetur. Ex. gr. locus quidam a Jacobo Patriarcha vocatus fuit [heb.] *domus Dei*, quia ibi Deum ei revelatum coluit : sed a Prophetis ille ipse locus vocatus fuit [heb.] *domus iniquitatis* (vide Hamos ca. v. 5. et Hoseae ca. v. 5.), quia Israelitae ex instituto Jarobohami ibi idolis sacrificare solebant. Aliud exemplum, quod rem clarissime indicat. Verba ex solo usu certam habent significationem, et si secundum hunc eorum usum ita disponantur, ut homines eadem legentes ad devotionem moveant, tum illa verba sacra erunt, et etiam liber tali verborum dispositione scriptus. Sed si postea usus ita pereat, ut verba nullam habeant significationem, vel quod liber prorsus negligatur, sive ex malitia, sive quia eodem non indigent, tum et verba, et liber nullius usus, neque sanctitatis erunt : denique si eadem verba aliter disponantur, vel quod usus praevaluerit ad eadem in contrariam significationem sumenda, tum et verba et liber, qui antea sacri, impuri et profani erunt. Ex quo sequitur nihil extra mentem absolute, sed tantum respective ad ipsam, sacrum aut profanum aut impurum esse. Quod etiam ex multis Scripturae locis evidentissime constat. Jeremias (ut unum aut alterum adferam) ca. v. 4. ait Judaeos sui temporis falso vocavisse templum Salomonis, templum Dei : nam, ut ipse in eodem capite pergit, Dei nomen illi templo tantum inesse potuerat, quamdiu ab hominibus, qui ipsum colunt, et justitiam defendunt, frequentatur; quod si ab homicidis, furibus, idololatrīs, aliisque nefariis hominibus frequentetur, tum foveam potius esse transgressorum. Quid de arca foederis factum sit, nihil Scriptura narrat, quod saepe miratus sum : hoc tamen certum est, eandem periisse, vel cum templo combustam fuisse, etsi nihil magis sacrum, nec majoris reverentiae apud Hebraeos fuit. Hac itaque ratione Scriptura etiam tamdiu sacra est, et ejus orationes divinae, quamdiu homines ad devotionem erga Deum movet; sed si ab iisdem prorsus negligatur, ut olim a Judaeis, nihil est praeter chartam, et atramentum, et ab iisdem absolute profanatur, et corruptioni obnoxia

relinquitur, ideoque si tum corrumpitur, aut perit, falso tum dicitur verbum Dei corrumpi, aut perire : sicuti etiam tempore Jeremiae falso diceretur templum, quod tum temporis templum Dei esset, flammis periisse. Quod ipse Jeremias etiam de ipsa lege ait : Sic namque impios sui temporis increpat [heb.] *qua ratione dicitis, periti sumus, et lex Dei nobiscum est. Certe frustra adornata fuit; calamus scribarum frustra* (factus est), hoc est, falso dicitis vos, etsi Scriptura penes vos est, legem Dei habere, postquam ipsam irritam fecistis. Sic etiam cum Moses primas tabulas fregit, ille minime verbum Dei prae ira e manibus eiecit, atque fregit (nam quis hoc de Mose, et verbo Dei suspicari posset), sed tantum lapides, qui quamvis antea sacri essent, quia iis inscriptum erat foedus, sub quo Judaei Deo obedire se obligaverant, tamen quia postea vitulum adorando pactum illud irritum fecerant, nullius prorsus tum erant sanctitatis; et eadem etiam de causa secundae cum arca perire potuerunt. Non itaque mirum, si jam etiam prima originalia Mosis non extent, neque quod ea, quae in superioribus diximus, libris, quos habemus, contigerint, quando verum originale foederis divini, et omnium sanctissimum totaliter perire potuerit. Desinant ergo nos impietatis accusare, qui nihil contra verbum Dei loquuti sumus, nec idem contaminavimus, sed iram, si quam justam habere possint, in antiquos vertant, quorum malitia Dei arcam, templum, legem et omnia sacra profanavit, et corruptioni subiecit. Deinde si secundum illud Apostoli in 2. Epist. ad Corinth. ca. v. 3. Dei Epistolam in se habent non atramento, sed Dei Spiritu, neque in tabulis lapideis, sed in tabulis carneis cordis scriptam, desinant literam adorare et de eadem adeo esse solliciti. His puto me satis explicuisse, qua ratione Scriptura Sacra et divina habenda sit. Videndum jam est, quid proprie intelligendum sit per [heb.] *debar Jehova* (verbum Dei). [heb.] *dabar* quidem significat *verbum, orationem, edictum et rem*. Quibus autem de causis res aliqua hebraice dicitur Dei esse, et ad Deum refertur, in cap. I. ostendimus; atque ex iis facile intelligitur, quid Scriptura significare velit per verbum Dei, orationem, edictum et rem. Omnia itaque hic repetere non est opus, nec etiam quae in cap. VI. de miraculis tertio loco ostendimus. Sufficit rem tantum indicare, ut, quae de his hic dicere volumus, melius intelligantur.

Nempe, quod verbum Dei, quando de subjecto aliquo praedicatur, quod non sit ipse Deus, proprie significat legem illam Divinam, de qua in IV. cap. egimus : hoc est, religionem toti humano generi universalem, sive catholicam, qua de re vide Esaiae cap. I. v. 10. etc., ubi verum vivendi modum docet, qui scilicet non in caeremoniis, sed in charitate, et vero animo consistit, eumque legem, et verbum Dei promiscue vocat. Sumitur deinde metaphorice pro ipso naturae ordine, et fato (quia revera ab aeterno divinae naturae decreto pendet et sequitur) et praecipue pro eo, quod hujus ordinis Prophetiae praeviderant, idque quia ipsi res futuras per causas naturales non percipiebant, sed tanquam Dei placita vel decreta. Deinde etiam sumitur pro omni cujuscunque Prophetiae edicto, quatenus id singulari sua virtute, vel dono Prophetico, et non ex communi naturali lumine perceperat, idque potissimum, quia revera Deum tanquam legislatorem percipere solebant Prophetiae, ut cap. IV. ostendimus. Tribus itaque his de causis Scriptura verbum Dei appellatur : nempe quia veram docet religionem, cujus Deus aeternus est author; deinde quia praedictiones rerum futurarum, tanquam Dei decreta narrat; et denique quia ii, qui revera fuerunt ejus authores, ut plurimum non ex communi naturali lumine, sed quodam sibi peculiari docuerunt, et Deum eadem loquentem introduxerunt. Et quamvis praeter haec plura in Scriptura contineantur, quae mere historica sunt, et ex lumine naturali percepta, nomen tamen a potiore sumitur. Atque hinc facile percipimus, qua ratione Deus author Biblicorum sit intelligendus, nempe propter veram religionem, quae in iis docetur : at non quod voluerit certum numerum librorum hominibus communicare. Deinde hinc etiam scire possumus, cur Biblia in libros Veteris et Novi Testamenti dividantur : videlicet quia ante adventum Christi Prophetiae religionem praedicare solebant, tanquam legem Patriae, et ex vi pacti tempore Mosis initi : post adventum autem Christi eandem tanquam legem catholicam, et ex sola vi passionis Christi omnibus praedicaverunt Apostoli; at non quod doctrina diversi sint, nec quod tanquam syngrapha foederis scripti fuerint, nec denique quod religio catholica, quae maxime naturalis est, nova esset, nisi respectu hominum, qui eam non noverant; *in mundo erat*, ait Johannes Euangelista cap. I. v. 10., *et mundus non novit eum*. Quamvis itaque

pauciores libros, tam Veteris, quam Novi Testamenti haberemus, non tamen Dei verbo (per quod proprie, ut jam diximus, vera religio intelligitur) destitueremur, sicuti non putamus nos eodem jam destitutos esse, etsi multis aliis praestantissimis scriptis caremus, ut libro Legis, qui tanquam foederis syngraphum religiose in templo custodiebatur, et praeterea libris Bellorum, Chronologiarum, et aliis plurimis, ex quibus hi, quos Veteris Testamenti habemus, decerpti et collecti sunt : atque hoc multis praeterea rationibus confirmatur. Nempe I. quia libri utriusque Testamenti non fuerunt expresso mandato uno eodemque tempore omnibus saeculis scripti, sed casu quibusdam hominibus, idque prout tempus et eorum singularis constitutio exigebat, ut aperte indicant Prophetarum vocationes (qui ut impios sui temporis monerent, vocati sunt), et etiam Apostolorum Epistolae. II. quia aliud est Scripturam et mentem Prophetarum, aliud autem mentem Dei, hoc est, ipsam rei veritatem intelligere, ut ex eo, quod in cap. II. de Prophetis ostendimus, sequitur. Quod etiam in Historiis et miraculis locum habere ostendimus cap. VI. Atqui hoc de locis, in quibus de vera religione et vera virtute agitur, minime dici potest. III. quia Libri Veteris Testamenti ex multis electi fuerunt, et a concilio tandem Pharisaeorum collecti et probati, ut in cap. X. ostendimus. Libri autem Novi Testamenti decretis etiam Conciliorum quorundam in Canonem assumpti sunt, quorum etiam decretis plures alii, qui sacri a multis habebantur, ut spurii rejecti sunt. At horum Conciliorum (tam Pharisaeorum quam Christianorum) membra non constabant ex Prophetis, sed tantum ex Doctoribus et peritis; et tamen fatendum necessario est, eos in hac electione verbum Dei pro norma habuisse : adeoque antequam omnes libros probaverant, debuerunt necessario notitiam Verbi Dei habere. IV. quia Apostoli non tanquam Prophetae, sed (ut in praecedente Capite diximus) tanquam Doctores scripserunt, et viam ad docendum elegerunt, quam faciliorem judicaverunt fore discipulis, quos tum docere volebant : ex quo sequitur in iis (ut etiam in fine praedicti Capitis conclusimus) multa contineri, quibus jam ratione religionis carere possumus. V. denique quia quatuor habentur in Novo Testamento Euangelistae, et quis credet, quod Deus quater Historiam Christi narrare voluerit,

et scripto hominibus communicare? et quamvis quaedam in uno contineantur, quae in alio non habentur, et quod unus ad alium intelligendum saepe juvat, inde tamen non concludendum est, omnia, quae in hisce quatuor narrantur, cognitu necessaria fuisse, et Deum eos elegisse ad scribendum, ut Christi Historia melius intelligeretur; nam unusquisque suum Euangelium diverso loco praedicavit, et unusquisque id, quod praedicaverat, scripsit, idque simpliciter, ut Historiam Christi dilucide narraret, et non ad reliquos explicandum. Si jam ex eorum mutua collatione facilius et melius quandoque intelliguntur, id casu contingit et paucis tantum in locis, quae quamvis ignorarentur, historia tamen aeque perspicua esset, et homines non minus beati. His ostendimus Scripturam ratione religionis tantum, sive ratione legis divinae universalis, proprie vocari verbum Dei : Superest jam ostendere eandem, quatenus proprie sic vocatur, non esse mendosam, depravatam, neque truncatam. Atqui id hic mendosum, depravatum, atque truncatum voco, quod adeo perperam scriptum et constructum est, ut sensus orationis ex usu linguae investigari, vel ex sola Scriptura depromi nequeat : nam affirmare nolo, quod Scriptura, quatenus legem Divinam continet, semper eosdem apices, easdem literas, et denique eadem verba servavit (hoc enim Masoretis, et qui literam superstitiose adorant, demonstrandum relinquo), sed tantum quod sensus, ratione cujus tantum oratio aliqua divina vocari potest, incorruptus ad nos pervenit, tametsi verba, quibus primo significatus fuit, saepius mutata fuisse supponantur. Nam hoc, ut diximus, nihil Scripturae divinitati detrahit; nam Scriptura aeque divina esset, etsi aliis verbis aut alia lingua scripta fuisset. Quod itaque legem divinam hac ratione incorruptam accepimus nemo dubitare potest. Nam ex ipsa Scriptura absque ulla difficultate, et ambiguitate percipimus ejus summam esse, Deum supra omnia amare, et proximum tanquam se ipsum : atqui hoc adulterium esse non potest, nec a festinante et errante calamo scriptum; nam si Scriptura unquam aliud docuit, necessario etiam reliqua omnia docere aliter debuit, quandoquidem hoc totius religionis fundamentum est, quo sublato tota fabrica uno lapsu ruit. Adeoque talis Scriptura illa eadem non esset, de qua hic loquimur, sed alius prorsus liber. Manet igitur inconcussum Scripturam hoc semper

docuisse, et consequenter hic nullum errorem, qui sensum corrumpere possit, incidisse, qui statim ab unoquoque non animadverteretur, nec aliquem hoc depravare potuisse, cujus malitia non illico pateret. Cum itaque hoc fundamentum statuendum sit incorruptum, idem necessario fatendum est de reliquis, quae ex eo absque ulla controversia sequuntur, et quae etiam fundamentalia sunt : ut, quod Deus existit, quod omnibus provideat, quod sit omnipotens, et quod piis ex ipsius decreto bene sit, improbis vero male, et quod nostra salus a sola ejus gratia pendeat. Haec enim omnia Scriptura perspicue ubique docet, et semper docere debuit, alias reliqua omnia vana essent, et sine fundamento : nec minus incorrupta statuenda reliqua moralia, quandoquidem ab hoc universali fundamento evidentissime sequuntur. Videlicet justitiam defendere, inopi auxilio esse, neminem occidere, nihil alterius concupiscere etc. Horum inquam nihil nec hominum malitia depravare, nec vetustas delere potuit. Quicquid enim ex his deletum esset, id statim iterum horum universale fundamentum dictavisset, et praecipue documentum charitatis, quae ubique in utroque Testamento summe commendatur. Adde quod, quamvis nullum facinus execrandum excogitari possit, quod non sit ab aliquo commissum, tamen nemo est, qui ad facinora sua excusanda leges delere tentet, aut aliquid, quod impium sit, tanquam documentum aeternum et salutare introducere : ita enim hominum naturam constitutam videmus, ut unusquisque (sive Rex, sive subditus sit), si quid turpe commisit, factum suum talibus circumstantiis adornare studeat, ut nihil contra justum et decorum commisisse credatur. Concludimus itaque absolute totam legem divinam universalem, quam Scriptura docet, incorruptam ad nostras manus pervenisse. At praeter haec alia adhuc sunt, de quibus non possumus dubitare, quin bona fide nobis sint tradita. Nempe summae Historiarum Scripturae, quia notissimae omnibus fuerunt. Vulgus Judaeorum solebat olim nationis antiquitates Psalmis cantare. Summa etiam rerum a Christo gestarum et ejus passio statim per totum Romanum Imperium vulgata fuit. Quare minime credendum est, nisi maxima hominum pars in eo conveniret, quod incredibile est, id, quod harum historiarum praecipuum est, posteros aliter tradidisse, quam a primis acceperant. Quicquid

igitur adulteratum est, aut mendosum, id tantum in reliquis contingere potuit : Videlicet in una aut altera historiae aut Prophetiae circumstantia, ut populus ad devotionem magis commoveretur, vel in uno aut altero miraculo, ut Philosophos torquerent, vel denique in rebus speculativis, postquam a schismaticis in religionem introduci inceperunt, ut sic unusquisque sua figmenta auctoritate divina abutendo statuminaret. Sed ad salutem parum refert, sive talia depravata sint, sive minus : quod in sequenti cap. ex professo ostendam, etsi ex jam dictis et praecipue ex cap. II. jam constare puto.

Caput XIII



Ostenditur Scripturam non nisi simplicissima docere,
nec aliud praeter obedientiam intendere ;
nec de divina naturâ aliud docere,
quam quod homines certa vivendi ratione imitari possunt

In cap. II. hujus Tractatus ostendimus, Prophetas singularem tantum potentiam imaginandi, sed non intelligendi habuisse, Deumque nulla Philosophiae arcana, sed res simplicissimas tantum iisdem revelavisse, seseque eorum praeconceptis opinionibus accommodavisse. Ostendimus deinde in cap. V. Scripturam res eo modo tradere, et docere, quo facillime ab unoquoque percipi possunt; quae scilicet non ex axiomatibus, et definitionibus res deducit, et concatenat, sed tantum simpliciter dicit, et ad fidem faciendam, sola experientia, miraculis scilicet, et historiis dicta confirmat, quaeque etiam tali stylo, et phrasibus narrantur, quibus maxime plebis animus commoveri potest : qua de re vide cap. VI. circa ea, quae loco III. demonstrantur. Ostendimus denique in cap. VII. difficultatem intelligendi Scripturam in sola lingua, et non in sublimitate argumenti sitam esse. His accedit, quod Prophetæ non peritis, sed omnibus absolute Judæis prædicaverunt, Apostoli autem doctrinam Euangelicam in Ecclesiis, ubi communis omnium erat conventus, docere solebant : ex quibus omnibus sequitur, Scripturae doctrinam non sublimes speculationes, neque res philosophicas continere, sed res tantum simplicissimas, quae vel a quovis tardissimo possunt percipi. Non satis itaque mirari possum eorum, de quibus supra loquutus sum, ingenia, qui scilicet tam profunda in Scriptura vident mysteria, ut nulla humana lingua possint explicari; et qui deinde in religionem tot

res philosophicae speculationis introduxerunt, ut Ecclesia Academia, et Religio scientia, vel potius altercatio videatur. Verum quid miror, si homines, qui lumen supra naturale habere jactant, Philosophis, qui nihil praeter naturale habent, nolint cognitione cedere. Id sane mirarer, si quid novi, quod solius esset speculationis, docerent, et quod olim apud Gentiles Philosophos non fuerit tritissimum (quos tamen caecutiisse ajunt); nam si inquiras, quaenam mysteria in Scriptura latere vident, nihil profecto reperiesset, praeter Aristotelis, aut Platonis, aut alterius similis commenta, quae saepe facilius possit quivis Idiota somniare, quam literatissimus ex Scriptura investigare. Etenim absolute statuere nolumus ad doctrinam Scripturae nihil pertinere, quod solius sit speculationis; nam in superiori cap. quaedam hujus generis attulimus, tanquam Scripturae fundamentalia; sed hoc tantum volo, talia admodum pauca, atque admodum simplicia esse. Quaenam autem ea sint, et qua ratione determinantur, hic ostendere constitui; quod nobis jam facile erit, postquam novimus, Scripturae intentum non fuisse scientias docere; hinc enim facile judicare possumus, nihil praeter obedientiam eandem ab hominibus exigere, solamque contumaciam, non autem ignorantiam damnare. Deinde quia obedientia erga Deum in solo amore proximi consistit (nam qui proximum diligit, eo scilicet fine, ut Deo obsequatur, is, ut Paulus ait in Epistola ad Rom. ca. v. 8. Legem implevit), hinc sequitur, in Scriptura nullam aliam scientiam commendari, quam quae omnibus hominibus necessaria est, ut Deo secundum hoc praescriptum obedire possint, et qua ignorata, homines necessario debent esse contumaces, vel saltem sine disciplina obedientiae; reliquas autem speculationes, quae huc directe non tendunt, sive eae circa Dei, sive circa rerum naturalium cognitionem versentur, Scripturam non tangere, atque adeo a Religione revelata separandas. At etsi haec unusquisque, uti diximus, jam facile videre potest, tamen, quia hinc totius Religionis decisio pendet, rem totam accuratius ostendere, et clarius explicare volo : Ad quod requiritur, ut ante omnia ostendamus, intellectualem, sive accuratam Dei cognitionem, non esse donum omnibus fidelibus commune sicuti obedientiam. Deinde cognitionem illam, quam Deus per Prophetas ab omnibus universaliter petiit, et unusquisque scire tenetur,

nullam esse, praeter cognitionem Divinae ejus Justitiae, et Charitatis, quae ambo ex ipsa Scriptura facile demonstrantur. Nam I. evidentissime sequitur ex Exodi ca. v. 3., ubi Deus Mosi, ad singularem gratiam, ipsi largitam, indicandum, ait [heb.] *et revelatus sum Abrahamo, Isaaco, et Jacobo Deo Sadai, sed nomine meo Jehova non sum cognitus ipsis* : ubi ad meliorem explicationem notandum El Sadai significare hebraice Deum, qui sufficit, quia unicuique, quod ei sufficit, dat; et quamvis saepe Sadai absolute pro Dei sumatur, non dubitandum tamen est, quin ubique nomen El Deus subintelligendum sit. Deinde notandum in Scriptura nullum nomen praeter Jehova reperiri, quod Dei absolutam essentiam, sine relatione ad res creatas indicet. Atque ideo Hebraei hoc solum nomen Dei esse proprium contendunt, reliqua autem appellativa esse; et revera reliqua Dei nomina, sive ea substantiva sint, sive adjectiva, attributa sunt, quae Deo competunt, quatenus cum relatione ad res creatas consideratur, vel per ipsas manifestatur. Ut [heb.] *El*, vel cum litera [heb.] *He* paragogica [heb.] *Eloah*, quod nihil aliud significat, quam potentem, ut notum; nec Deo competit, nisi per excellentiam, sicuti cum Paulum Apostolum appellamus; alias virtutes ejus potentiae explicantur, ut El (potens) magnus, tremendus, justus, misericors, etc. vel ad omnes comprehendendas simul hoc nomen in plurali numero usurpatur, et significatione singulari, quod in Scriptura frequentissimum. Jam quandoquidem Deus Mosi dicit, se nomine Jehova non fuisse patribus cognitum, sequitur, eos nullum Dei attributum novisse, quod ejus absolutam essentiam explicat, sed tantum ejus effecta, et promissa, hoc est, ejus potentiam, quatenus per res visibiles manifestatur. Atqui hoc Deus Mosi non dicit, ad eosdem infidelitatis accusandum, sed contra ad eorum credulitatem, et fidem extollendam, qua quamvis non aequae singularem Dei cognitionem ac Moses habuerint, Dei tamen promissa fixa rataque crediderunt, non ut Moses, qui quamvis sublimiores de Deo cogitationes habuerit, de divinis tamen promissis dubitavit, Deoque objecit, quod, loco promissae salutis, Judaeorum res in pejus mutaverit. Cum itaque Patres Dei singulare nomen ignoraverint, hocque Deus Mosi dicat factum, ad eorum animi simplicitatem et fidem laudandam, simulque ad commemorandam singularem gratiam Mosi

concessam, hinc evidentissime sequitur, id quod primo loco statuimus, homines ex mandato non teneri Dei attributa cognoscere, sed hoc peculiare esse donum quibusdam tantum fidelibus concessum; nec operae pretium est hoc pluribus Scripturae testimoniis ostendere; quis enim non videt divinam cognitionem non fuisse omnibus fidelibus aequalem? et neminem posse ex mandato sapientem esse, non magis, quam vivere, et esse? Viri, mulieres, pueri, et omnes ex mandato obtemperare quidem aequae possunt, non autem sapere. Quod si quis dicat, non esse quidem opus Dei attributa intelligere, at omnino simpliciter, absque demonstratione credere, is sane nugabitur : Nam res invisibiles, et quae solius mentis sunt objecta, nullis aliis oculis videri possunt, quam per demonstrationes; qui itaque eas non habent, nihil harum rerum plane vident; atque adeo quicquid de similibus auditum referunt, non magis eorum mentem tangit, sive indicat, quam verba Psittaci, vel automati, quae sine mente, et sensu loquuntur. Verum antequam ulterius pergam, rationem dicere teneor, cur in Genesi saepe dicitur, quod Patriarchae nomine Jehova praedicaverint, quod plane jam dictis repugnare videtur. Sed si ad illa, quae cap. VIII. ostendimus, attendamus, facile haec conciliare poterimus; in praedicto enim cap. ostendimus scriptorem Pentateuchi res, et loca non iisdem praecise nominibus indicare, quae eodem tempore, de quo loquitur, obtinebant, sed iis, quibus tempore scriptoris melius innotuerant. Deus igitur in Genesi Patriarchis praedicatus nomine Jehova indicatur, non quia Patribus hoc nomine innotuerat, sed quia hoc nomen apud Judaeos summae erat reverentiae : hoc, inquam, necessario dicendum, quandoquidem in hoc nostro textu Exodi expresse dicitur, Deum hoc nomine non fuisse cognitum Patriarchis, et etiam quod Exodi ca. 13. Moses Dei nomen scire cupit : quod si antea notum fuisset, fuisset saltem et ipsi etiam notum. Concludendum igitur, ut volebamus; nempe fideles Patriarchas hoc Dei nomen ignoravisse, Deique cognitionem donum Dei, non autem mandatum esse. Tempus igitur est, ut ad secundum transeamus, nempe, ad ostendendum Deum nullam aliam sui cognitionem ab hominibus per Prophetas petere, quam cognitionem divinae suae Justitiae, et Charitatis, hoc est talia Dei attributa, quae homines certa vivendi ratione imitari

possunt : quod quidem Jeremias expressissimis verbis docet. Nam ca. v. 15. 16. de Rege Josia loquens haec ait [heb.] *Pater tuus quidem comedit, et bibit, et fecit judicium, et justitiam, tum ei bene (fuit), judicavit jus pauperis, et indigentis, tum ipsi bene (fuit), nam (NB.) hoc est me cognoscere, dixit Jehova* : nec minus clara sunt, quae habentur ca. v. 23 nempe [heb.] *sed in hoc tantum gloriatur unusquisque, me intelligere, et cognoscere, quod ego Jehova facio charitatem, judicium, et justitiam in terra, nam his delector, ait Jehova*. Colligitur hoc etiam praeterea ex Exodi ca. v. 6. 7., ubi Deus Mosi cupienti ipsum videre, et noscere, nulla alia attributa revelat, quam quae divinam Justitiam et Charitatem explicant. Denique illud Johannis, de quo etiam in sequentibus, apprime hic notandum venit, qui scilicet, quia nemo Deum vidit, Deum per solam charitatem explicat, concluditque eum revera Deum habere, et noscere, qui charitatem habet. Videmus itaque Jeremiam, Mosen, Johannem Dei cognitionem, quam unusquisque scire tenetur, paucis comprehendere, eamque in hoc solo, ut volebamus, ponere, quod scilicet Deus sit summe justus, et summe misericors, sive unicum verae vitae exemplar. His accedit, quod Scriptura nullam Dei definitionem expresse tradit, nec alia Dei attributa amplectenda praeter modo dicta praescribat, nec ex professo, ut haec, commendet : ex quibus omnibus concludimus, intellectualem Dei cognitionem, quae ejus naturam, prout in se est, considerat, et quam naturam homines certa vivendi ratione imitari non possunt, neque tanquam exemplum sumere, ad veram vivendi rationem instituendam, ad fidem, et religionem revelatam nullo modo pertinere, et consequenter homines circa hanc sine scelere toto coelo errare posse. Minime itaque mirum, quod Deus sese imaginationibus, et praeconceptis Prophetarum opinionibus accommodaverit, quodque fideles diversas de Deo foverint sententias, ut in cap. II. multis exemplis ostendimus. Deinde minime etiam mirum, quod Sacra volumina ubique adeo improprie de Deo loquantur, eique manus, pedes, oculos, aures, mentem, et motum localem tribuant, et praeterea etiam animi commotiones, ut quod sit Zelotypus, misericors etc., et quod denique ipsum depingant tanquam Judicem, et in coelis, tanquam in solio regio sedentem, et Christum ad ipsius dextram. Loquuntur nimirum

secundum captum vulgi, quem Scriptura non doctum, sed obedientem reddere studet. Communes tamen Theologi, quicquid horum lumine naturali videre potuerunt cum divina natura non convenire, metaphorice interpretandum, et quicquid eorum captum effugit, secundum literam accipiendum contenderunt. Sed, si omnia, quae in Scriptura hujus generis reperiuntur, essent necessario metaphorice interpretanda, et intelligenda, tum Scriptura non plebi et rudi vulgo, sed peritissimis tantum, et maxime Philosophis scripta esset. Quinimo, si impium esset pie, et simplicitate animi haec, quae modo retulimus, de Deo credere, profecto maxime cavere debuissent Prophetæ, saltem propter vulgi imbecillitatem, a similibus phrasibus, et contra Dei attributa, prout unusquisque eadem amplecti tenetur, ante omnia ex professo, et clare docere, quod nullibi factum est : adeoque minime credendum opiniones absolute consideratas, absque respectu ad opera, aliquid pietatis, aut impietatis habere, sed ea tantum de causa hominem aliquid pie, aut impie credere dicendum, quatenus ex suis opinionibus ad obedientiam movetur, vel ex iisdem licentiam ad peccandum, aut rebellandum sumit, ita ut, si quis vera credendo fiat contumax, is revera impiam, et si contra falsa credendo obediens, piam habet fidem; veram enim Dei cognitionem non mandatum, sed donum divinum esse ostendimus, Deumque nullam aliam ab hominibus petiisse, quam cognitionem divinae suae Justitiae, et Charitatis, quae cognitio non ad scientias, sed tantum ad obedientiam necessaria est.

Caput XIV



Quid sit fides, quinam fideles,
fidei fundamenta determinantur,
et ipsa a philosophia tandem separatur

Ad veram fidei cognitionem apprime necessarium esse, scire, quod Scriptura accommodata sit non tantum captui Prophetarum, sed etiam varii, et inconstantis Judaeorum vulgi, nemo qui vel leviter attendit, ignorare potest; qui enim omnia, quae in Scriptura habentur, promiscue amplectitur, tanquam universalem, et absolutam de Deo doctrinam, nec accurate cognovit, quidnam captui vulgi accommodatum sit, non poterit vulgi opiniones cum divina doctrina non confundere, et hominum commenta et placita pro divinis documentis non venditare, Scripturaeque autoritate non abuti. Quis inquam non videt, hanc maximam esse causam, cur sectarii tot, tamque contrarias opiniones, tanquam fidei documenta doceant, multisque Scripturae exemplis confirment, unde apud Belgas dudum in usum Proverbii abierit, *geen ketter tonder letter*. Libri namque Sacri non ab uno solo, nec unius aetatis vulgo scripti fuerunt, sed a plurimis, diversi ingenii, diversique aevi viris, quorum, si omnium tempus computare velimus, fere bis mille annorum, et forte multo longius invenietur. Sectarios tamen istos nolumus ea de causa impietatis accusare, quod scilicet verba Scripturae suis opinionibus accommodant; sicuti enim olim ipsa captui vulgi accommodata fuit, sic etiam unicuique eandem suis opinionibus accommodare licet, si videt, se ea ratione Deo, in iis, quae justitiam, et charitatem spectant, pleniore animi consensu obedire posse; sed ideo eosdem accusamus, quod hanc eandem libertatem reliquis nolunt concedere, sed omnes, qui cum iisdem non

sentiunt, quanquam honestissimi, et verae virtuti obtemperantes sint, tanquam Dei hostes tamen persequuntur, et contra eos, qui iis assentantur, quamvis impotentissimi animi sint, tamen tanquam Dei electos diligunt, quo nihil profecto scelestius, et reipublicae magis perniciosum excogitari potest. Ut igitur constet, quousque, ratione fidei, uniuscujusque libertas sentiendi, quae vult, se extendit, et quosnam, quamvis diversa sentientes, tanquam fideles tamen aspicere tenemur, fides, ejusque fundamentalia determinanda sunt; quod quidem in hoc Capite facere constitui, simulque fidem a Philosophia separare, quod totius operis praecipuum intentum fuit. Ut haec igitur ordine ostendam, summum totius Scripturae intentum repetamus, id enim nobis veram normam fidei determinandae indicabit. Diximus in superiori Capite, intentum Scripturae esse tantum obedientiam docere. Quod quidem nemo inficias ire potest. Quis enim non videt, utrumque Testamentum nihil esse praeter obedientiae disciplinam? nec aliud utrumque intendere, quam quod homines ex vero animo obtemperent? Nam, ut jam omittam, quae in superiori Capite ostendi, Moses non studuit Israëlitae ratione convincere, sed pacto, juramentis, et beneficiis obligare, deinde populo legibus obtemperare sub poena interminatus est, et praemiis eundem ad id hortatus; quae omnia media non ad scientias, sed ad solam obedientiam sunt. Euangelica autem doctrina nihil praeter simplicem fidem continet, nempe Deo credere, eumque revereri, sive, quod idem est, Deo obedire. Non opus igitur habeo, ad rem manifestissimam demonstrandam, textus Scripturae, qui obedientiam commendant, et quorum perplures in utroque Testamento reperiuntur, coäcervare. Deinde quidnam unusquisque exequi debeat, ut Deo obsequatur, ipsa etiam Scriptura plurimis in locis quam clarissime docet, nempe totam legem in hoc solo consistere, in amore scilicet erga proximum; quare nemo etiam negare potest, quod is, qui ex Dei mandato proximum tanquam se ipsum diligit, revera est obediens, et secundum legem beatus, et qui contra odio habet, vel negligit, rebellis est, et contumax. Denique apud omnes in confesso est, Scripturam non solis peritis, sed omnibus cujuscunque aetatis, et generis hominibus scriptam, et vulgatam fuisse : atque ex his solis evidentissime sequitur,

nos ex Scripturae jussu, nihil aliud teneri credere, quam id, quod ad hoc mandatum exequendum absolute necessarium sit. Quare hoc ipsum mandatum unica est totius fidei catholicae norma, et per id solum omnia fidei dogmata, quae scilicet unusquisque amplecti tenetur, determinanda sunt. Quod cum manifestissimum sit, et quod ex hoc solo fundamento, vel sola ratione omnia legitime possunt deduci, judicet unusquisque, qui fieri potuit, ut tot dissensiones in Ecclesia ortae sint? et an aliae potuerint esse causae, quam quae in initio cap. VII. dictae sunt? Eae itaque ipsae me cogunt hic ostendere modum, et rationem determinandi ex hoc invento fundamento fidei dogmata; nam ni hoc fecero, remque certis regulis determinavero, merito credar me huc usque parum promovisse, quandoquidem unusquisque, quicquid velit, sub hoc etiam praetextu, quod scilicet medium necessarium sit ad obedientiam, introducere poterit; praesertim quando de divinis attributis fuerit quaestio. Ut itaque rem totam ordine ostendam, a fidei definitione incipiam, quae ex hoc dato fundamento sic definiri debet, nempe quod nihil aliud sit, quam de Deo talia sentire, quibus ignoratis tollitur erga Deum obedientia, et hac obedientia posita, necessario ponuntur. Quae definitio adeo clara est, et adeo manifeste ex modo demonstratis sequitur, ut nulla explicatione indigeat. Quae autem ex eadem sequuntur, paucis jam ostendam. Videlicet I. fidem non per se, sed tantum ratione obedientiae salutiferam esse, vel, ut ait, Jacob. ca. v. 17. fidem per se absque operibus mortuam esse; qua de re vide totum hujus Apostoli praedictum caput. II. Sequitur, quod is, qui vere est obediens, necessario veram et salutiferam habet fidem. Obedientia enim posita, et fidem necessario poni diximus, quod etiam idem Apostolus ca. v. 18. expresse ait, nempe his *ostende mihi fidem tuam, absque operibus, et ego ostendam tibi ex operibus meis fidem meam*. Et Johannes in Epist. I. ca. v. 7. 8. *quisquis diligit (scilicet proximum), ex Deo natus est, et novit Deum, qui non diligit, non novit Deum; nam Deus est Charitas*. Ex quibus iterum sequitur, nos neminem judicare posse fidelem, aut infidelem esse, nisi ex operibus : Nempe, si opera bona sunt, quamvis dogmatibus ab aliis fidelibus dissentiat, fidelis tamen est; et contra si mala sunt, quamvis verbis conveniat, infidelis tamen est. Obedientia enim posita

fides necessario ponitur, et fides absque operibus mortua est. Quod etiam idem Johannes v. 13. ejusdem cap. expresse docet. *Per hoc*, inquit, *cognoscimus, quod in eo manemus, et ipse manet in nobis, quod de Spiritu suo dedit nobis*, nempe Charitatem. Dixerat enim antea, Deum esse Charitatem, unde (ex suis scilicet tum receptis principiis) concludit, eum revera Spiritum Dei habere, qui Charitatem habet. Imo, quia nemo Deum vidit, inde concludit, neminem Deum sentire, vel animadvertere, nisi ex sola Charitate erga proximum, atque adeo neminem etiam aliud Dei attributum noscere posse, praeter hanc Charitatem, quatenus de eadem participamus. Quae quidem rationes si non peremptoriae sunt, satis tamen clare Johannis mentem explicant, sed longe clarius, quae habentur ca. v. 3. 4. ejusdem Epist., ubi expressissimis verbis id, quod hic volumus, docet. *Et per hoc*, inquit, *scimus, quod ipsum novimus, si praecepta ipsius observamus. Qui dicit, novi eum, et praecepta ejus non observat, mendax est, et in eo non est veritas*. Atque ex his iterum sequitur, eos revera Antichristos esse, qui viros honestos, et qui Justitiam amant, persequuntur, propterea quod ab ipsis dissentiunt, et cum ipsis eadem fidei dogmata non defendunt : Qui enim Justitiam et Charitatem amant, eos per hoc solum fideles esse scimus; et qui fideles persequitur, Antichristus est. Sequitur denique fidem non tam requirere vera, quam pia dogmata, hoc est, talia, quae animum ab obedientiam movent : Tametsi inter ea plurima sint, quae nec umbram veritatis habent, dummodo tamen is, qui eadem amplectitur, eadem falsa esse ignoret, alias rebellis necessario esset. Quomodo enim fieri posset, ut aliquis, qui Justitiam amare, et Deo obsequi studet, tanquam divinum adoret, quod a divina natura alienum scit esse : at animi simplicitate errare possunt homines, et Scriptura non ignorantiam, sed solam contumaciam, ut jam ostendimus, damnat; imo ex sola fidei definitione hoc necessario sequitur, cujus omnes partes ex universali jam ostenso fundamento, et unico totius Scripturae intento, nisi nostra placita admiscere lubet, peti debent; atqui haec non expresse exigit vera, sed talia dogmata, quae ad obedientiam necessaria sunt, quae scilicet animum in amore erga proximum confirmant, cujus tantum ratione unusquisque in Deo (ut cum Johanne loquar) et Deus in unoquoque est. Cum itaque uniuscujusque fides

ratione obedientiae, vel contumaciae tantum, et non ratione veritatis, aut falsitatis pia, vel impia sit habenda, et nemo dubitet, commune hominum ingenium varium admodum esse, nec omnes in omnibus aequae acquiescere, sed opiniones diverso modo homines regere, quippe quae hunc devotionem, eae ipsae alterum ad risum, et contemptum movent, hinc sequitur, ad fidem catholicam, sive universalem nulla dogmata pertinere, de quibus inter honestos potest dari controversia : Quae enim ejus naturae sunt, respectu unius pia, et respectu alterius impia esse possunt, quandoquidem ex solis operibus sunt judicanda. Ad fidem ergo catholicam ea solummodo dogmata pertinent, quae erga Deum obedientia absolute ponit, et quibus ignoratis, obedientia est absolute impossibilis; de reliquis autem, prout unusquisque, quia se ipsum melius novit, sibi, ad se in amore Justitiae confirmandum, melius esse viderit, sentire debet. Et hac ratione, puto, nullum locum controversiis in Ecclesia relinqui : Nec jam verebor fidei universalis dogmata, sive universae Scripturae intenti fundamentalia enumerare, quae (ut ex iis, quae in his duobus Capitibus ostendimus, evidentissime sequitur) omnia huc tendere debent, nempe, dari ens supremum, quod Justitiam et Charitatem amat, cuique omnes, ut salvi sint, obedire tenentur, eumque cultu Justitiae, et Charitate erga proximum adorare, atque hinc facile omnia determinantur, quaeque adeo nulla, praeter haec, sunt. Videlicet, I. Deum, hoc est ens supremum, summe justum, et misericordem, sive verae vitae exemplar existere; qui enim nescit, vel non credit, ipsum existere, ei obedire nequit, neque eum Judicem noscere. II. eum esse unicum : Hoc enim etiam ad supremam devotionem, admirationem, et amorem erga Deum absolute requiri nemo dubitare potest. Devotio namque, admiratio, et amor, ex sola excellentia unius supra reliquos orientur. III. eum ubique esse praesentem, vel omnia ipsi patere : Si res ipsum latere crederentur, vel ipsum omnia videre ignoraretur, de aequitate ejus Justitiae, qua omnia dirigit, dubitaretur, vel ipsa ignoraretur. IV. ipsum in omnia supremum habere jus, et dominium, nec aliquid jure coactum, sed ex absoluto beneplacito, et singulari gratia facere : Omnes enim ipsi absolute obedire tenentur, ipse autem nemini. V. Cultum Dei, ejusque obedientiam in sola Justitia, et Charitate, sive amore erga

proximum consistere. VI. omnes, qui hac vivendi ratione Deo obediunt, salvos tantum esse, reliquos autem, qui sub imperio voluptatum vivunt, perditos : Si homines hoc firmiter non crederent, nihil causae esset, cur Deo potius, quam voluptatibus obtemperare mallent. VII. denique Deum poenitentibus peccata condonare : Nullus enim est, qui non peccet; si igitur hoc non statueretur, omnes de sua salute desperarent, nec ulla esset ratio, cur Deum misericordem crederent; qui autem hoc firmiter credit, videlicet Deum ex misericordia, et gratia, qua omnia dirigit, hominum peccata condonare, et hac de causa in Dei amore magis incenditur, is revera Christum secundum Spiritum novit, et Christus in eo est. Atque haec omnia nemo ignorare potest apprime cognitu necessaria esse, ut homines, nullo excepto, ex praescripto Legis supra explicato, Deo obedire possint, nam horum aliquo sublato, tollitur etiam obedientia. Caeterum quid Deus, sive illud verae vitae exemplar sit : an scilicet sit ignis, spiritus, lux, cogitatio etc., id nihil ad fidem, ut nec etiam, qua ratione sit verae vitae exemplar, an scilicet propterea, quod animum justum, et misericordem habet, vel quia res omnes per ipsum sunt, et agunt, et consequenter nos etiam per ipsum intelligimus, et per ipsum id, quod verum aequum, et bonum est videmus? perinde est, quicquid de his unusquisque statuerit. Deinde nihil etiam ad fidem, si quis credat, quod Deus secundum essentiam, vel secundum potentiam ubique sit, quod res dirigit ex libertate, vel necessitate naturae, quod leges tanquam princeps praescribat, vel tanquam aeternas veritates doceat, quod homo ex arbitrii libertate, vel ex necessitate divini decreti Deo obediat, quodque denique praemium bonorum, et poena malorum naturalis vel supranaturalis sit : Haec, et similia, inquam, nihil refert, in respectu fidei, qua ratione unusquisque intelligat; dummodo nihil eum in finem concludat, ut majorem licentiam ad peccandum sumat, vel ut minus fiat Deo obtemperans; quinimo unusquisque, ut jam supra diximus, haec fidei dogmata ad suum captum accommodare tenetur, eaque sibi eo modo interpretari, quo sibi videtur eadem facilius, sine ulla haesitatione, sed integro animi consensu amplecti posse, ut consequenter Deo pleno animi consensu obediat : Nam, ut jam etiam monuimus, sicuti olim fides secundum captum, et opiniones Prophetarum,

et vulgi illius temporis revelata, scriptaque fuit, sic etiam jam unusquisque tenetur eandem suis opinionibus accommodare, ut sic ipsam, absque ulla mentis repugnantia, sineque ulla haesitatione amplectatur; ostendimus enim, fidem non tam veritatem, quam pietatem exigere, et non nisi ratione obedientiae piam, et salutaris esse; et consequenter neminem nisi ratione obedientiae fidelem esse. Quare non ille, qui optimas ostendit rationes, optimam necessario ostendit fidem, sed ille, qui optima ostendit opera Justitiae, et Charitatis. Quae Doctrina, quam salutaris, quamque necessaria sit in republica, ut homines pacifice, et concorditer vivant : quotque, inquam, quantasque perturbationum, et scelerum causas praescindat, omnibus judicandum relinquo. Atque hic, antequam ulterius pergam, notandum venit, nos, ex modo ostensis, facile respondere posse ad objectiones, quas cap. I. movimus, quando de Deo cum Isra,litis ex Monte Sinai loquente verba fecimus : Nam quamvis vox illa, quam Isra,litae audiverunt, illis hominibus nullam philosophicam, seu mathematicam certitudinem de Dei existentia dare potuerat, sufficebat tamen ad eosdem in admirationem Dei, prout ipsum antea noverant, rapiendos, et ad obedientiam instigandos : qui finis illius spectaculi fuit. Nam Deus non volebat Isra,litas suae essentiae absoluta attributa docere (nulla enim tum temporis revelavit), sed eorum animum contumacem frangere, et ad obedientiam trahere; ideoque non rationibus, sed tubarum strepitu, tonitru, et fulminibus eosdem adorsus est. (Vide Exodi ca. v. 20.)

Superest jam, ut tandem ostendam, inter fidem, sive Theologiam, et Philosophiam nullum esse commercium, nullamve affinitatem, quod jam nemo potest ignorare, qui harum duarum facultatum, et scopum, et fundamentum novit, quae sane toto coelo discrepant : Philosophiae enim scopus nihil est, praeter veritatem : Fidei autem, ut abunde ostendimus, nihil praeter obedientiam, et pietatem. Deinde Philosophiae fundamenta notiones communes sunt, et ipsa ex sola natura peti debet. Fidei autem : historiae, et lingua, et ex sola Scriptura, et revelatione petenda, ut in VII. cap. ostendimus. Fides igitur summam unicuique libertatem ad philosophandum concedit, ut quicquid velit, de rebus quibuscunque sine scelere sentire possit, et eos tantum, tanquam haereticos, et schismaticos

damnat, qui opiniones docent, ad contumaciam, odia, contentiones, et iram suadendum : et eos contra fideles tantum habet, qui Justitiam et Charitatem, pro viribus suae rationis, et facultatibus, suadent. Denique, quoniam haec, quae hic ostendimus, praecipua sunt, quae in hoc tractatu intendo, volo, antequam ulterius pergam, lectorem enixissime rogare, ut haec duo Capita attentius legere, et iterum, atque iterum perpendere dignetur; et sibi persuasum habeat, nos non eo sripsisse animo, ut nova introduceremus, sed ut depravata corrigeremus, quae tandem aliquando correcta videre speramus.

Caput XV



Nec theologiam rationi, nec rationem
theologiae ancillari, ostenditur, et ratio,
qua nobis Sanctae Scripturae
authoritatem persuademus

Qui philosophiam a theologia separare nesciunt, disputant, num Scriptura rationi, an contra ratio Scripturae debeat ancillari ; hoc est, an sensus Scripturae rationi, an vero ratio Scripturae accommodari debeat : atque hoc a scepticis, qui rationis certitudinem negant, illud autem a dogmaticis defenditur. Sed tam hos quam illos toto coelo errare ex jam dictis constat. Nam utramque sequamur sententiam, vel rationem vel Scripturam corrumpere necesse est. Ostendimus enim Scripturam non res philosophicas, sed solam pietatem docere, et omnia, quae in eadem continentur, ad captum et praeconceptas opiniones vulgi fuisse accommodata. Qui igitur ipsam ad philosophiam accommodare vult, is sanè prophetis multa, quae ne per somnium cogitarunt, affinget, et perperam eorum mentem interpretabitur. Qui autem contra rationem et philosophiam theologiae ancillam facit, is antiqui vulgi praejudicia tanquam res divinas tenetur admittere, et iisdem mentem occupare et obcaecare ; adeoque uterque, hic scilicet sine ratione, ille vero cum ratione insaniet. Primus, qui inter pharisaeos apertè statuit Scripturam rationi esse accommodandam, fuit Maimonides (cujus quidem sententiam cap. VII recensuimus, multisque argumentis refutavimus), et quamvis hic author magnae inter eos fuerit autoritatis, eorum tamen maxima pars hac in re ab eo recedit, et pedibus it in sententiam cujusdam R. Jehudae Alpakhar, qui errorem Maimonidis vitare cupiens in alterum ei contrarium incidit. Statuit

scilicet rationem Scripturae ancillari debere, eique prorsus submitti ; nec aliquid in Scripturae ancillari debere, eique prorsus submitti ; nec aliquid in Scriptura propterea metaphorice explicandum sensit, quod literalis sensus rationi, sed tantum, quia ipsi Scripturae, hoc est, claris ejus dogmatibus repugnat ; atque hinc hanc universalem regulam format, videlicet, quicquid Scriptura dogmaticè docet , et expressis verbis affirmat, id ex sola ejus autoritate, tanquam verum absolute admittendum ; nec ullum aliud dogma in Bibliis reperietur, quod ei directe repugnet, sed tantum per consequentiam, quia scilicet modi loquendi Scripturae saepe videntur supponere aliquid contrarium ei, quod expresse docuit : et propterea tantum eadem loca metaphoricè explicanda. Ex. gr. Scriptura clare docet, Deum esse unicum (vide Deut. ca v. 4), nec ullibi alius locus reperitur directè affirmans, dari plures Deos : at quidem plura, ubi Deus de se, et prophetae de Deo in plurali numero loquuntur, qui modus tantum loquendi supponit, non autem ipsius orationis intentum indicat, plures esse Deos, et ideo ipsa omnia metaphoricè explicanda, scilicet non quia rationi repugnat, plures dari, sed quia ipsa Scriptura directè affirmat, unicum esse Deum. Sic etiam, quia Scriptura Deut. ca v; 15 directè (ut putat) affirmat, Deum esse incorporeum, ideo, ex sola scilicet hujus loci et non rationis autoritate, tenemur credere Deum non habere corpus, et consequenter ex sola Scripturae autoritate omnia loca metaphoricè explicare tenemur, quae Deo manus, pedes etc. tribuunt, quorumque solus modus loquendi videtur Deum corporeum supponere. Haec est hujus authoris sententia, quem quatenus Scripturas per Scripturas explicare vult, laudo : at miror, quod vir ratione praeditus ipsam destruere studeat. Verum quidem est Scripturam per Scripturam explicandam esse, quamdiu de solo orationum sensu, et mente prophetarum laboramus, sed postquam verum sensum eruimus, necessariò judicio et ratione utendum, ut ipsi assensum praebeamus. Quod si ratio, quamvis reclamet Scripturae, tamen plane submitienda est, quaeso an id cum, vel sine ratione, ut caeci, facere debemus ? Si hoc, stulte sane et sine judicio agimus; si illud? ex solo igitur rationis imperio Scripturam amplectimur, quam igitur, si eidem repugnaret, non amplecteremur. Et quaeso quis mente aliquid amplecti potest reclamante

ratione? quid enim aliud est mente aliquid negare, quam quod ratio reclamationem? et profecto non satis mirari possum, quod rationem, donum maximum, et lucem divinam mortuis literis, et quae humana malitia depravari potuerunt, submittere velint, et quod nullum existimetur scelus, contra mentem, verum Dei verbi syngraphum, indigne loqui, eamque corruptam, caecam, et perditam statuere; at maximum habeatur scelus, talia de litera et verbi Dei idolo cogitare. Pium esse putant, rationi et proprio iudicio nihil fidere, at impium de fide eorum dubitare, qui nobis Libros Sacros tradiderunt, quod quidem mera stultitia est, non pietas. Sed quaeso quid eos sollicitat? quid timent? an Religio et fides defendi non possunt, nisi homines data opera omnia ignorent et rationi prorsus valedicant? profecto, si hoc credunt, Scripturae magis timent, quam fidunt. Sed longe absit, quod Religio et pietas rationem, aut quod ratio Religionem sibi ancillari velit, et quod utraque suum regnum summa cum concordia obtinere nequeat; qua de re statim, nam hic ante omnia istius Rabini Regulam examinare libet. Is, uti diximus, vult nos id omne, quod Scriptura affirmat aut negat, tanquam verum amplecti, vel tanquam falsum rejicere teneri : deinde Scripturam nunquam aliquid expressis verbis affirmare vel negare, contrarium ei, quod in alio loco affirmavit vel negavit. Quae duo, quam temere dicta sint, nemo ignorare potest. Nam ut jam omittam, quod non animadverterit, Scripturam diversis libris constare, diversis temporibus, diversis hominibus, et denique a diversis authoribus scriptam esse, tum hoc alterum, quod haec ex propria authoritate, et ratione et Scriptura nihil tale dicentibus, statuatur; debuisset enim ostendere omnia loca, quae non nisi per consequentiam aliis repugnant, posse ex natura linguae, et ratione loci commode metaphorice explicari, deinde Scripturam ad nostras manus incorruptam venisse. Sed rem ordine examinemus, et quidem circa primum rogo, quid si ratio reclamet, an nihilominus tenemur id, quod Scriptura affirmat vel negat, tanquam verum amplecti, vel tanquam falsum rejicere? at forte addet, nihil in Scriptura reperiri, quod rationi repugnet. Verum ego insto, ipsam expresse affirmare et docere, Deum esse zelotypum (nempe in ipso Decalogo et Exod. 4. v. 14. et Deut. 4. v. 24. et pluribus aliis locis); atqui hoc rationi repugnat, ergo nihilominus tanquam

verum ponendum. Imo si quaedam in Scriptura reperiantur, quae supponant Deum non esse zelotypum, ea necessario metaphorice essent explicanda, ut nihil tale supponere videantur. Sic etiam Scriptura expresse dicit, Deum in montem Sinai descendisse (vide Exod. ca. v. 20. etc.), ipsique alios motus locales tribuit, nec ullibi docet expresse, Deum non moveri, adeoque hoc etiam omnibus tanquam verum admittendum, et quod Salomon dicit, Deum nullo loco comprehendi (vide I. Reg. ca. v. 27.), quandoquidem non expresse statuit, sed tantum inde sequitur, Deum non moveri, id necessario ita explicandum, ne videatur Deo motum localem detrahere. Sic etiam coeli pro Dei habitaculo, et solio sumendi essent, quia Scriptura id expresse affirmat. Et ad hunc modum plurima secundum opiniones Prophetarum et vulgi dicta, et quae sola ratio et Philosophia, non autem Scriptura, docet falsa esse, quae tamen omnia ex opinione istius authoris, quia nulla in his rationi consultatio est, tanquam vera essent supponenda. Deinde falso affirmat, unum locum alteri per consequentiam tantum repugnare, non autem directe. Nam Moses directe affirmat, *Deum esse ignem* (vide Deut. 4. v. 24.) et directe negat, Deum ullam habere similitudinem cum rebus visibilibus (vide Deut. 4. v. 12.), et, si regerat, hoc non directe, sed tantum per consequentiam negare Deum esse ignem, adeoque illi accommodandum, ne id negare videatur, age concedamus, Deum esse ignem, vel potius, ne cum ipso insaniamus, haec missa faciamus, et aliud exemplum in medium proferamus. Nempe Samuël directe negat, Deum sententiae poenitere (vide I. Samuël. ca. v. 29.) et Jeremias contra affirmat, Deum poenitere boni et mali, quod decreverat (vide Jerem. ca. v. 8. 10.); quid? an ne haec quidem sibi invicem directe opponuntur? quem igitur ex istis duobus metaphorice explicare vult? Utraque sententia universalis est et utrique contraria; quod una directe affirmat, id altera directe negat. Adeoque ipse ex ipsius regula, hoc ipsum tanquam verum amplecti et simul tanquam falsum rejicere tenetur. Deinde quid refert, quod locus aliquis non directe, sed tantum per consequentiam alteri repugnet, si consequentia clara sit, et loci circumstantia, et natura metaphoricæ explicationes non patiantur, quorum plurima in Bibliis reperiuntur, de quibus vide cap. Secundum (ubi ostendimus Prophetas diversas, et

contrarias habuisse opiniones) et praecipue omnes illas contradictiones, quas in Historiis esse ostendimus (nempe Capitibus IX. et X.). Nec opus habeo hic omnia recensere, nam dicta sufficiunt ad absurda, quae ex hac sententia et regula sequuntur, ejusque falsitatem et authoris praecipitantiam ostendendum. Quare tam hanc, quam illam Maimonidis sententiam explodimus, et pro inconcusso statuimus, quod nec Theologia rationi, nec ratio Theologiae ancillari teneatur, sed unaquaeque suum regnum obtineat. Nempe, uti diximus, ratio regnum veritatis, et sapientiae, Theologia autem pietatis, et obedientiae : nam rationis potentia, ut jam ostendimus, non eo usque se extendit, ut determinare possit, quod homines sola obedientia absque rerum intelligentia possint esse beati : Theologia vero nihil praeter hoc dictat, nihilque praeter obedientiam imperat, et contra rationem nihil vult, neque potest : Fidei enim dogmata (ut in praecedente Capite ostendimus) eatenus tantum determinat, quatenus obedientiae sufficit; quomodo autem praecise ratione veritatis intelligenda sint, rationi determinandum relinquit, quae revera mentis lux est, sine qua nihil videt praeter insomnia, et figmenta. Atque hic per Theologiam praecise intelligo revelationem, quatenus indicat scopum, quem diximus Scripturam intendere (nempe rationem et modum obediendi, sive verae pietatis et fidei dogmata), hoc est, id quod proprie vocatur Dei verbum, quod in certo numero librorum non consistit (qua de re vide cap. XII.). Theologiam enim sic acceptam, si ejus praecepta sive documenta vitae spectes, cum ratione convenire, et si ejus intentum et finem, nulla in re eidem repugnare comperies, et propterea omnibus universalis est. Quod ad totam Scripturam in genere attinet, jam etiam cap. VII. ostendimus, ejus sensum ex sola ejus historia, et non ex universali historia Naturae, quae solius Philosophiae fundamentum est, determinandum esse; nec nobis moram injicere debet, si postquam ejus verum sensum sic investigavimus, ipsam hic illic rationi repugnare comperiamus. Nam quicquid hujus generis in Bibliis reperitur, vel quod homines salva charitate ignorare possunt, id certo scimus Theologiam sive verbum Dei non tangere, et consequenter unumquemque de iis, quicquid velit, sentire posse absque scelere. Absolute igitur concludimus, quod nec Scriptura rationi, nec ratio Scripturae

accommodanda sit. Verum enimvero quandoquidem Theologiae fundamentum, quod scilicet homines vel sola obedientia salvantur, ratione non possumus demonstrare, verum sit, an falsum, potest ergo nobis etiam objici, cur igitur id credimus? si sine ratione, tanquam caeci, id ipsum amplectimur, ergo nos etiam stulte et sine judicio agimus. Quod si contra statuere velimus, hoc fundamentum ratione demonstrari posse, erit ergo Theologia Philosophiae pars, nec ab eadem esset separanda. Sed ad haec respondeo me absolute statuere hoc Theologiae fundamentale dogma non posse lumine naturali investigari, vel saltem neminem fuisse, qui ipsum demonstraverit, et ideo revelationem maxime necessariam fuisse : at nihilominus nos judicio uti posse, ut id jam revelatum morali saltem certitudine amplectamur : Dico morali certitudine, nam non est, quod expectemus, nos de eo certiores esse posse, quam ipsos Prophetas, quibus primo revelatum fuit, et quorum tamen certitudo non nisi moralis fuit, ut jam ostendimus cap. II. hujus Tractatus. Ii igitur tota errant via, qui Scripturae auctoritatem mathematicis demonstrationibus ostendere conantur. Nam Bibliorum autoritas ab auctoritate Prophetarum dependet, adeoque ipsa nullis fortioribus argumentis demonstrari potest, quam iis, quibus Prophetae olim suam populo persuadere solebant; imo nullo alio fundamento nostra de eadem certitudo fundari potest, quam eo, quod Prophetae suam certitudinem et auctoritatem fundabant. Nam totam Prophetarum certitudinem his tribus consistere ostendimus. Nempe I. distincta, et vivida imaginatione, II. Signo, III. denique et praecipuo, animo ad aequum et bonum inclinato; nec ullis aliis rationibus fundabantur, adeoque neque etiam populo, cui olim viva voce, nec nobis, quibus scripto loquuntur, ullis aliis rationibus suam auctoritatem demonstrare poterunt. At primum, quod scilicet res vivide imaginabantur, Prophetis tantum constare poterat, quare tota nostra de revelatione certitudo in reliquis duobus tantum, nempe Signo, et Doctrina fundari potest et debet. Quod quidem Moses etiam expresse docet. Nam Deuter. ca. jubet populum obedire Prophetae, qui nomine Dei verum signum dedit, sed si falso aliquid, etsi nomine Dei, praedixerit, mortis tamen eundem damnare, ut et etiam eum, qui populum a vera religione seducere voluerit, tametsi suam auctoritatem signis et

portentis confirmaverit : qua de re vide Deut. ca., unde sequitur verum Prophetam a falso dignosci ex doctrina et miraculo simul; talem enim Moses verum esse declarat, eique absque ullo fraudis timore credere jubet : atque eos falsos esse ait et reos mortis, qui falso, etsi nomine Dei, aliquid praedixerint, vel qui falsos Deos, etsi vera miracula fecissent, docuerunt. Quare nos etiam hac tantum de causa Scripturae, hoc est ipsis Prophetis credere tenemur, nimirum propter doctrinam signis confirmatam. Nam quoniam videmus Prophetas Charitatem et Justitiam supra omnia commendare, et nihil aliud intendere, hinc concludimus, eos non dolo malo, sed ex vero animo docuisse, homines obedientia et fide beatos fieri, et quia hoc insuper signis confirmaverunt, hinc nobis persuademus, eos non temere id dixisse, neque deliravisse, dum prophetabant; in quo etiam magis confirmamur, dum attendimus, quod nihil morale docuerunt, quod cum ratione planissime non conveniat; nam non temere est, quod verbum Dei in Prophetis cum ipso verbo Dei in nobis loquente omnino conveniat. Atque haec, inquam, nos aequae certi ex Bibliis, ac olim Judaei ex viva voce Prophetarum haec eadem concludebant. Nam supra in fine cap. XII. ostendimus Scripturam ratione doctrinae et praecipuarum historiarum incorruptam ad nostras manus pervenisse. Quare hoc totius Theologiae et Scripturae fundamentum, quamvis mathematica demonstratione ostendi nequeat, sano tamen judicio amplectimur. Nam inscitia quidem est, id, quod tot Prophetarum testimoniis confirmatum est, et ex quo magnum solamen iis, qui ratione non ita pollent, oritur, et Reipublicae non mediocris utilitas sequitur, et quod absolute sine periculo aut damno credere possumus, nolle tamen amplecti, idque ea sola de causa, quia mathematice demonstrari nequit : quasi vero ad vitam sapienter instituendam, nihil tanquam verum admittamus, quod ulla dubitandi ratione in dubium revocari queat, aut quod pleraeque nostrae actiones non admodum incertae sint, et alea plenae. Equidem fateor, qui putant Philosophiam et Theologiam sibi invicem contradicere, et propterea alterutram e suo regno deturbandam existimant, et huic aut illi valedicendum, eos non absque ratione studere Theologiae firma fundamenta jacere, eamque mathematice demonstrare conari. Quis enim nisi

desperatus et insanus rationi temere valedicere vellet, vel artes et scientias contemnere, et rationis certitudinem negare? at interim eos absolute excusare non possumus, quandoquidem rationem in auxilium vocare volunt ad eandem repellendam, et certa ratione eandem incertam reddere conantur. Imo dum student mathematicis demonstrationibus Theologiae veritatem et auctoritatem ostendere, et rationi et lumini naturali auctoritatem adimere, nihil aliud faciunt quam ipsam Theologiam sub rationis imperium trahere, et plane videntur supponere, Theologiae auctoritatem nullum habere splendorem, nisi lumine naturali rationis illustretur. Et, si contra jactant se interno Spiritus Sancti testimonio omnino acquiescere, et nulla alia de causa rationem in auxilium vocare, quam propter infideles, ad eosdem scilicet convincendos, nil tamen fidei eorum dictis habendum, nam jam facile ostendere possumus, eos vel ex affectibus, vel vana gloria id dicere. Ex praecedente enim Capite evidentissime sequitur, Spiritum Sanctum non nisi de bonis operibus testimonium dare; quae etiam Paulus ideo in Epist. ad Galat. ca. v. 22. fructus Spiritus Sancti vocat, et ipse revera nihil aliud est, praeter animi acquiescentiam, quae ex bonis actionibus in mente oritur. De veritate autem et certitudine rerum, quae solius sunt speculationis, nullus Spiritus testimonium dat, praeter rationem, quae sola, ut jam ostendimus, veritatis regnum sibi vindicavit. Si quem ergo praeter hunc Spiritum contendunt habere, qui ipsos de veritate certos reddit, id falso jactant, et non nisi ex affectuum praejudicio loquuntur, vel prae magno timore, ne a Philosophis vincantur et publice risui exponantur, ad sacra confungunt; sed frustra, nam quam aram sibi parare potest, qui rationis majestatem laedit? verum eos missos facio, quandoquidem me meae causae satisfecisse puto, quod ostenderim, qua ratione Philosophia a Theologia separanda sit, et in quo utraque potissimum consistat, et quod neutra neutri ancilletur, sed quod unaquaeque suum regnum sine ulla alterius repugnantia obtineat, et quod denique, ubi data fuit occasio, etiam ostenderim absurda, incommoda et damna, quae secuta sunt ex eo, quod homines has duas facultates miris modis inter se confuderint, nec accurate inter ipsas distinguere, unamque ab alia separare sciverint. Jam antequam ad alia pergam, hic expresse monere volo

(tametsi jam dictum sit) circa utilitatem, et necessitatem Sacrae Scripturae, sive revelationis, quod ipsam permagnam statuo. Nam, quandoquidem non possumus lumine naturali percipere, quod simplex obedientia via ad salutem sit, sed sola revelatio doceat, id ex singulari Dei gratia, quam ratione assequi non possumus, fieri, hinc sequitur Scripturam magnum admodum solamen mortalibus attulisse. Quippe omnes absolute obedire possunt, et non nisi paucissimi sunt, si cum toto humano genere comparentur, qui virtutis habitum ex solo rationis ductu acquirunt, adeoque, nisi hoc Scripturae testimonium haberemus, de omnium fere salute dubitarem.

Caput XVI



De reipublicae fundamentis ;
de jure uniuscujusque naturali et civili,
deque summarum potestatum jure

Huc usque Philosophiam a Theologia separare curavimus et libertatem philosophandi ostendere, quam haec unicuique concedit. Quare tempus est, ut inquiramus, quo usque haec libertas sentiendi, et quae unusquisque sentit, dicendi in optima Republica se extendat. Hoc ut ordine examinemus, de fundamentis Reipublicae disserendum, et prius de jure naturali uniuscujusque, ad Rempublicam et Religionem nondum attendentes.

Per jus et institutum naturae nihil aliud intelligo, quam regulas naturae uniuscujusque individui, secundum quas unumquodque naturaliter determinatum concipimus ad certo modo existendum et operandum. Ex. gr. pisces a natura determinati sunt ad natandum, magni ad minores comedendum, adeoque pisces summo naturali jure aqua potiuntur, et magni minores comedunt. Nam certum est naturam absolute consideratam jus summum habere ad omnia, quae potest, hoc est, jus naturae eo usque se extendere, quo usque ejus potentia se extendit; naturae enim potentia ipsa Dei potentia est, qui summum jus ad omnia habet : sed quia universalis potentia totius naturae nihil est praeter potentiam omnium individuorum simul, hinc sequitur unumquodque individuum jus summum habere ad omnia, quae potest, sive jus uniuscujusque eo usque se extendere, quo usque ejus determinata potentia se extendit : Et quia lex summa naturae est, ut unaquaeque res in suo statu, quantum in se est, conetur perseverare, idque nulla alterius, sed tantum sui habita ratione, hinc sequitur unumquodque individuum jus

summum ad hoc habere, hoc est (uti dixi), ad existendum et operandum prout naturaliter determinatum est. Nec hic ullam agnoscimus differentiam inter homines et reliqua naturae individua, neque inter homines ratione praeditos et inter alios, qui veram rationem ignorant, neque inter fatuos, delirantes, et sanos. Quicquid enim unaquaeque res ex legibus suae naturae agit, id summo jure agit, nimirum quia agit, prout ex natura determinata est, nec aliud potest. Quare inter homines, quamdiu sub imperio solius naturae vivere considerantur, tam ille, qui rationem nondum novit, vel qui virtutis habitum nondum habet, ex solis legibus appetitus summo jure vivit, quam ille, qui ex legibus rationis vitam suam dirigit. Hoc est, sicuti sapiens jus summum habet ad omnia, quae ratio dictat, sive ex legibus rationis vivendi; sic etiam ignarus, et animi impotens summum jus habet ad omnia, quae appetitus suadet, sive ex legibus appetitus vivendi. Atque hoc idem est, quod Paulus docet, qui ante legem, hoc est, quamdiu homines ex naturae imperio vivere considerantur, nullum peccatum agnoscit.

Jus itaque naturale uniuscujusque hominis non sana ratione, sed cupiditate et potentia determinatur. Non enim omnes naturaliter determinati sunt ad operandum secundum regulas et leges rationis, sed contra, omnes ignari omnium rerum nascuntur, et antequam veram vivendi rationem noscere possunt et virtutis habitum acquirere, magna aetatis pars, etsi bene educati fuerint, transit, et nihilominus interim vivere tenentur, seque, quantum in se est, conservare, nempe ex solo appetitus impulsu : quandoquidem natura iis nihil aliud dedit, et actualementiam ex sana ratione vivendi denegavit, et propterea non magis ex legibus sanae mentis vivere tenentur, quam felis ex legibus naturae leoninae. Quicquid itaque unusquisque, qui sub solo naturae imperio consideratur, sibi utile vel ductu sanae rationis, vel ex affectuum impetu judicat, id summo naturae jure appetere, et quacunque ratione, sive vi, sive dolo, sive precibus, sive quocunque demum modo facilius poterit, ipsi capere licet, et consequenter pro hoste habere eum, qui impedire vult, quominus animum expleat suum.

Ex quibus sequitur Jus et Institutum naturae, sub quo omnes nascuntur, et maxima ex parte vivunt, nihil nisi quod nemo cupit, et quod nemo potest,

prohibere; non contentiones, non odia, non iram, non dolos, nec absolute aliquid, quod appetitus suadet, aversari : nec mirum, nam natura non legibus humanae rationis, quae non nisi hominum verum utile, et conservationem intendunt, intercluditur, sed infinitis aliis, quae totius naturae, cujus homo particula est, aeternum ordinem respiciunt : Ex cujus sola necessitate omnia individua certo modo determinantur ad existendum et operandum. Quicquid ergo nobis in natura ridiculum, absurdum, aut malum videtur, id inde venit, quod res tantum ex parte novimus, totiusque naturae ordinem et cohaerentiam maxima ex parte ignoramus, et quod omnia ex usu nostrae rationis dirigi volumus, cum tamen id, quod ratio malum esse dictat, non malum sit respectu ordinis et legum universae naturae, sed tantum solius nostrae naturae legum respectu.

Verum enimvero, quanto sit hominibus utilius secundum leges, et certa nostrae rationis dictamina vivere, quae, uti diximus, non nisi verum hominum utile intendunt, nemo potest dubitare. Praeterea nullus est, qui non cupiat secure extra metum, quoad fieri potest, vivere; quod tamen minime potest contingere, quamdiu unicuique ad lubitum omnia facere licet, nec plus juris rationi, quam odio et irae conceditur; nam nullus est, qui inter inimicitias, odia, iram, et dolos non anxie vivat, quaeque adeo, quantum in se est, non conetur vitare. Quod si etiam consideremus homines absque mutuo auxilio miserrime, et absque rationis cultu necessario vivere, ut in cap. V. ostendimus, clarissime videbimus homines ad secure, et optime vivendum necessario in unum conspirare debuisse, ac proinde effecisse, ut jus, quod unusquisque ex natura ad omnia habebat, collective haberent, neque amplius ex vi et appetitu uniuscujusque, sed ex omnium, simul potentia, et voluntate determinaretur. Quod tamen frustra tentassent, si, nisi quod appetitus suadet, sequi vellent (ex legibus enim appetitus unusquisque diverse trahitur), adeoque firmissime statuere, et pacisci debuerunt ex solo rationis dictamine (cui nemo aperte repugnare audet, ne mente carere videatur) omnia dirigere, et appetitum, quatenus in damnum alterius aliquid suadet, fraenare, neminique facere, quod sibi fieri non vult, jusque denique alterius tanquam suum defendere. Qua autem ratione pactum hoc iniri debeat, ut ratum fixumque sit, hic

jam videndum. Nam lex humanae naturae universalis est, ut nemo aliquid, quod bonum esse judicat, negligat, nisi spe majoris boni, vel ex metu majoris damni; nec aliquod malum perferat, nisi ad majus evitandum, vel spe majoris boni : Hoc est, unusquisque de duobus bonis, quod ipse majus esse judicat, et de duobus malis, quod minus sibi videtur, eliget. Dico expresse, quod sibi eligenti majus aut minus videtur, non quod res necessario ita se habeat, ut ipse judicat. Atque haec lex adeo firmiter naturae humanae inscripta est, ut inter aeternas veritates sit ponenda, quas nemo ignorare potest. At ex ea necessario sequitur neminem absque dolo promissurum, se jure, quod in omnia habet, cessurum, et absolute neminem promissis staturum, nisi ex metu majoris mali vel spe majoris boni. Quod ut melius intelligatur, ponatur Latronem me cogere, ut ei promittam me mea bona, ubi velit, ipsi daturum. Jam quandoquidem, ut jam ostendi, meum jus naturale sola mea potentia determinatur, certum est, quod, si possum dolo me ab hoc Latrone liberare, ipsi, quicquid velit, promittendo, mihi id naturae jure facere licere, dolo scilicet, quicquid velit, pacisci. Vel ponatur, me absque fraude alicui promisisse me spatio viginti dierum non gustaturum cibum neque ullum alimentum, et postea vidisse me stulte primisisse, nec sine damno maximo promisso stare posse, quandoquidem ex jure naturali de duobus malis minus eligere teneor; possum ergo summo jure fidem talis pacti rumpere, et dictum, indictum ut sit, facere. Atque hoc inquam jure naturali licere, sive vera et certa ratione videam, sive ex opinione videre videar me male promisisse : sive enim id vere, sive falso videam, maximum timebo malum, quodque adeo ex naturae instituto omni modo vitare conabor. Ex quibus concludimus pactum nullam vim habere posse, nisi ratione utilitatis, qua sublata pactum simul tollitur, et irritum manet. Ac propterea stulte alterius fidem in aeternum sibi aliquem expostulare, si simul non conatur efficere, ut ex ruptione pacti ineundi plus damni quam utilitatis ruptorem sequatur : quod quidem in Republica instituenda maxime locum habere debet. At si omnes homines facile solo ductu rationis duci possent, summamque Reipublicae utilitatem et necessitatem noscere, nullus esset, qui dolos prorsus non detestaretur; sed omnes summa cum fide ex cupiditate summi hujus boni, nempe

Reipublicae conservandae, pactis omnino starent, et fidem summum Reipublicae praesidium, supra omnia servarent; sed longe abest, ut omnes ex solo ductu rationis facile semper duci possint : nam unusquisque a sua voluptate trahitur, et avaritia, gloria, invidia, ira etc. saepissime mens ita occupatur, ut nullus locus rationi relinquatur : quapropter quamvis homines certis signis simplicis animi promittant, et paciscantur se fidem servaturos, nemo tamen nisi promisso aliud accedat, de fide alterius potest esse certus; quandoquidem unusquisque naturae jure, dolo agere potest, nec pactis stare tenetur, nisi spe majoris boni vel metu majoris mali. Verum quia jam ostendimus jus naturale sola potentia uniuscujusque determinari, sequitur, quantum unusquisque potentiae, quam habet, in alterum vel vi, vel sponte transfert, tantum etiam de suo jure alteri necessario cedere, et illum summum jus in omnes habere, qui summam habet potestatem, qua omnes vi cogere, et metu summi supplicii, quod omnes universaliter timent, retinere potest : quod quidem jus tamdiu tantum retinebit, quamdiu hanc potentiam, quicquid velit, exequendi, conservabit; alias precario imperabit, et nemo fortior, nisi velit, ei obtemperare tenebitur.

Hac itaque ratione sine ulla naturalis juris repugnantia, societas formari potest, pactumque omne summa cum fide semper servari; si nimirum unusquisque omnem, quam habet, potentiam in societatem transferat, quae adeo summum naturae jus in omnia, hoc est, summum imperium sola retinebit, cui unusquisque vel ex libero animo, vel metu summi supplicii parere tenebitur. Talis vero societatis jus Democratia vocatur, quae proinde definitur coetus universus hominum, qui collegialiter summum jus ad omnia, quae potest, habet. Ex quo sequitur summam potestatem nulla lege teneri, sed omnes ad omnia ei parere debere : hoc enim tacite vel expresse pacisci debuerunt omnes, cum omnem suam potentiam se defendendi, hoc est, omne suum jus in eam transtulerunt. Quippe si aliquid sibi servatum volebant, debuerant simul sibi cavere, quo id tuto defendere possent; cum autem id non fecerint, nec absque imperii divisione, et consequenter destructione facere potuerint, eo ipso se arbitrio summae potestatis absolute submiserunt : quod cum absolute fecerint idque (ut jam ostendimus) et necessitate

cogente, et ipsa ratione suadente, hinc sequitur, quod, nisi hostes imperii esse velimus, et contra rationem, imperium summis viribus defendere suadentem, agere, omnia absolute summae potestatis mandata exequi [exequi] tenemur, tametsi absurdissima imperet; talia enim ratio exequi etiam jubet, ut de duobus malis minus eligamus. Adde quod hoc periculum, se scilicet alterius imperio et arbitrio absolute submittendi, facile unusquisque adire poterat; nam, ut ostendimus, summis potestatibus hoc jus, quicquid velint, imperandi, tamdiu tantum competit, quamdiu revera summam habent potestatem : quod si eandem amiserint, simul etiam jus omnia imperandi amittunt, et in eum vel eos cadit, qui ipsum acquisiverunt, et retinere possunt. Quapropter raro admodum contingere potest, ut summae potestates absurdissima imperent; ipsis enim maxime incumbit, ut sibi prospiciant, et imperium retineant, communi bono consulere, et omnia ex rationis dictamine dirigere : violenta enim imperia, ut ait Seneca, nemo continuit diu. Quibus accedit, quod in democratico imperio minus timenda sunt absurda. Nam fere impossibile est, ut major unius coetus pars, si magnus est, in uno absurdo conveniat : deinde propter ejus fundamentum et finem, qui, ut etiam ostendimus, nullus alius est quam absurda appetitus vitare, et homines sub rationis limites, quoad ejus fieri potest, continere, ut concorditer et pacifice vivant; quod fundamentum si tollatur, facile tota fabrica ruet. His ergo providere summae tantum potestati incumbit, subditis autem, uti diximus, ejus mandata exequi, nec aliud jus agnoscere, quam quod summa potestas jus esse declarat. At forsitan aliquis putabit, nos hac ratione subditos servos facere, quia putant servum esse eum, qui ex mandato agit, et liberum, qui animo suo morem gerit, quod quidem non absolute verum est; nam revera is, qui a sua voluptate ita trahitur, et nihil, quod sibi utile est, videre neque agere potest, maxime servus est, et solus ille liber, qui integro animo ex solo ductu rationis vivit. Actio autem ex mandato, hoc est, obedientia libertatem quidem aliquo modo tollit, at non illico servum facit, sed actionis ratio. Si finis actionis non est ipsius agentis, sed imperantis utilitas, tum agens servus est, et sibi inutilis : at in Republica et imperio, ubi salus totius populi, non imperantis, summa lex est, qui in omnibus summae potestati

obtemperat, non sibi inutilis servus, sed subditus dicendus; et ideo illa Respublica maxime libera est, cujus leges sana ratione fundatae sunt; ibi enim unusquisque, ubi velit, liber esse potest, hoc est, integro animo ex ductu rationis vivere. Sic etiam liberi, tametsi omnibus parentum mandatis obedire tenentur, non tamen servi sunt; nam parentum mandata liberorum utilitatem maxime spectant. Magnam ergo differentiam inter servum, filium et subditum agnoscimus, qui propterea sic definiuntur, nempe, servus est, qui mandatis domini, quae utilitatem imperantis tantum spectant, obtemperare tenetur; filius autem, qui id, quod sibi utile est, ex mandato parentis agit; subditus denique, qui id, quod communi et consequenter quoque sibi utile est, ex mandato summae potestatis agit. Atque his imperii democratici fundamenta satis clare ostendisse puto; de quo prae omnibus agere malui, quia maxime naturale videbatur, et maxime ad libertatem, quam natura unicuique concedit, accedere. Nam in eo nemo jus suum naturale ita in alterum transfert, ut nulla sibi imposterum consultatio sit, sed in majorem totius Societatis partem, cujus ille unam facit. Atque hac ratione omnes manent, ut antea in statu naturali, aequales. Deinde de hoc solo imperio ex professo agere volui, quia ad meum intentum maxime facit, qui de utilitate libertatis in Republica agere constitueram. Reliquarum ergo potestatum fundamentis supersedeo, nec nobis, ut earum jus noscamus, scire jam opus est, unde ortum habuerint, et saepe habeant; id enim ex modo ostensis satis superque constat. Nam quisquis summam habet potestatem, sive unus sit, sive pauci, sive denique omnes, certum est ei summum jus, quicquid velit, imperandi, competere; et praeterea, quisquis potestatem se defendendi sive sponte, sive vi coactus in alium transtulit, eum suo jure naturali plane cessisse et consequenter eidem ad omnia absolute parere decrevisse, quod omnino praestare tenetur, quamdiu Rex, sive Nobiles, sive Populus summam, quam acceperunt, potestatem, quae juris transferendi fundamentum fuit, conservant; nec his plura addere opus est.

Imperii fundamentis et jure ostensis, facile erit determinare, quid jus civile privatum, quid injuria, quid justitia, et injustitia in statu civili sit : deinde quis confoederatus, quis hostis et quid denique crimen laesae majestatis sit. Per jus

enim civile privatum nihil aliud intelligere possumus, quam uniuscujusque libertatem ad sese in suo statu conservandum, quae edictis summae potestatis determinatur, solaque ejusdem auctoritate defenditur. Nam postquam unusquisque jus suum ex proprio beneplacito vivendi, quo sola sua potestate determinabatur, hoc est, suam libertatem et potentiam se defendendi in alium transtulit, ex sola illius ratione jam vivere tenetur, et solo ejusdem praesidio defendere. Injuria est, cum civis vel subditus ab alio aliquod damnum contra jus civile, sive edictum summae potestatis pati cogitur : Injuria enim non nisi in statu civili potest concipi; sed neque a summis potestatibus, quibus jure omnia licent, ulla fieri potest subditis; ergo in privatis tantum, qui jure tenentur invicem non laedere, locum habere potest. Justitia est animi constantia tribuendi unicuique, quod ei ex jure civili competit : Injustitia autem est specie juris alicui detrahere, quod ei ex vera legum interpretatione competit : Vocantur etiam aequitas et iniquitas, quia qui constituti sunt ad lites dirimendas, nullum respectum personarum, sed omnes aequales habere tenentur, et jus uniuscujusque aequae defendere, non diviti invidere, neque pauperem contemnere. Confoederati sunt homines duarum civitatum, qui ne belli discrimine in periculum veniant, vel ob aliam quamcumque utilitatem inter se contrahunt invicem non laedere, sed contra necessitate cogente opitulari, idque unoquoque suum imperium retinente. Hic contractus tamdiu erit validus, quamdiu ejus fundamentum, nempe ratio periculi, sive utilitatis in medio erit : quippe nemo contrahit, nec pactis stare tenetur, nisi spe alicujus boni, vel sollicitudine alicujus mali : quod fundamentum si tollatur, pactum ex sese tollitur; quod etiam experientia satis superque docet. Nam quamvis diversa imperia inter se contrahant invicem non laedere, conantur tamen, quantum possunt, impedire, quo minus alterutrum potentius evadat, nec fidem dictis habent, nisi utriusque ad contrahendum finem et utilitatem satis perspectam habuerint; alias dolum timent, nec injuria; quis enim dictis et promissis ejus, qui summam potestatem, et jus retinet ad quidlibet faciendum, et cui sui imperii salus et utilitas summa lex debet esse, acquiescet, nisi stultus, qui summarum potestatum jus ignorat? et si praeterea ad pietatem, et religionem attendamus, videbimus insuper neminem, qui

imperium tenet, absque scelere promissis stare posse cum damno sui imperii; quicquid enim promisit, quod in damnum sui imperii cadere videt, id praestare non potest, nisi fidem subditis datam solvendo, qua tamen maxime tenetur, et quam etiam servare, sanctissime promittere solent. Porro hostis est, quicumque extra civitatem ita vivit, ut neque ut confoederatus, neque ut subditus imperium civitatis agnoscit : hostem enim imperii non odium, sed jus facit, et jus civitatis in eum, qui ejus imperium nullo contrahendi genere agnoscit, idem est ac in eum, qui damnum intulit : quippe quacunque ratione poterit, eundem vel ad deditionem, vel ad confoederationem jure potest cogere. Denique crimen laesae majestatis in subditis sive civibus tantum, qui pacto tacito vel expreso omne suum jus in civitatem transtulerunt, locum habet, atque is subditus tale crimen commisisse dicitur, qui jus summae potestatis aliqua ratione arripere, seu in alium transferre conatus est. Dico conatus est, nam si non essent condemnandi nisi post factum commissum, sero plerumque post jus arreptum, aut translatum in alium id conaretur civitas. Dico deinde absolute, qui aliqua ratione jus summae potestatis arripere conatur, nullam scilicet agnoscendo differentiam, sive inde damnum sive incrementum totius Reipublicae quam clarissime sequeretur. Quacunque enim ratione id conatus est, majestatem laesit et jure damnatur, quod quidem in bello omnes fatentur jure optimo fieri; nempe si quis stationem suam non servat, sed inscio imperatore hostem adit, quamvis bono consilio, sed suo, rem aggressus fuerit, hostemque expugnaverit, capitis tamen jure damnatur, quia juramentum jusque imperatoris violavit. At quod omnes absolute cives hoc jure semper teneantur, non aequae clare omnes vident, ratio tamen eadem prorsus est. Nam quandoquidem Respublica solo summae potestatis consilio debet conservari, et dirigi, hocque jus ei soli competere absolute pacti sunt, si quis ergo solo suo arbitrio, et inscio supremo consilio negotium aliquod publicum aggressus est 198. exequi, quamvis inde incrementum civitatis, uti diximus, certo sequeretur, jus tamen summae potestatis violavit, et majestatem laesit, atque jure merito damnatur.

Superest jam, ut omnem scrupulum amoveamus, respondere, an id, quod supra affirmavimus, quod scilicet unusquisque, qui rationis usum non habet, in statu naturali ex legibus appetitus summo jure naturae vivit, non aperte juri divino revelato repugnet? nam cum omnes absolute (sive rationis usum habeant, sive minus) aequae tenerentur ex mandato divino proximum tanquam se ipsum amare, non ergo sine injuria alteri damnum inferre possumus et solis legibus appetitus vivere. Verum huic objectioni, si tantum ad statum naturalem attendimus, facile respondere possumus; nam is et natura et tempore prior est religione. Nemo enim ex natura scit, se ulla erga Deum teneri obedientia, imo nec ulla ratione hoc assequi, sed tantum ex revelatione signis confirmata unusquisque id habere potest. Quare ante revelationem nemo jure divino, quod non potest non ignorare, tenetur. Et ideo status naturalis cum statu religionis minime confundendus, sed absque religione et lege, et consequenter absque peccato et injuria concipiendus, ut jam fecimus, et Pauli auctoritate confirmavimus. Nec tantum ratione ignorantiae statum naturalem ante jus divinum revelatum, et absque eodem concipimus, sed etiam ratione libertatis, qua omnes nascuntur. Si enim homines ex natura jure divino tenerentur, vel si jus divinum ex natura jus esset, superfluum erat, ut Deus cum hominibus contractum iniret, et pacto et juramento eosdem obligaret. Quare absolute concedendum jus divinum ab eo tempore incepisse, a quo homines expresso pacto Deo promiserunt in omnibus obedire, quo sua libertate naturali quasi cesserunt, jusque suum in Deum transtulerunt, sicuti in statu civili fieri diximus. Sed de his in sequentibus prolixius agam. Verum instari adhuc potest, quod summae potestates aequae ac subditi hoc jure divino tenentur, quas tamen diximus jus naturale retinere, et iis omnia jure licere. Quare ad hanc integram amovendam difficultatem, quae non tam ex ratione status, quam juris naturalis oritur, dico, quod unusquisque in statu naturali eadem ratione tenetur jure revelato, ac tenetur ex dictamine sanae rationis vivere; nempe quia ipsi utilius est et ad salutem necessarium; quod si nollet, cum suo periculo licet. Atque adeo ex solo proprio, non autem ex alterius decreto vivere, neque aliquem mortalem judicem, nec jure religionis vindicem agnoscere tenetur. Atque hoc jus summam

potestatem retinuisse affirmo, quae quidem homines consulere potest, at neminem judicem agnoscere tenetur, nec ullum mortalem praeter se alicujus juris vindicem, nisi Prophetam, qui expresse a Deo missus fuerit, quique id indubitatis signis ostenderit. At nec tunc quidem hominem, sed Deum ipsum judicem agnoscere cogitur. Quod si summa potestas nollet Deo in jure suo revelato obedire, id ipsi cum suo periculo, et damno licet, nullo scilicet jure civili vel naturali repugnante : Jus enim civile ab ejus decreto tantum pendet : Jus autem naturale pendet a legibus naturae, quae non Religioni, humanum tantum utile intendenti, sed ordini universae naturae, hoc est, aeterno Dei decreto nobis incognito accomodatae sunt. Quod quidem Alii obscurius concepisse videntur, qui scilicet statuunt, hominem contra voluntatem Dei revelatam quidem, sed non contra ejus aeternum decretum, quo omnia praedeterminavit, posse peccare. Si quis autem jam roget, quid si summa potestas aliquid contra religionem, et obedientiam, quam Deo expresso pacto promisimus, imperet? divino an humano imperio obtemperandum? Sed quia de his in sequentibus prolixius agam, hic breviter tantum dico, Deo supra omnia obediendum, quando certam, et indubitatam habemus revelationem : Sed quia circa religionem maxime errare solent homines, et pro ingeniorum diversitate multa magno certamine fingere, ut experientia plus quam satis testatur, certum est, quod si nemo summae potestati jure teneretur obtemperare in iis, quae ipse ad religionem pertinere putat, tum jus civitatis a diverso uniuscujusque judicio et affectu penderet. Nam nemo eodem teneretur, qui id contra suam fidem, et superstitionem statutum judicaret, atque adeo unusquisque sub hoc praetextu licentiam ad omnia sumere posset : et quandoquidem hac ratione jus civitatis prorsus violatur, hinc sequitur summae potestati, cui soli jura imperii conservare, et tutari tam jure divino, quam naturali incumbit, jus summum competere de religione statuendi, quicquid judicat; et omnes ad ejusdem de eadem decreta, et mandata, ex fide ipsi data, quam Deus omnino servari jubet, obtemperare teneri. Quod si ii, qui summum tenent imperium, sint Ethnici, vel cum iis nihil contrahendum, sed potius quam jus suum in eos transferant, extrema pati deliberandum, vel si contraxerint, jusque suum in eos transtulerint, quandoquidem

eo ipso se, religionemque defendendi privaverunt, iis obtemperare tenentur, fidemque servare, vel ad id cogi, excepto eo, cui Deus certa revelatione singulare contra Tyrannum promiserit auxilium, vel nominatim exceptum voluit. Sic videmus ex tot Judaeis, qui Babylone erant, tres tantum juvenes, qui de Dei auxilio non dubitabant, Nabucadonozori obtemperare noluisse; reliqui autem sine dubio, excepto etiam Dani,le, quem Rex ipse adoraverat, jure coacti obtemperaverunt, animo forte reputantes se ex Dei decreto Regi deditos, Regemque summum obtinere imperium et divina directione conservare. Contra Eleazarus stante adhuc utcunque Patria, exemplum constantiae suis dare voluit, ut eum secuti omnia potius tolerarent, quam paterentur jus suum et potestatem in Graecos transferri, et omnia experirentur, ne in Ethnicorum fidem jurare cogerentur; quod etiam quotidiana experientia confirmatur. Qui enim Christianum imperium obtinent, ad majorem ejus securitatem non dubitant foedus cum Turcis et Ethnicis pangere, subditosque suos, qui eo habitatum eunt, jubere, ne majorem libertatem ad aliquid humanum aut divinum exercendum sumant, quam expresse contraxerunt, vel illud imperium concedit. Ut patet ex contractu Belgarum cum Japonensibus, de quo supra diximus.

Caput XVII



Ostenditur neminem omnia in summam potestatem transferre posse, nec esse necesse :

De republica Hebraeorum,
qualis fuerit vivente Mose, qualis post ejus mortem,
antequam reges elegerint, deque ejus praestantia,
et denique de causis, cur respublica divina interire,
et vix absque seditionibus subsistere potuerit

Contemplatio praecedentis Capitis de jure summarum potestatum in omnia, deque jure naturali uniuscujusque in easdem translato, quamvis cum praxi non parum conveniat, et praxis ita institui possit, ut ad eandem magis ac magis accedat, nunquam tamen fiet, quin in multis mere theoretica maneat. Nam nemo unquam suam potentiam et consequenter neque suum jus ita in alium transferre poterit, ut homo esse desinat; nec talis ulla summa potestas unquam dabitur, quae omnia ita, ut vult, exequi possit : Frustra enim subdito imperaret, ut illum odio habeat, qui eum sibi beneficio junxit, ut amet, qui ei damnum intulit, ut contumeliis non offendatur, ut a metu liberari non cupiat, et alia perplurima hujusmodi, quae ex legibus humanae naturae necessario sequuntur. Atque hoc ipsam etiam experientiam clarissime docere existimo; nam nunquam homines suo jure ita cesserunt, suamque potentiam in alium ita transtulerunt, ut ab iis ipsis, qui eorum jus, et potentiam acceperunt, non timerentur, et imperium, non magis propter cives, quanquam suo jure privatos, quam propter hostes periclitaretur; et sane si homines jure suo naturali ita privari possent, ut nihil in posterum possent, nisi volentibus iis, qui supremum Jus retinuerunt, tum profecto impune

violentissime in subditos regnare liceret : quod nemini in mentem venire posse credo. Quare concedendum unumquemque multa sibi sui juris reservare, quae propterea a nullius decreto, sed a suo solo pendent. Attamen ut recte intelligatur, quousque imperii jus et potestas se extendat, notandum imperii potestatem non in eo praecise contineri, quod homines metu cogere potest, sed absolute in omnibus, quibus efficere potest, ut homines ejus mandatis obsequantur : non enim ratio obtemperandi, sed obtemperantia subditum facit. Nam quacunque ratione homo deliberet summae potestatis mandata exequi, sive ideo sit, quod poenam timet, sive quod aliquid inde sperat, sive quod Patriam amat, sive alio quocunque affectu impulsus, tamen ex proprio suo consilio deliberat, et nihilominus ex summae potestatis imperio agit. Non igitur ex eo, quod homo proprio consilio aliquid facit, illico concludendum eum id ex suo, et non imperii jure agere; nam quandoquidem tam cum ex amore obligatus, quam cum metu coactus ad malum evitandum, semper ex proprio consilio, et decreto agit, vel imperium nullum esset, nec ullum jus in subditos, vel id necessario ad omnia se extendit, quibus effici potest, ut homines ipsi cedere deliberent, et consequenter quicquid subditus facit, quod mandatis summae potestatis respondet, sive id amore obligatus, sive metu coactus, sive (quod quidem magis frequens) ex spe et metu simul, sive ex reverentia, quae passio est ex metu et admiratione composita, sive quacunque ratione ductus, ex jure imperii, non autem suo agit. Quod etiam hinc quam clarissime constat, quod obedientia non tam externam, quam animi internam actionem respiciat; adeoque ille maxime sub alterius imperio est, qui alteri integro animo ad omnia ejus mandata obtemperare deliberat, et consequitur eum maximum tenere imperium, qui in subditorum animos regnat; quod si qui maxime timentur, maximum tenerent imperium, tum profecto id Tyrannorum subditi tenerent, qui a suis Tyrannis maxime timentur. Deinde quamvis non perinde animis, ac linguis imperari possit, sunt tamen animi aliqua ratione sub imperio summae potestatis, quae multis modis efficere potest, ut permagna hominum pars, quicquid vult, credat, amat, odio habeat etc. Adeoque etsi haec non directo mandato summae potestatis fiant, fiunt tamen saepe, ut experientia abunde

testatur, ex autoritate ipsius potentiae, et ipsius directione, id est, ex ipsius jure : quare sine ulla intellectus repugnantia concipere possumus homines, qui ex solo imperii jure credunt, amant, odio habent, contemnunt, et absolute nullo non affectu corripuntur.

At quanquam hac ratione jus et potestatem imperii satis amplam concipimus, nunquam tamen fiet, ut ullum adeo magnum detur, ut ii, qui id tenent, potentiam absolute ad omnia, quae velint, habeant, quod me jam satis clare ostendisse puto. Qua autem ratione imperium formari posset, ut nihilominus secure semper conservetur, jam dixi meum intentum non esse, id ostendere, attamen ut ad id, quod volo, perveniam, ea notabo, quae in hunc finem divina revelatio Mosen olim docuit, et deinde Hebraeorum historias, et successus perpendemus, ex quibus tandem videbimus, quatenam praecipue subditis, ad majorem imperii securitatem, et incrementum concedenda sunt a summis potestatibus.

Quod imperii conservatio praecipue pendeat a subditorum fide, eorumque virtute et animi constantia in exequendis mandatis, ratio, et experientia quam clarissime docent : qua autem ratione iidem duci debeant, ut fidem et virtutem constanter servant, non aequae facile est videre. Omnes namque tam qui regunt, quam qui reguntur, homines sunt ex labore scilicet proclives ad libidinem. Imo qui tantum varium multitudinis ingenium experti sunt, de eo fere desperant : quia non ratione, sed solis affectibus gubernatur, praeceptis ad omnia, et facillime vel avaritia vel luxu corrumpitur : Unusquisque solus omnia se scire putat, et omnia ex suo ingenio moderari vult, et eatenus aliquid aequum vel iniquum, fasque nefasque existimat, quatenus in suum lucrum vel damnum cadere judicat, prae gloria aequales contemnit, nec ab iis dirigi patitur, prae invidia melioris laudis, vel fortunae, quae nunquam aequalis est, malum alterius cupit, eoque delectatur : nec opus est omnia recensere, norunt quippe omnes, quid sceleris fastidium praesentium et rerum novandarum cupiditas, quid praeceptis ira, quid contempta paupertas frequenter suadeant hominibus, quantumque eorum animos occupent agitentque. His ergo omnibus praevenire et imperium ita constituere, ut nullus locus fraudi relinquatur, imo omnia ita instituere, ut omnes, cujuscunque ingenii

sint, jus publicum privatis commodis praeferant, hoc opus, hic labor est. Rei quidem necessitas multa excogitare co,git, attamen nunquam eo perventum est, ut imperium non magis propter cives, quam hostes periclitaretur, et qui id tenent, non magis illos, quam hos timerent. Testis invictissima ab hostibus Romanorum Respublica, toties a suis civibus victa et miserrime oppressa, ac praecipue in bello civili Vespasiani contra Vitellium : Qua de re vide Tacitum in initio libr. IV. Histor., ubi miserrimam urbis faciem depingit. Alexander simplicius (ut ait Curtius in fine libr. 8) famam in hoste, quam in cive aestimabat, quippe a suis credebatur magnitudinem suam posse destrui etc. Et fatum suum timens amicos haec praecatur, *Vos modo me ab intestina fraude et domesticorum insidiis praestare securum, belli martisque discrimen impavidus subibo. Philippus in acie tutior, quam in theatro fuit, hostium manum saepe vitavit, suorum effugere non valuit. Aliorum quoque Regum exitus si reputaveritis, plures a suis quam ab hoste interemptos numerabitis* (vide Q. Curtii lib. 9. par 6.). Hac igitur de causa Reges, qui olim imperium usurpaverant, ad se scilicet securos praestandos, persuadere conati sunt, se genus suum a Diis immortalibus ducere. Nimirum quia putabant, si modo subditi et omnes eosdem non ut aequales aspicerent, sed Deos esse crederent, libenter se ab iisdem regi paterentur, seseque facile ipsis dederent. Sic Augustus Romanis persuasit se ab Enea, qui Veneris filius et inter Deos credebatur, originem suam ducere : Se templis, et effigie numinum, per flamines, et sacerdotes coli voluit (Tac. Annal. lib. I.). Alexander ut Jovis filius salutari voluit; quod quidem consilio, non autem ex superbia fecisse videtur, ut ejus responsio ad Hermolai invectivam indicat. *Illud, inquit, paene risu dignum fuit, quod Hermolaus postulabat me, ut aversarer Jovem, cujus oraculo agnoscor. An etiam, quid Dii respondeant, in mea potestate est? obtulit nomen filii mihi, recipere* (NB.) *ipsis rebus, quas agimus, haud alienum fuit. Utinam Indi quoque Deum esse me credant. Fama enim bella constant, et saepe, quod falso creditum est, veri vicem obtinuit.* (Curtii lib. 8. par. 8.) Quibus paucis acute rem simulatam ignaris persuadere pergit, et simul causam simulationis innuit. Quod etiam Cleo in sua oratione, qua Macedonibus conabatur persuadere, ut Regi assentarentur, fecit;

postquam enim laudes Alexandri cum admiratione narrando, ejusdemque merita recensendo, simulationi speciem veri dedit, ad rei utilitatem sic transit, *Persas quidem, non pie solum, sed etiam prudenter Reges suos inter Deos colere : Majestatem enim imperii salutis esse tutelam*, et tandem concludit, *semet ipsum, cum Rex inisset convivium, prostraturum humi corpus. Debere idem facere caeteros et imprimis sapientia praeditos* (vide ejusd. lib. 8. par. 5.). Sed prudentiores erant Macedones, nec homines nisi prorsus barbari sint, tam aperte falli et ex subditis inutiles sibi servi fieri patiuntur. Alii autem facilius persuadere potuerunt Majestatem sacram esse et vicem Dei in terra gerere, et a Deo, non autem ab hominum suffragio, et consensu constitui, singularique providentia et auxilio divino conservari, atque defendi. Et ad hunc modum Monarchae ad sui imperii securitatem alia excogitaverunt, quae omnia missa facio, et ut ad ea, quae volo, perveniam, ea tantum, uti dixi, notabo et perpendam, quae in hunc finem olim divina revelatio Mosen docuit.

Diximus jam supra cap. V., quod, postquam Hebraei Aegypto exiverunt nullo alterius nationis jure amplius tenebantur, sed iis ad lubitum nova jura instituere, et quas volebant, terras occupare licebat. Nam postquam ab intoleranda Aegyptiorum oppressione liberati, et nulli mortalium ullo pacto addicti erant, jus suum naturale ad omnia, quae possent, iterum adepti sunt, et unusquisque de integro deliberare poterat, num id retinere, an vero eodem cedere, idque in alium transferre volebat. Igitur in hoc statu naturali constituti, ex consilio Mosis, cui omnes maximam fidem habebant, suum jus in neminem mortalium, sed tantum in Deum transferre deliberaverunt, nec diu cunctati omnes aequo clamore promiserunt, Deo ad omnia ejus mandata absolute obtemperare, nec aliud jus agnoscere, nisi quod ipse revelatione Prophetica ut jus statueret. Atque haec promissio, sive juris in Deum translatio eodem modo facta est, ac in communi societate supra concepimus fieri, quando homines jure suo naturali cedere deliberant. Expresse enim pacto (vide Exod. ca. v. 7.) et juramento jure suo naturali libere, non autem vi coacti, neque minis territi cesserunt, et in Deum transtulerunt. Deinde ut pactum ratum fixumque esset, et absque fraudis

suspicionem, nihil Deus cum ipsis pepigit, nisi postquam experti sunt ejus admirandam potentiam, qua sola servati fuerant, et qua sola in posterum servari poterant (vide Exod. ca. v. 4. 5.). Nam hoc ipso, quod se sola Dei potentia servari posse crediderunt, omnem suam naturalem potentiam se conservandi, quam ex se habere antea forte putaverant, in Deum transtulerunt, et consequenter omne suum jus. Imperium ergo Hebraeorum Deus solus tenuit, quodque adeo solum ex vi pacti Regnum Dei jure vocabatur, et Deus jure etiam Rex Hebraeorum : et consequenter hujus imperii hostes, hostes Dei, et cives, quid id usurpare vellent, rei laesae divinae Majestatis, et jura denique imperii, jura et mandata Dei. Quare in hoc imperio jus civile et Religio, quae, ut ostendimus, in sola obedientia erga Deum consistit, unum et idem erant. Videlicet Religionis dogmata non documenta, sed jura et mandata erant, pietas justitia, impietas crimen et injustitia aestimabatur : Qui a Religione deficiebat, civis esse desinebat, et eo solo hostis habebatur, et qui pro Religione moriebatur, pro Patria mori reputabatur, et absolute jus civile et Religio nullo prorsus discrimine habebantur. Et hac de causa hoc imperium Theocratia vocari potuit; quandoquidem ejus cives nullo jure nisi a Deo revelato tenebantur. Verum enimvero haec omnia opinione magis, quam re constabant. Nam Hebraei revera jus imperii absolute retinuerunt, ut ex jam dicendis constabit; nempe ex modo, et ratione, qua hoc imperium administrabatur, et quam hic explicare constitui.

Quandoquidem Hebraei suum jus in nullum alium transtulerunt, sed omnes aequae ut in Democratia suo jure cesserunt, unoque ore clamaverunt, quicquid Deus loquatur (nullo expresso mediatore) faciemus, hinc sequitur omnes ab hoc pacto aequales prorsus mansisse, jusque Deum consulendi, legesque accipiendi, et interpretandi omnibus aequale fuisse, et absolute omnem imperii administrationem omnes aequae tenuisse. Hac ergo de causa omnes aequae prima vice Deum adiverunt, ut quae imperare vellet, audirent; sed in hac prima salutatione adeo perterriti fuerunt, et Deum loquentem adeo attoniti audiverunt, ut supremum sibi tempus adesse putaverint : Pleni igitur metu Mosen de novo sic adeunt, *ecce Deum in igne loquentem audivimus, nec causa est, cur mori velimus;*

hic certe ingens ignis nos vorabit; si iterum nobis vox Dei audienda est, certe moriemur. Tu igitur adi, et audi omnia Dei nostri dicta, et tu (non Deus) nobis loqueris : Ad omne, quod Deus tibi loquetur, obediemus idque exequemur. His clare primum pactum aboleverunt, suumque jus Deum consulendi ejusque edicta interpretandi in Mosen absolute transtulerunt : Non enim hic, ut antea, ad omnia, quae Deus ipsis, sed quae Deus Mosi loqueretur, obedire promiserunt (vide Deuter. ca. post Decalog. et ca. v. 15. 16.). Moses ergo solus legum divinarum lator, et interpres mansit, et consequenter etiam supremus Judex, quem nemo judicare poterat, et qui solus apud Hebraeos vicem Dei, hoc est, supremam majestatem habuit : quandoquidem solus jus habebat Deum consulendi, et populo divina responsa dandi, ipsumque ad ea exequenda cogendi. Solus, inquam, nam si quis, vivente Mose nomine Dei praedicare aliquid volebat, quamvis verus Propheta esset, reus tamen erat, et supremi juris usurpator (vide Numer. cap. II. v. 28.) , et hic notandum, quod, etsi Mosen populus elegerit, successorem tamen loco Mosis eligere jure non potuit : Nam simul ac jus suum Deum consulendi in Mosen transtulerunt, et absolute promiserunt ipsum loco divini oraculi habere, omne jus plane amiserunt, et quem Moses successorem eligeret, tanquam a Deo electum admittere debebant. Quod si talem elegisset, qui ut ipse totam imperii administrationem haberet, nempe jus Deum in suo tentorio solus consulendi, et consequenter auctoritatem leges instituendi et abrogandi, de bello et pace decernendi, legatos mittendi, judices constituendi, successorem eligendi, et absolute summae potestatis omnia officia administrandi, imperium mere monarchicum fuisset, nec ulla alia esset differentia, nisi quod communiter monarchicum imperium ex Dei decreto, ipsi etiam Monarchae occulto, Hebraeorum autem a Dei decreto Monarchae tantum revelato certa ratione regatur, vel regi debuerit. Quae quidem differentia Monarchae dominium, et jus in omnes non minuit, sed contra auget. Caeterum quod ad populum utriusque imperii, aequae uterque subjectus est, et ignarus divini decreti : Nam uterque ab ore Monarchae pendet, et quid fas nefasque sit, ab eo solo intelligit, nec propterea quod populus credit, Monarcham nihil, nisi ex Dei decreto ipsi revelato, imperare,

eidem minus, sed contra magis revera subjectus est. At Moses nullum talem successorem elegit, sed imperium ita administrandum successoribus reliquit, ut nec populare, nec aristocraticum, nec monarchicum, sed Theocraticum vocari potuerit. Nam jus leges interpretandi, et Dei responsa communicandi penes unum, et jus et potestas imperium administrandi secundum leges jam explicatas, et jam communicata responsa, penes alium erat. Qua de re vide Num. ca. v. 21 . Et ut haec melius intelligantur, administrationem totius imperii ordine exponam. Primo jussus est populus domum aedificare, quae quasi Dei, hoc est supremae illius imperii Majestatis aula esset. Atque haec non sumtibus unius, sed totius populi aedificanda fuit, ut domus, ubi Deus consulendus erat, communis esset juris. Regiae hujus divinae aulici, et administratores Levitae electi sunt : horum autem supremus, et quasi a Rege Deo secundus electus est Aharon frater Mosis, in cujus locum ejus filii legitime succedebant. Hic ergo, ut Deo proximus, summus legum divinarum interpretes erat, et qui populo divini oraculi responsa dabat, et qui denique pro populo Deo supplicabat. Quod si cum his jus eadem imperandi haberet, nihil restabat, ut absolutus esset monarcha, sed eo privatus erat, et absolute tota tribus Levi communi imperio ita destituta fuit, ut ne quidem partem cum reliquis tribubus habuerit, quam jure possideret, unde saltem vivere posset; sed ut a reliquo populo aleretur, instituit, at ita, ut semper maximo honore a communi plebe haberetur, utpote sola Deo dicata. Deinde, militia ex reliquis duodecim tribubus formata, jussi sunt Canahanitarum imperium invadere, idque in duodecim partes dividere, et tribubus per fortes distribuere. Ad hoc ministerium electi sunt duodecim principes, ex unaquaque tribu unus, quibus simul cum Josua, et summo pontifice Eleazaro, jus datum est terras in aequales duodecim partes dividere, et per sortes distribuere. Militiae autem summus imperator Josua electus est, qui solus in rebus novis jus habebat Deum consulendi, at non ut Moses solus in suo tentorio, vel in tabernaculo, sed per summum Pontificem, cui soli responsa Dei dabantur, deinde Dei mandata per pontificem communicata statuendi, et populum ad ea cogendi, media ad eadem exequenda excogitandi et adhibendi, et militia, quot velit, et quos velit eligendi, legatos XVII. 209. suo nomine mittendi,

et absolute omne jus belli a solo ejus decreto pendebat : In ejus autem locum nemo legitime succedebat, nec ab aliquo nisi a Deo immediate eligebatur, idque cogente universi populi necessitate; alias omnia belli et pacis a principibus Tribuum administrabantur, ut mox ostendam. Denique omnes ab anno vigesimo aetatis usque ad sexagesimum arma ad militandum capere jussit, et ex solo populo exercitus formare, qui non in fidem imperatoris, nec summi pontificis, sed Religionis sive Dei jurabant : qui adeo exercitus, sive ordines Dei vocabantur, et Deus contra apud Hebraeos Deus exercituum, et hac de causa arca foederis in magnis proeliis, a quorum discrimine totius populi vel victoria, vel clades pendebat, in medio exercitu ibat, ut populus Regem suum quasi praesentem videns, extremis viribus pugnaret. Ex his a Mose successoribus mandatis facile colligimus, ipsum administratores, non autem dominatores imperii elegerunt. Nam nemini jus dedit, Deum solus et, ubi vellet, consulendi, et consequenter nemini auctoritatem dedit, quam ipse habebat, leges statuendi, et abrogandi, de bello et pace discernendi, administratores tam templi, quam civitatum eligendi; quae omnia summi imperii tenentis officia sunt : summus enim pontifex jus quidem habebat leges interpretandi, et responsa Dei dandi, at non ut Moses, quandocunque volebat, sed tantum ab imperatore, vel summo concilio vel similibus rogatus : et contra summus exercitus imperator, et concilia Deum, quando volebant, consulere poterant, at non nisi a summo pontifice Dei responsa accipere; quare Dei dicta in ore pontificis non decreta, ut in ore Mosis, sed tantum responsa erant : a Josua autem et conciliis accepta, tum demum vim mandati et decreti habebant. Deinde hic summus pontifex, qui Dei responsa a Deo accipiebat, militiam non habebat, nec imperium jure possidebat : et contra, qui terras jure possidebant, leges statuere jure non poterant. Summus deinde pontifex tam Aharon, quam filius ejus Eleazarus, uterque a Mose quidem electus fuit, mortuo autem Mose nemo jus eligendi pontificem habuit, sed filius patri legitime succedebat. Imperator exercitus a Mose etiam electus fuit, et non ex jure summi pontificis, sed jure Mosis ipsi dato, personam imperatoris induit; et ideo mortuo Josua pontifex neminem ejus loco elegit, nec principes de novo imperatore Deum

consuluerunt, sed unusquisque in militiam suae tribus, et omnes simul in universam militiam jus Josuae retinuerunt; et videtur non opus fuisse summo imperatore, nisi quando conjunctis viribus contra communem hostem pugnare debebant; quod quidem maxime locum habuit tempore Josuae, quo locum fixum nondum omnes habebant, et omnia communis juris erant; at postquam omnes tribus terras jure belli possessas, et quas adhuc possidere in mandatis erat, inter se diviserunt, nec amplius omnia omnium erant, eo ipso ratio communis imperatoris cessavit, quandoquidem tribus diversae non tam concives quam confoederatae ab ea divisione reputari debuerunt : Respectu Dei et Religionis concives quidem aestimari debuerunt; at respectu juris, quod una in aliam habebat, non nisi confoederatae : eodem fere modo (si templum commune demas), ac Praepotentes Confoederati Belgarum Ordines : Nam divisio rei communis in partes nihil aliud est, quam quod unusquisque suam partem solus jam possideat, et reliqui jure, quod in illam partem habebant, cedant. Hac igitur de causa Moses principes tribuum elegit, ut post divisum imperium unusquisque curam suae partis haberet, nempe Deum per summum pontificem de rebus suae tribus consulendi, suae militiae imperandi, urbes condendi et muniendi, judices in unaquaque urbe constituendi, hostem sui singularis imperii invadendi, et absolute omnia belli et pacis administrandi. Nec alium judicem praeter Deum noscere tenebatur , vel quem Deus prophetam expresse misisset : Alias si a Deo defecisset, reliquae tribus ipsum non tanquam subditum judicare, sed tanquam hostem, qui fidem contractus solverat, invadere debebant. Quorum exempla in Scriptura habemus. Mortuo enim Josua filii Isra,elis, non summus novus imperator, Deum consuluerunt; intellecto autem, quod tribus Judae omnium prima hostem suum invadere debebat, ipsa sola cum Simeone contrahit, ut junctis viribus utriusque hostem invaderent, in quo contractu reliquae tribus non fuerunt comprehensae (vide Judic. cap. I v. 1. 2. 3.), sed unaquaeque separatim (ut in praedicto cap. narratur) bellum contra suum hostem gerit, et quem vult, in ditionem et fidem accipit, etsi in mandatis esset, nulli ulla pacti conditione parcere, sed omnes exterminare : propter quod peccatum reprehenduntur quidem, a nemine autem in

judicium vocantur. Nec erat, quod propterea bella contra invicem movere inciperent, et rebus alterius alii se immiscerent; contra Benjaminitas, qui reliquos offenderant et pacis vinculum ita solverant, ut nullus ex confoederatis secure apud ipsos hospitium habere posset, hostiliter invadunt, et ter proelio commisso tandem victores, omnes nocentes et innocentes jure belli aequae trucidant, quod postea sera poenitentia lamentati sunt.

His exemplis, quae de jure uniuscujusque tribus modo diximus, plane confirmantur. At forsitan aliquis rogabit, quisnam successorem principis cujusque tribus eligebat? verum de hac re nihil certi ex ipsa Scriptura possum colligere; hoc tamen conjicio, quod quandoquidem unaquaeque tribus in familias erat divisa, quarum capita ex senioribus familiae eligebantur, ex his qui senior erat, loco principis jure succedebat : ex Senioribus enim Moses septuaginta coadjutores, qui cum ipso supremum concilium formabant, elegit; qui post mortem Josuae imperii administrationem habuerunt, senes in Scriptura vocantur, et denique apud Hebraeos nihil frequentius, quam per senes judices intelligere, quod omnibus notum existimo. Sed ad nostrum propositum parum refert hoc certo scire; sufficit, quod ostenderim, neminem post mortem Mosis omnia summi imperatoris officia habuisse : nam quandoquidem omnia non ab unius viri, neque unius concilii, neque populi decreto pendebant, sed quaedam ab una tribu, alia a reliquis aequali utriusque jure administrabantur, sequitur evidentissime imperium ab obitu Mosis neque monarchicum, neque aristocraticum, neque popolare mansisse, sed, uti diximus, Theocraticum, I. quia imperii domus regia templum erat, et sola ejus ratione, ut ostendimus, omnes tribus concives erant; II. quia omnes cives in fidem Dei supremi sui judicis jurare debebant, cui soli in omnibus absolute obedire promiserant. Et denique quia summus omnium imperator, quando eo opus erat, a nemine nisi a solo Deo eligebatur. Quod Moses nomine Dei populo expresse praedicat Deuter. ca. v. 15. et re ipsa electio Gideonis, Samsonis et Samu, lis testatur; quare non dubitandum, quin reliqui fideles duces simili etiam modo electi fuerint, etsi id ex eorum historia non constet.

His positis tempus est, ut videamus, quantum haec ratio imperii constituendi animos moderari poterat, et tam eos, qui regebant, quam qui regebantur, ita continere, ut neque hi rebelles, neque illi Tyranni fierent.

Qui imperium administrant, vel qui id tenent, quicquid facinoris committunt, id semper specie juris adumbrare, et populo id a se honeste factum persuadere student, quod facile etiam obtinent, quando tota juris interpretatio ab iis solis pendet. Nam non dubium est, quin eo ipso maximam ad omnia, quae volunt, et eorum appetitus suadet, libertatem sumant, et contra magnam iisdem adimi, si jus leges interpretandi apud alium sit, et simul si vera earundem interpretatio omnibus ita pateat, ut nemo de eadem dubitare possit. Ex quo manifestum fit, magnam Hebraeorum principibus causam facinorum sublatam fuisse, eo quod jus omne leges interpretandi Levitis datum fuerit (vide Deuteron. ca. v. 5.), qui nullam imperii administrationem nec partem cum caeteris habebant, et quorum tota fortuna et honor a vera legum interpretatione pendebat. Deinde quod universus populus jussus est singulis septem annis certo in loco congregari, ubi a Pontifice leges edoceretur, et praeterea ut unusquisque solus continuo, et summa cum attentione librum legis legeret, et perlegeret (vide Deuteron. ca. v. 9. etc. et ca. v. 7.). Principes igitur maxime sui saltem causa curare debebant, ut omnia secundum leges praescriptas, et omnibus satis perspectas administrarent, si a populo maximo honore coli volebant, qui tum eos utpote Dei imperii ministros, et vicem Dei gerentes veneraretur; alias summum subditorum odium, quale Theologicum esse solet, fugere non poterant. Ad haec, nempe ad effraenatam Principum libidinem coercendam, aliud permagni momenti accessit, videlicet quod militia ex omnibus civibus (nullo a vigesimo usque ad sexagesimum aetatis annum excepto) formabatur, et quod Principes nullum extraneum militem mercede conducere poterant. Hoc, inquam, permagni fuit momenti; nam certum est Principes sola militia, cui stipendia solvunt, populum opprimere posse. Deinde eos nihil magis timere quam libertatem militum concivium, quorum virtute, labore, et magno sui sanguinis impendio imperii libertas et gloria parta est. Ideo Alexander, cum secundo contra Darium dimicandum erat, audito Parmenionis consilio, non ipsum,

qui consilium dedit, sed Polyperconta, qui cum eodem stabat, increpuit. Nam, ut ait Curtius lib. 4. par. 13., Parmenionem nuper acrius, quam vellet, increpitum rursus castigare non sustinuit, nec Macedonum libertatem, quam maxime, ut jam diximus, timebat, opprimere potuit, nisi postquam numerum militum ex captivis longe supra Macedones auxit; tum enim animo suo impotenti, et diu civium optimorum libertate co,rcito, morem gerere potuit. Si haec itaque militum concivium libertas humani imperii principes, qui soli totam laudem victoriarum usurpare solent, retinet, multo magis Hebraeorum principes co,rcere debuit, quorum milites non pro Principis, sed pro Dei gloria pugnabant, et solo Dei responso accepto proelium committebant.

Accessit deinde, quod omnes Hebraeorum Principes solo religionis vinculo associati erant : quare, si aliquis ab eadem defecisset, jusque divinum uniuscujusque violare incepisset, eo hostis a reliquis haberi potuerat, et jure opprimi.

Accessit III. timor novi alicujus Prophetae : modo enim probatae vitae aliquis receptis quibusdam signis ostenderet se Prophetam esse, eo ipso jus summum imperandi habebat, nempe sicuti Moses Dei nomine ei soli revelati, et non tantum ut principes per pontificem consulti; et non dubium est, quin tales populum oppressum facile ad se trahere poterant, et levibus signis, quicquid vellent, persuadere; cum contra si res recte administrabantur, princeps in tempore providere poterat, ut Propheta prius ejus judicio stare deberet, ut ab eo examinaretur, num probatae vitae esset, num certa et indubitata signa suae legationis haberet, et denique num id, quod nomine Dei dicere volebat, cum recepta doctrina, et communibus legibus patriae conveniret : quod si nec signa satis responderent, vel doctrina nova esset, eum jure mortis damnare poterat, alias sola principis autoritate et testimonio recipiebatur.

Accessit IV., quod Princeps reliquos nobilitate non excellebat, nec jure sanguinis, sed tantum ratione aetatis et virtutis administratio imperii ei competebat.

Accessit denique, quod Principes, et universa militia non magis desiderio belli, quam pacis teneri poterant. Nam militia, uti diximus, ex solis civibus constabat; quare tam res belli, quam pacis ab iisdem hominibus administrabantur. Qui igitur in castris miles, is in foro civis erat, et qui in castris dux, is in curia iudex, et qui denique in castris imperator, princeps in civitate erat. Quare nemo bellum propter bellum, sed propter pacem, et ad tuendam libertatem desiderare poterat, et forte Princeps, ne summum Pontificem adire teneretur, et coram ipso praeter dignitatem stare, a rebus novis, quantum poterat, abstinebat. Haec de rationibus, quae Principes intra suos limites continebant. Videndum jam, qua ratione populus retinebatur : sed hanc etiam imperii fundamenta clarissime indicant; si quis enim ad ea vel leviter attendere velit, videbit statim haec amorem adeo singularem in civium animis parere debuisse, ut nihil difficilius aliquis in mentem inducere potuerit, quam patriam prodere, vel ab ea deficere : sed contra omnes ita affecti esse debuerint, ut extrema potius, quam alienum imperium paterentur. Nam postquam suum jus in Deum transtulerunt, suumque regnum Dei regnum esse, seque solos filios Dei, reliquas autem nationes Dei hostes esse crediderunt, in quas propterea odio infensissimo affecti erant (nam et hoc pium esse credebant, vide Psalm. 139. v. 21. 22.), nihil magis abhorrere potuerunt, quam in fidem alicujus extranei jurare, eique obedientiam promittere; nec majus flagitium, nec quid magis execrandum excogitari apud ipsos poterat, quam patriam, hoc est, ipsum regnum Dei, quem adorabant, prodere; imo aliquo extra patriam tantum habitatum ire pro flagitio habebatur, quia Dei cultus, quo semper tenebantur, non nisi in patrio solo exerceri concedebatur; utpote quae sola tellus sancta, reliqua autem immunda et profana haberetur. Ideo David, quia exulare cogeatur, sic coram Saulo conqueritur, *Si qui te contra me instigant, homines sunt, maledicti sunt, quia me secludunt, ne spatier in Dei haereditate, sed dicunt, vade, et Deos alienos cole.* Et hac etiam de causa nullus civis, quod hic apprime notandum, exilii damnabatur : nam qui peccat, supplicio quidem dignus est, non autem flagitio. Amor ergo Hebraeorum erga patriam non simplex amor, sed pietas erat, quae simul et odium in reliquas nationes ita quotidiano cultu fovebantur, et

alebantur, ut in naturam verti debuerint : quotidianus enim cultus non tantum diversus omnino erat (quo fiebat, ut omnino singulares, et a reliquis prorsus essent separati), sed etiam absolute contrarius. Quare ex quotidiana quadam exprobratione continuum odium oriri debuit, quo nullum firmius animis haerere potuit : utpote odium ex magna devotione seu pietate ortum, quodque pium credebatur, quo sane nullum majus nec pertinacius dari potest : nec causa communis deerat, qua odium semper magis ac magis incenditur, nempe ejus reciprocatio; nam nationes eos contra odio infensissimo habere debuerunt. Quantum autem haec omnia, videlicet humani imperii libertas, erga patriam devotio, in omnes reliquos jus absolutum, et odium non tantum licitum, sed etiam pium, omnes infensos habere, morum et rituum singularitas, quantum, inquam, haec Hebraeorum animos firmare valuerint ad omnia singulari constantia et virtute pro Patria tolerandum, ratio quam clarissime docet, et ipsa experientia testata est. Nunquam enim stante urbe, sub alterius imperio durare potuerunt, et ideo Hierosolymam rebellem civitatem vocitabant (vide Hezrae ca. v. 12. 15.). Secundum imperium (quod primi vix umbra fuit, postquam Pontifices jus etiam principatus usurpaverunt) difficillime a Romanis destrui potuit, quod ipse Tacitus lib. 2. Histor. his testatur, *Profligaverat bellum Judaicum Vespasianus, oppugnatione Hierosolymorum reliqua, duro magis et arduo opere ob ingenium gentis et pervicaciam superstitionis, quam quod satis virium obsessis ad tolerandas necessitates superesset*. Verum praeter haec, quorum aestimatio a sola opinione pendet, aliud in hoc imperio, quod solidissimum est, singulare fuit, quo cives maxime retineri debuerunt, ne de defectione cogitarent, et ne unquam desiderio tenerentur deserendae patriae, nimirum ratio utilitatis, quae omnium humanarum actionum robur et vita est, atque haec inquam in hoc imperio singularis erat : Nam cives nullibi majore jure sua possidebant, quam hujus imperii subditi, qui cum principe aequalem partem terrarum, et agrorum habebant, et unusquisque suae partis aeternus dominus erat; nam si quis paupertate coactus fundum suum, vel agrum vendiderat, adventante jubileo ei de integro restitui debebat, et ad hunc modum alia instituta erant, ut nemo a fixis suis bonis alienari

posset. Deinde paupertas nullibi tolerabilior esse poterat, quam ubi charitas erga proximum, hoc est, erga concivem summa pietate coli debebat, ut Deum suum Regem propitium haberent. Civibus igitur Hebraeis non nisi in sua patria bene esse poterat, extra eandem autem damnum maximum et dedecus. Deinde ad eosdem non tantum in patrio solo retinendum, sed ad bella etiam civilia vitandum, et causas contentionum tollendum haec apprime conducebant; nempe quod nemo suo aequali, sed soli Deo serviebat, et quod charitas et amor erga concivem summa aestimabatur pietas, qui non parum fovebatur communi odio, quo reliquas nationes, et hae eos contra, habebant. Praeterea apprime conducebat summa obedientiae disciplina, qua educabantur, quod scilicet omnia ex determinato legis praescripto facere debebant : non enim ad libitum arare licebat, sed certis temporibus et annis, et non nisi uno bestiarum genere simul : sic etiam non nisi certa ratione certoque tempore seminare, et metere licebat, et absolute eorum vita continuus obedientiae cultus erat (qua de re vide cap. V. circa usum Caeremoniarum). Quare eidem omnino assuefactis ipsa non amplius servitus, sed libertas videri debuit : unde sequi etiam debuit, ut nemo negata, sed mandata cuperet; ad quod etiam non parum conduxisse videtur, quod certis anni temporibus otio et laetitiae se dare tenebantur, non ut animo, sed ut Deo ex animo obtemperarent. Ter in anno Dei convivae erant (vide Deut. ca.), septimo septimanae die ab omni opere cessare, seseque otio dare debebant, et praeter haec alia tempora signata erant, quibus laetitiae actus honesti, et convivium non quidem concedebantur, sed mandabantur; nec puto, quod aliquid hoc efficacius ad hominum animos flectendos excogitari potest; nam nulla re magis capiuntur animi, quam laetitia, quae ex devotione, hoc est, ex amore et admiratione simul oritur. Nec facile fastidio rerum usitatarum capi poterant, nam cultus diebus festis destinatus rarus, et varius erat. His accessit summa templi reverentia, quam propter singularem ejus cultum, et res, quas tenebantur observare, antequam alicui eo ire liceret, religiosissime semper servaverunt, atque adeo ut hodierni adhuc non sine magno horrore illud Manassae flagitium legant, quod scilicet idolum in ipso templo ponere sustinuerit. Erga leges etiam, quae in intimo sacrario religiosissime

custodiebantur, non minor erat populo reverentia. Quare populi rumores et praejudicia hic minime timenda erant : Nemo enim de rebus divinis iudicium ferre audebat, sed ad omnia, quae ipsis imperabantur ex auctoritate divini responsi in templo accepti, vel legis a Deo conditae, sine ulla rationis consultatione obtemperare debebant. Atque his me summam rationem huius imperii, etsi breviter, satis tamen clare exposuisse puto. Superest jam, ut causas etiam inquiramus, quare factum sit, ut Hebraei toties a lege defecerint, cur toties subacti fuerint, et cur tandem imperium omnino vastari potuerit. At forsitan hic aliquis dicet, id evenisse ex gentis contumacia. Verum hoc puerile est; nam cur haec natio reliquis contumacior fuit? an natura? haec sane nationes non creat, sed individua, quae quidem in nationes non distinguuntur nisi ex diversitate linguae, legum et morum receptorum, et ex his duobus, legibus scilicet et moribus, tantum oriri potest, quod unaquaeque natio singulare habeat ingenium, singularem conditionem et denique singularia praejudicia. Si igitur concedendum esset, quod Hebraei supra reliquos mortales contumaces fuerint, id vitio legum vel receptorum morum imputari deberet. Et sane hoc verum est, quod, si Deus eorum imperium constantius voluisset, aliter etiam jura et leges condidisset, aliamque rationem id administrandi instituisset : quare quid aliud dicere possumus, nisi quod Deum suum iratum habuerint, non tantum, ut Jeremias ca. v. 31. ait, ab urbe condita, sed jam inde a legibus conditis. Quod Ezechiël ca. v. 25. etiam testatur, inquam, *ego etiam dedi ipsis statuta non bona, et jura, quibus non viverent, eo quod impuravi ipsos muneribus suis remittendo omnem aperturam vulvae* (id est primogenitum), *ut eos vastarem, ut scirent, quod ego sum Jehova*. Quae verba, et causa vastationis imperii, ut recte intelligantur, notandum, quod primum intentum fuit totum sacrum ministerium primogenitis tradere, non Levitis (vide Numer. ca. v. 17.), sed postquam omnes praeter Levitas, vitulum adoraverunt, repudiati et impurati sunt primogeniti, et Levitae eorum loco electi (Deuteron. ca. v. 8.), quae mutatio, quo eam magis ac magis considero, in verba Taciti me cogit erumpere, illo tempore non fuisse Deo curae securitatem illorum, fuisse ultionem. Nec satis mirari possum tantam animo coelesti fuisse iram, ut ipsas leges, quae semper

solum universi populi honorem, salutem et securitatem intendunt, animo se vindicandi, et ad populum puniendum condiderit, ita ut leges non leges, hoc est, populi salus, sed potius poenae et supplicia visae sint. Omnia enim munera, quae Levitis et sacerdotibus dare tenebantur, ut etiam quod primogeniti redimi debebant, et argentum pro capite levitis dare, et denique quod Levitis solis ad sacra accedere concedebatur, eos continuo suae impuritatis, et repudiationis arguebant. Habebant deinde Levitae, quod iis continuo exprobrarent : Nam non dubium est, quin inter tot millia multi importuni Theologastri reperti fuerint : unde populo desiderium facta Levitarum, qui absque dubio homines erant, observandi, et, ut fit, omnes ob unius delictum accusandi. Hinc continuo rumores, deinde fastidium, homines otiosos et invisos, nec sanguine iis conjunctos alendi, praecipue si annona cara erat. Quid igitur mirum, si in otio, quando manifesta miracula cessabant, nec homines exquisitissimae autoritatis dabantur, populi animus irritatus, et avarus languescere inciperet, et tandem a cultu, quamvis divino, sibi tamen ignominioso et etiam suspecto deficeret, et novum cuperet; et quod Principes, qui semper ut jus summum imperii soli obtineant, viam affectant, ut populum sibi alligarent, et a Pontifice averterent, omnia ei concederent, novosque cultus introducerent. Quod si ex prima intentione Respublica constituta fuisset, jus omnibus tribubus et honor aequalis semper fuisset, et omnia securissime sese habuissent : nam quis jus sacrum suorum consanguineorum violare vellet? qui aliud mallent, quam suos consanguineos, fratres et parentes, ex pietate Religionis alere? quam ab iisdem legum interpretationem edoceri? et quam denique ab iisdem divina responsa expectare? Deinde hac ratione omnes tribus longe arctius invicem unitae mansissent, si nimirum omnibus aequale jus fuisset sacra administrandi : quin imo nihil timendum esset, si ipsa Levitarum electio aliam causam quam iram et vindictam habuisset. Sed, sicuti diximus, Deum suum iratum habuerunt, qui ipsos, ut verba Ezechiëlis iterum repetam, suis muneribus impuravit, remittendo omnem aperturam vulvae, ut eosdem vastaret. Confirmantur haec praeterea ipsis hitoriis. Simul ac populus in desertis otio abundare coepit, multi, et non de plebe viri hanc electionem aegre ferre

inceperunt, et hinc occasionem ceperunt credendi Mosen nihil ex mandato divino, sed ad libitum omnia instituere, quia scilicet suam tribum prae omnibus elegerit, et jus pontificatus in aeternum suo fratri dederit; quopropter ipsum tumultu concitato adeunt clamantes omnes aequae sanctos esse, ipsumque supra omnes contra jus extolli. Nec eos ulla ratione sedare potuit, sed adhibito in signum fidei miraculo omnes extincti sunt; unde nova et universalis populi totius seditio orta est, credentis scilicet eos non Deo iudice, sed arte Mosis extinctos esse, qui tandem post magnam cladem vel pestilentiam fessus sedavit, ast ita ut omnes mori mallent, quam vivere. Quare tunc temporis seditio magis desierat, quam concordia coeperat. Quod ita Scriptura testatur Deut. ca. v. 21., ubi Deus Mosi, postquam ei praedixit populum post ejus mortem a divino cultu defecturum, haec ait, *novi enim ipsius appetitum et quid hodie machinatur, dum nondum eundem duxero ad terram, quam juravi*. Et paulo post Moses ipsi populo, *nam ego novi rebellionem tuam et contumaciam tuam. Si dum ego vobiscum vixi, rebelles fuistis contra Deum, multo magis eritis post mortem meam*. Et revera sic etiam contigit, ut notum. Unde magnae mutationes, magnaue ad omnia licentia, luxus et socordia, quibus omnia in deterius ire coeperunt, donec saepe subacti jus divinum plane ruperunt, et regem mortalem voluerunt, ut imperii regia non Templum, sed aula esset, et ut omnes tribus non amplius juris divini, et pontificatus, sed Regum respectu concives manerent. At hinc ingens materia novis seditionibus, ex quibus etiam tandem imperii totius ruina sequuta est. Nam quid aliud Reges minus ferre possunt, quam precario regnare, et imperium in imperio pati? Qui primi ex privatis electi sunt, gradu dignitatis, ad quem ascenderant, contenti fuerunt; at postquam filii jure successionis regno potiti sunt, omnia paulatim mutare coeperunt, ut omne jus imperii soli tenerent, quo maxima ex parte carebant, quamdiu jus legum ab iisdem non pendeat, sed a Pontifice, qui eas in sacrario custodiebat, easque populo interpretabatur. Adeoque tanquam subditi legibus tenebantur, nec jure eas abrogare poterant, vel novas aequali autoritate condere. Deinde quia jus Levitarum Reges aequae, ac subditos, ut profanos, sacra administrare prohibebat, et denique quia tota sui imperii securitas a sola voluntate

unius, qui Propheta videbatur, pendebat, cujus rei exempla viderant : nimirum quanta cum libertate Samuël Saulo omnia imperabat, et quam facile unam ob noxam jus regnandi in Davidem transferre potuerit : quare et imperium in imperio habebant, et precario regnabant. Ad haec ergo superanda, alia templa Diis dicare concesserunt, ut nulla Levitis amplius consultatio esset; deinde plures, qui nomine Dei prophetarent, quaesiverunt, ut Prophetas haberent, quos veris opponerent. Sed quicquid conati sunt, nunquam voti compotes esse potuerunt. Prophetae enim ad omnia parati tempus opportunum expectabant, nempe imperium successoris, quod semper dum memoria praecedentis viget, precarium est : tum facile autoritate divina aliquem in Regem infensum, et virtute clarum inducere poterant ad jus divinum vindicandum, et imperium vel ejus partem jure possidendum. Verum nec Prophetae aliquid hac ratione promovere poterant; nam etsi Tyrannum e medio tollerent, manebant tamen causae : Quare nihil aliud faciebant, quam novum Tyrannum multo civium sanguine emere. Discordiis igitur bellisque civilibus finis nullus, causae autem jus divinum violandi semper eadem, quae etiam non nisi simul cum toto imperio e medio tolli potuerunt.

His videmus, quomodo Religio in Hebraeorum Rempublicam introducta fuerit, et qua ratione imperium aeternum esse potuerit, si justa legislatoris ira in eodem persistere concessisset. Sed quia id fieri non potuit, tandem interire debuit. Atque hic de solo primo imperio loquutus sum, nam secundum vix umbra fuit primi, quandoquidem jure Persarum, quorum subditi erant, tenebantur, et postquam libertatem adepti sunt, Pontifices jus principatus usurpaverunt, quo imperium absolutum obtinuerunt. Unde Sacerdotibus regnandi et pontificatum simul adipiscendi ingens libido, quare de hoc secundo minime opus fuit plura dicere. An vero primum, prout ipsum durable concepimus, imitabile sit, vel pium, id quoad ejus fieri potest imitari, id ex sequentibus patebit. Hic tantum coronidis loco notari velim, id quod jam supra innuimus, nempe ex his, quae in hoc Capite ostendimus, constare jus divinum sive religionis ex pacto oriri, sine quo nullum est nisi naturale, et ideo Hebraei nulla pietate erga gentes, quae pacto non interfuerunt, ex jussu religionis tenebantur, sed tantum in concives.

Caput XVIII



EX HEBRAEORUM REPUBLICA, et historiis quaedam dogmata Politica concluduntur.

Quamvis Hebraeorum imperium, quale ipsum in praecedenti Capite concepimus, aeternum esse potuerit, idem tamen nemo jam imitari potest, nec etiam consultum est. Nam si qui suum jus in Deum transferre vellent, id cum Deo, sicuti Hebraei fecerunt, expresse pacisci deberent, adeoque non tantum voluntas jus transferentium, sed etiam Dei, in quem esset transferendum, requireretur. At Deus contra per Apostolos revelavit, Dei pactum non amplius atramento, nec in tabulis lapideis, sed Dei spiritu in corde scribi. Deinde talis imperii forma iis forsitan tantum utilis esse posset, qui sibi solis absque externo commercio vivere, seseque intra suos limites claudere, et a reliquo orbe segregari velint, at minime iis, quibus necesse est cum aliis commercium habere ; quapropter talis imperii forma paucissimis tantum ex usu esse potest. Verum enimvero, tametsi in omnibus imitabile non sit, multa tamen habuit dignissima, saltem ut notarentur, et quae forsitan imitari consultissimum esset. Attamen, quia mea intentio, ut jam monui, non est, de Republica ex professo agere, eorum pleraque missa faciam, et tantum ea, quae ad meum scopum faciunt, notabo. Nempe quod contra Dei Regnum non pugnet, summam majestatem eligere, quae summum imperii jus habeat: Nam postquam Hebraei suum jus in Deum transtulerunt, jus summum imperandi Mosi tradiderunt, quique adeo solus auctoritatem habuit leges Dei nomine condendi, et abrogandi, sacrorum ministros eligendi, judicandi, docendi, et castigandi, et omnibus denique omnia absolute imperandi. Deinde quod, quamvis sacrorum ministri legum interpretes fuerint, eorum tamen non erat, cives judicare, nec aliquem excommunicare ; hoc enim tantum iudicibus, et principibus

ex populo electis competebat (vide Josuae ca. vers. 26., Judicum ca. vers. 18. et 1. Samuëlis ca. vers. 24.). Praeter haec, si etiam ad Hebraeorum successus, et historias attendere velimus, alia, digna etiam ut notentur, reperiemus. Videlicet I. quod nullae in Religione sectae fuerint, nisi postquam Pontifices in secundo imperio auctoritatem habuerunt decretandi, et negotia imperii tractandi, quae auctoritas ut aeterna esset, jus sibi principatus usurpaverunt, et tandem Reges appellari voluerunt. Ratio in promptu est ; in primo namque imperio nulla decretalia nomen a Pontifice habere poterant, quandoquidem nullum jus decretandi habebant, sed tantum Dei responsa, a principibus, vel conciliis rogati, dandi ; ac propterea nulla tum iis libido esse potuit, nova decretandi, sed tantum assueta, et recepta administrandi, et defendendi. Nam nulla alia ratione libertatem suam invitis principibus conservare tuto poterant, nisi leges incorruptas servando. At postquam potestatem etiam ad imperii negotia tractandum, jusque principatus juxta pontificatum adepti sunt, unusquisque tam in religione, quam in reliquis sui nominis gloriam incepit quaerere, omnia scilicet pontificali auctoritate determinando, et quotidie nova de caeremoniis, de fide, et omnibus decretando, quae non minus sacra, nec minoris auctoritatis esse voluerunt, quam leges Mosis ; ex quo factum, ut religio in exitiabilem superstitionem declinaret, et legum verus sensus, et interpretatio corrumpetur ; ad quod etiam accessit, quod dum pontifices viam ad principatum in initio restorationis affectabant, omnia, ut plebem ad se traherent, assentabantur ; plebis scilicet facta, etsi impia approbando, et Scripturam pessimis ejus moribus accommodando: Quod quidem Malachias de iis conceptissimis verbis testatur ; is enim, postquam sacerdotes sui temporis increpuit, eos Dei nominis contemptores appellando, sic eos castigare pergit, *Labia pontificis custodiunt scientiam, et lex ex ipsius ore quaeritur, quia Dei missarius est ; At vos recessistis a via, fecistis, ut lex multis esset offendiculo: Pactum Levi corrupistis, ait Deus exercituum;* et sic porro eos accusare pergit, quod leges ad libitum interpretabantur, et nullam Dei rationem, sed tantum personarum habebant. At certum est, Pontifices haec nunquam tam caute facere potuisse, ut a prudentioribus non animadverterentur, qui proinde, crescente

audacia, contenderunt, nullas alias leges teneri debere, quam quae scriptae erant ; caeterum decreta, quae decepti Pharisei (qui, ut Iosephus in Antiquitatibus habet, ex communi plebe maxime constabant), traditiones patrum vocabant, minime custodienda esse. Quicquid fuerit, nullo modo possumus dubitare, quin Pontificum adulatio, religionis, et legum corruptio, harumque incredibilis augmentatio magnam admodum, et frequentem occasionem dederint disputationibus, et altercationibus, quae numquam componi potuerunt ; nam ubi homines ardore superstitionis, magistratu alterutram partem adjuvante, litigare incipiunt, nequaquam sedari possunt, sed necessario in sectas dividuntur.

II. Notatu dignum est, quod Prophetae, viri scilicet privati, libertate sua monendi, increpandi, et exprobrandi, homines magis irritaverunt, quam correxerunt ; qui tamen a Regibus moniti, vel castigati facile flectebantur. Imo Regibus etiam piis saepe intolerabiles fuerunt, propter authoritatem, quam habebant judicandi, quid pie vel impie factum esset, et vel Reges ipsos castigandi, si quod negotium publicum, vel privatum contra eorum iudicium agere sustinebant: Rex Asa, qui ex testimonio Scripturae pie regnavit, Prophetam Hananiam in pistrinum dedit (vide 2. Paralip. ca.), quia ipsum libere reprehendere, et increpare sustinuit, ob pactum cum Rege Aramaeae factum ; et praeter hoc alia reperiuntur exempla, quae ostendunt, religionem plus detrimenti, quam incrementi ex tali libertate accepisse, ut jam taceam, quod hinc etiam, quod Prophetae tantum sibi jus retinuerint, magna bella civilia orta fuerint.

III. Dignum etiam, ut notetur, est, quod, quamdiu populus regnum tenuit, non nisi unum bellum civile habuerit, quod tamen absolute extinctum fuit, et victores victorum ita miseriti sunt, ut omnibus modis curaverint, eosdem in antiquam suam dignitatem, et potentiam restituere. At postquam populus regibus minime assuetus imperii primam formam in monarchicam mutavit, civilibus bellis nullus fere finis fuit, et proelia adeo atrocia commiserunt, ut omnium famam exuperaverint ; in uno enim proelio (quod fidem fere superat) quingenta millia Israëlitarum necati sunt a Judaeis ; et in alio contra Israëlitae Judaeorum multos trucidant (numerus in Scriptura non traditur), ipsum Regem capiunt,

Hierosolymae murum fere demoliuntur, et ipsum Templum (ut irae nullum modum fuisse noscatur) omnino spoliant, et ingenti fratrum praedâ onusti, et sanguine satiati, acceptis obsidibus, et Rege in jam fere vastato suo regno relicto, arma deponunt, non fide, sed imbecillitate Judaeorum securi facti. Nam paucis post annis, Judaeorum viribus reffectis, novum proelium rursus committunt, in quo iterum Israëlitae victores evadunt, centum et viginti millia Judaeorum trucidant, mulieres, et liberos eorum usque ad ducenta millia captivos ducunt, magnamque praedam iterum rapiunt ; atque his, et aliis proeliis, quae in historiis obiter narrantur, consumpti, praeda tandem hostibus fuerunt. Deinde si etiam tempora reputare velimus, quibus absoluta pace frui licuit, magnam reperiemus discrepantiam ; saepe enim ante reges quadraginta, et semel (quod omni opinione majus) octoginta annos sine bello externo, vel interno concorditer transegerunt. At postquam Reges imperium adepti sunt, quia non amplius ut antea pro pace, et libertate, sed pro gloria certandum erat, omnes praeter unum Salomonem (cujus virtus, sapientia scilicet, melius in pace, quam in bello constare poterat) bella gessisse legimus ; accessit deinde exitiabilis regnandi libido, quae plerisque iter ad regnum admodum cruentum fecit. Denique leges durante populi regno incorruptae manserunt, et constantius observatae fuerunt. Nam ante reges paucissimi fuerunt Prophetæ, qui populum monerent, post electum autem Regem, permulti simul fuerunt ; Hobadiah namque centum a caede liberavit, eosque abscondidit, ne cum reliquis occiderentur. Nec videmus, quod populus ullis falsis Prophetis deceptus fuit, nisi postquam imperium regibus cessit, quibus plerique assentari student. Adde, quod populus, cujus plerumque animus, pro re nata, magnus, vel humilis est, facile se in calamitatibus corripbat, et ad Deum convertibat, legesque restituebat, et hoc modo sese etiam omni periculo expediebat: contra reges, quorum animi semper aequè elati sunt, nec flecti absque ignominia possunt, pertinaciter vitiis adhaeserunt, usque ad supremum urbis excidium.

Ex his clarissime videmus, I. quam perniciosum et religioni, et Reipublicae sit, sacrorum ministris jus aliquod decretandi, vel imperii negotia tractandi, concedere

; et contra omnia multo constantius sese habere, si hi ita contineantur, ut de nulla re, nisi rogati respondeant, et ut interim recepta tantum, et maxime usitata doceant, exerceantque.

II. quam periculosum sit ad jus divinum referre res mere speculativas, legesque de opinionibus condere, de quibus homines disputare solent, vel possunt ; ibi enim violentissime regnatur, ubi opiniones, quae uniuscujusque juris sunt, quo nemo cedere potest, pro crimine habentur ; imo plebis ira, ubi hoc fit, maxime regnare solet : Pilatus namque, ut Pharisaeorum irae concederet, Christum, quem innocentem noverat, crucifigere jussit. Deinde ut Pharisei ditiores a suis dignitatibus deturbarent, quaestiones de religione movere coeperunt, et Tsaducaeos impietatis accusare ; et ad hoc Pharisaeorum exemplum, pessimi quique hypocritae eâdem rabiê agitati, quam zelum juris divini vocant, viros probitate insignes, et virtute claros, et ob id plebi invisos, ubique persecuti sunt ; eorum scilicet opiniones publice detestando, et saevam multitudinem irâ in eosdem incendiando. Atque haec procax licentia, quia specie religionis adumbratur, non facile coërceri potest, praecipue ubi summae potestates sectam aliquam introduxerunt, cujus ipsae authores non sunt, quia tum non ut juris divini interpretes, sed ut sectarii habentur, hoc est, ut qui sectae doctores juris divini interpretes agnoscunt ; et ideo magistratum autoritas circa haec apud plebem parum valere solet, at plurimum doctorum autoritas, quorum interpretationibus vel reges submitti debere putant. Ad haec ergo mala vitanda nihil Reipublicae tutius excogitari potest, quam pietatem, et Religionis cultum in solis operibus, hoc est, in solo exercitio charitatis, et justitiae ponere, et de reliquis liberum unicuique judicium relinquere ; sed de his postea fusius.

III. Videmus, quam necesse sit, tam Reipublicae, quam religioni, summis potestatibus jus, de eo, quod fas, nefasque sit, discernendi, concedere: Nam si hoc jus, de factis discernendi, ipsis divinis Prophetis concedi non potuit, nisi cum magno Reipublicae, et Religionis damno, multo minus iis concedendum erit, qui nec futura praedicere sciunt, nec miracula possunt facere. Verum de hoc in sequenti ex professo agam. IV. Denique videmus, quam exitiale sit populo, qui

sub regibus non consuevit vivere, quique jam leges conditas habet, Monarcham eligere: Nam nec ipse tantum imperium sustinere, nec regia autoritas pati poterit leges, et jura populi ab alio minoris autoritatis instituta, et multo minus animum inducere ad easdem defendendum, praesertim quia in iis instituendis nulla ratio Regis, sed tantum populi, vel concilii, qui regnum tenere putabat, haberi potuit ; atque adeo Rex jura populi antiqua desendendo, ejus potius servus, quam dominus videretur. Novus ergo Monarcha summo studio novas leges statuere conabitur, et jura imperii in suum usum reformare, et populum eo redigere, ut non tam facile Regibus dignitatem adimere possit, quam dare. At hic praeterire nequaquam possum, non minus periculosum etiam esse Monarcham e medio tollere, tametsi omnibus modis constet eundem tyrannum esse: Nam populus regiae autoritati assuetus, eaque sola retentus, minorem contemnet, et ludibrio habebit, ac proinde, si unum e medio tollat, necesse ipsi erit, ut olim Prophetis, alium loco prioris eligere, qui non sponte, sed necessario tyrannus erit. Nam quâ ratione videre poterit civium manus caede regia cruentatas, eosque parricidio, tanquam re bene gesta, gloriari ? quod non, nisi ad exemplum in ipsum solum statuendum, commiserunt. Sane, si Rex esse vult, nec populum Regum judicem, suumque dominum agnoscere, nec precario regnare, prioris mortem vindicare debet, et contra sui causa exemplum statuere, ne populus iterum tale facinus committere audeat. At mortem tyranni civium nece non facile vindicare poterit, nisi simul ejusdem prioris tyranni causam defendat, ejusque facta approbet, et consequenter omnia prioris tyranni vestigia sequatur. Hinc igitur factum, ut populus saepe quidem tyrannum mutare, at nunquam tollere, nec imperium monarchicum in aliud alterius formae mutare potuerit. Hujus rei fatale exemplum populus Anglicanus dedit, qui causas quaesivit, quibus specie juris monarcham e medio tolleretur ; at, eo sublato, nihil minus facere potuit, quam formam imperii mutare, sed post multum sanguinem effusum huc perventum est, ut novus monarcha alio nomine salutaretur (quasi tota quaestio de solo nomine fuisset), qui nulla ratione persistere poterat, nisi stirpem regiam penitus delendo, regis amicos vel amicitia suspectos necando, et otium pacis rumoribus aptum, bello

disturbando, ut plebs novis rebus occupata, et intenta cogitationes de caede regia alio diverteret. Sero igitur animadvertit populus se pro salute patriae nihil aliud secisse, quam jus legitimi regis violare, resque omnes in peiorem statum mutare. Ergo gradum, ubi licuit, revocare decrevit, nec quievit, donec omnia in pristinum suum statum restaurata vidit. At forsā aliquis exemplo populi Romani objiciet, populum facile posse tyrannum e medio tollere, sed ego, eodem nostram sententiam omnino confirmari existimo: Nam quāvis populus Romanus longe facilius tyrannum e medio tollere, et formam imperii mutare potuerit, propterea quod jus regem, ejusque successorem eligendi penes ipsum populum erat, et quod ipse (utpote ex seditiosis, et flagitiosis hominibus conflatus) nondum regibus obedire consueverat ; nam ex sex, quos antea habuerat, tres intersecerat ; tamen nihil aliud fecit, quam loco unius plures tyrannos eligere, qui ipsum externo, et interno bello misere conflictum semper habuerunt, donec tandem imperium iterum in monarcham, mutato etiam tantum, ut in Anglia, nomine, cessit. Quod autem ad Ordines Hollandiae attinet, hi nunquam, quod scimus, Reges habuerunt, sed comites, in quos nunquam jus imperii translātum fuit: Nam, ut ipsi Praepotentes Ordines Hollandiae in inductione, tempore comitis Leycestriae ab ipsis editā, palam faciunt, sibi auctoritatem semper reservaverunt, ad eosdem comites sui officii monendum, et potestatem sibi retinuerunt ad hanc suam auctoritatem, et civium libertatem defendendum, seseque de iisdem, si in tyrannos degenerarent, vindicandum, et eos ita retinendum, ut nihil, nisi concedentibus, et approbantibus ordinibus, efficere possent. Ex quibus sequitur, jus supremāe majestatis semper penes ordines fuisse, quod quidem ultimus comes conatus est usurpare ; quare longe abest, quod ab eo defecerint, cum pristinum suum imperium paene jam amissum restauraverunt. His igitur exemplis id, quod diximus, omnino confirmatur, quod scilicet uniuscujusque imperii forma necessario retinenda est, nec absque periculo totalis ipsius ruinae mutari potest ; et haec sunt, quae hic operae pretium notare duxi.

Caput XIX



Ostenditur, jus circa sacra penes summas potestates omnino esse,
et religionis cultum externum reipublicae paci accommodari debere,
si recte Deo obtemperare velimus

Caput XX



Ostenditur, in libera Republica unicuique et sentire,
quae velit, et quae sentiat, dicere licere

Si aequae facile esset animis, ac linguis imperare, tuto unusquisque regnaret, et nullum imperium violentum foret : Nam unusquisque ex imperantium ingenio viveret, et ex solo eorum decreto, quid verum, vel falsum, bonum, vel malum, aequum, vel iniquum esset, judicaret. Sed hoc, ut jam in initio cap. XVII. notavimus, fieri nequit, ut scilicet animus alterius juris absolute sit; quippe nemo jus suum naturale, sive facultatem suam libere ratiocinandi, et de rebus quibuscunque judicandi, in alium transferre, neque ad id cogi potest. Hinc ergo fit, ut illud imperium violentum habeatur, quod in animos est, et ut summa majestas injuriam subditis facere, eorumque jus usurpare videatur, quando unicuique praescribere vult, quid tanquam verum amplecti, et tanquam falsum rejicere, et quibus porro opinionibus uniuscujusque animus erga Deum devotione moveri debeat; haec enim uniuscujusque juris sunt, quo nemo, etsi velit, cedere potest. Fateor, judicium multis, et paene incredibilibus modis praeoccupari posse, atque ita, ut, quamvis sub alterius imperio directe non sit, tamen ab ore alterius ita pendeat, ut merito eatenus ejus juris dici possit : Verum quicquid ars hac in re praestare potuerit, nunquam tamen eo perventum est, ut homines unquam non experirentur, unumquemque suo sensu abundare, totque capitum, quam palatorum esse discrimina. Moses, qui non dolo, sed divina virtute judicium sui populi maxime praeoccupaverat, utpote qui divinus credebatur, et divino afflatu dicere, et facere omnia, ejus tamen rumores, et sinistras interpretationes fugere non potuit, et multo minus reliqui Monarchae, et si hoc aliqua ratione posset concipi, conciperetur saltem in monarchico imperio, at minime in democratico, quod

omnes, vel magna populi pars collegialiter tenet; cujus rei causam omnibus patere existimo.

Quantumvis igitur summae potestates jus ad omnia habere, et juris, et pietatis interpretes credantur, nunquam tamen facere poterunt, ne homines iudicium de rebus quibuscunque ex proprio suo ingenio ferant, et ne eatenus hoc, aut illo affectu afficiantur. Verum quidem est, eas jure posse omnes, qui cum iisdem in omnibus absolute non sentiunt, pro hostibus habere, sed nos de ipsarum jure jam non disputamus, sed de eo, quod utile est; concedo enim easdem jure posse violentissime regnare, et cives levissimis de causis ad necem ducere, at omnes negabunt, haec salvo sanae rationis iudicio, fieri posse : imo quia haec non sine magno totius imperii periculo facere queunt, negare etiam possumus easdem absolutam potentiam ad haec, et similia habere, et consequenter neque etiam absolutum jus; jus enim summarum potestatum ab earum potentia determinari ostendimus.

Si itaque nemo libertate sua iudicandi, et sentiendi, quae vult, cedere potest, sed unusquisque maximo naturae jure dominus suarum cogitationum est, sequitur, in republica nunquam, nisi admodum infoelici successu tentari posse, ut homines, quamvis diversa, et contraria sentientes, nihil tamen nisi ex praescripto summarum potestatum loquantur; nam nec peritissimi, ne dicam plebem, tacere sciunt. Hoc hominum commune vitium est, consilia sua, etsi tacito opus est, aliis credere : illud ergo imperium violentissimum erit, ubi unicuique libertas dicendi, et docendi, quae sentit, negatur, et contra id moderatum, ubi haec eadem libertas unicuique conceditur. Verum enimvero nequaquam etiam negare possumus, quin majestas tam verbis, quam re laedi potest, atque adeo, si impossibile [impossibile] est, hanc libertatem prorsus adimere subditis, perniciosissimum contra erit, eandem omnino concedere; quapropter nobis hic inquirere incumbit, quousque unicuique haec libertas, salva reipublicae pace, salvoque summarum potestatum jure, potest, et debet concedi, quod hic, ut in initio cap. XVI. monui, praecipuum meum intentum fuit.

Ex fundamentis Reipublicae supra explicatis evidentissime sequitur, finem ejus ultimum non esse dominari, nec homines metu retinere, et alterius juris facere, sed contra unumquemque metu liberare, ut secure, quoad ejus fieri potest, vivat, hoc est, ut jus suum naturale ad existendum, et operandum absque suo, et alterius damno optime retineat. Non, inquam, finis Reipublicae est homines ex rationalibus bestias, vel automata facere, sed contra ut eorum mens, et corpus tuto suis functionibus fungantur, et ipsi libera ratione utantur, et ne odio, ira, vel dolo certent, nec animo iniquo invicem ferantur. Finis ergo Reipublicae revera libertas est. Porro ad formandam Rempublicam hoc unum necesse fuisse vidimus, nempe ut omnis decretandi potestas penes omnes, vel aliquot, vel penes unum esset. Nam quandoquidem liberum hominum judicium varium admodum est, et unusquisque solus omnia scire putat, nec fieri potest, ut omnes aequae eadem sentiant, et uno ore loquantur, pacifice vivere non poterant, nisi unusquisque jure agendi ex solo decreto suae mentis cederet. Jure igitur agendi ex proprio decreto unusquisque tantum cessit, non autem ratiocinandi, et judicandi; adeoque salvo summarum potestatum jure nemo quidem contra earum decretum agere potest, at omnino sentire, et judicare, et consequenter etiam dicere, modo simpliciter tantum dicat vel doceat, et sola ratione, non autem dolo, ira, odio, nec animo aliquid in rempublicam ex autoritate sui decreti introducendi, defendat. Ex. gr. siquis legem aliquam sanae rationi repugnare ostendit, et propterea eandem abrogandam esse censet, si simul suam sententiam judicio summae potestatis (cujus tantum est, leges condere et abrogare) submittit, et nihil interim contra illius legis praescriptum agit, bene sane de republica meretur, ut optimus quisque civis; sed si contra id faciat ad magistratum iniquitatis accusandum, et vulgo odiosum reddendum, vel seditiose studeat invito magistratu legem illam abrogare, omnino perturbator est, et rebellis. Videmus itaque, qua ratione unusquisque, salvo jure, et autoritate summarum potestatum, hoc est, salva Reipublicae pace, ea, quae sentit, dicere, et docere potest; nempe si decretum omnium rerum agendarum iisdem relinquat, et nihil contra earum decretum agat, etiamsi saepe contra id, quod bonum judicat, et palam sentit, agere debeat; quod quidem salva justitia et

pietate facere potest, imo debet, si se justum, et pium praestare vult : Nam, ut jam ostendimus, justitia a solo summarum potestatum decreto pendet, adeoque nemo, nisi qui secundum earum recepta decreta vivit, justus esse potest. Pietas autem (per ea, quae in praecedente Capite ostendimus) summa est, quae circa pacem, et tranquillitatem reipublicae exercetur; atqui haec conservari non potest, si unicuique ex suae mentis arbitrio vivendum esset; adeoque impium etiam est, ex suo arbitrio aliquid contra decretum summae potestatis, cujus subditus est, facere, quandoquidem, si hoc unicuique liceret, imperii ruina inde necessario sequeretur. Quinimo nihil contra decretum, et dictamen propriae rationis agere potest, quamdiu juxta decreta summae potestatis agit; ipsa enim ratione suadente omnino decrevit, jus suum vivendi ex proprio suo judicio, in eandem transferre : Atqui hoc ipsa etiam praxi confirmare possumus; in conciliis namque tam summarum, quam minorum potestatum raro aliquid fit ex communi omnium membrorum suffragio, et tamen omnia ex communi omnium decreto, tam scilicet eorum, qui *contra*, quam qui *pro* suffragium tulerunt, fiunt. Sed ad meum propositum revertor : qua ratione unusquisque Judicii libertate, salvo summarum potestatum jure, uti potest, ex fundamentis reipublicae vidimus. At ex iis non minus facile determinare possumus, quaenam opiniones in Republica seditiosae sint; eae nimirum, quae simul ac ponuntur, pactum, quo unusquisque jure agendi ex proprio suo arbitrio cessit, tollitur. Ex. gr. si quis sentiat, summam potestatem sui juris non esse, vel neminem promissis stare debere, vel oportere unumquemque ex suo arbitrio vivere et alia hujusmodi, quae praedicto pacto directe repugnant, is seditiosus est, non tam quidem propter judicium, et opinionem quam propter factum, quod talia judicia involvunt, videlicet, quia eo ipso, quod tale quid sentit, fidem summae potestati tacite, vel expresse datam solvit; ac proinde caeterae opiniones, quae actum non involvunt, nempe ruptionem pacti, vindictam, iram etc., seditiosae non sunt, nisi forte in Republica aliqua ratione corrupta, ubi scilicet superstitiosi, et ambitiosi, qui ingenuos ferre nequeunt, ad tantam nominis famam pervenerunt, ut apud plebem plus valeat eorum, quam summarum potestatum autoritas; nec tamen negamus, quasdam praeterea esse sententias,

quae, quamvis simpliciter circa verum, et falsum versari videantur, iniquo tamen animo proponuntur, et divulgantur. Verum has etiam cap. XV. jam determinavimus, at ita, ut ratio nihilominus libera manserit. Quod si denique ad hoc etiam attendamus, quod fides uniuscujusque erga Rempublicam, sicuti erga Deum, ex solis operibus cognosci potest, nempe ex charitate erga proximum, nequaquam dubitare poterimus, quin optima respublica unicuique eandem philosophandi libertatem concedat, quam fidem unicuique concedere ostendimus. Equidem fateor, ex tali libertate incommoda quaedam aliquando oriri; verum quid unquam tam sapienter institutum fuit, ut nihil inde incommodi oriri potuerit? qui omnia legibus determinare vult, vitia irritabit potius, quam corriget. Quae prohiberi nequeunt, necessario concedenda sunt, tametsi inde saepe damnum sequatur. Quot enim mala ex luxu, invidia, avaritia, ebrietate, et aliis similibus oriuntur? feruntur tamen haec, quia imperio legum prohiberi nequeunt, quamvis revera vitia sint; quare multo magis iudicii libertas concedi debet, quae profecto virtus est, nec opprimi potest. Adde, quod nulla ex eadem incommoda oriuntur, quae non possint (ut statim ostendam) auctoritate magistratuum vitari, ut jam taceam, quod haec libertas apprime necessaria est ad scientias, et artes promovendum; nam hae ab iis tantum foelici cum successu coluntur, qui iudicium liberum, et minime praeoccupatum habent.

At ponatur, hanc libertatem opprimi, et homines ita retineri posse, ut nihil mutire audeant, nisi ex praescripto summarum potestatum; hoc profecto nunquam fiet, ut nihil etiam, nisi quid ipsae velint, cogitent : atque adeo necessario sequeretur, ut homines quotidie aliud sentirent, aliud loquerentur, et consequenter ut fides, in Republica apprime necessaria, corrumpere, et abominanda adulatio, et perfidia foverentur, unde doli, et omnium bonarum artium corruptio. Verum longe abest, ut id fieri possit, ut omnes scilicet praefinito loquantur; sed contra quo magis libertas loquendi hominibus adimi curatur, eo contumacius contra nituntur, non quidem avari, adulatores, et reliqui impotentes animi, quorum summa salus est, nummos in arca contemplari, et ventres distentos habere, sed ii, quos bona educatio, morum integritas, et virtus liberiores fecit. Ita homines

plerumque constituti sunt, ut nihil magis impatienter ferant, quam quod opiniones, quas veras esse credunt, pro crimine habeantur, et quod ipsis sceleri reputetur, id, quod ipsos ad pietatem erga Deum, et homines movet, ex quo fit, ut leges detestari, et quid vis in magistratum audeant; nec turpe, sed honestissimum putent, seditiones hac de causa movere, et quodvis facinus tentare. Cum itaque humanam naturam sic comparatam esse constet, sequitur, leges, quae de opinionibus conduntur, non scelestos, sed ingenuos respicere, nec ad malignos coercendum, sed potius ad honestos irritandum condi, nec sine magno imperii periculo defendi posse. Adde, quod tales leges inutiles omnino sunt; nam qui opiniones, quae legibus damnatae sunt, sanas esse credent, legibus parere non poterunt, qui contra easdem tanquam falsas rejiciunt, leges, quibus hae damnantur, tanquam privilegia recipiunt, et iisdem ita triumphant, ut magistratus easdem postea, etsi velit, abrogare non valeat. His accedunt, quas supra cap. XVIII. ex historiis Hebraeorum N° II. deduximus : Et denique quot schismata in Ecclesia ex hoc plerumque orta sunt, quod magistratus doctorum controversias legibus dirimere voluerunt? nam si homines spe tenerentur leges, et magistratum ad se trahendi, et de suis adversariis, communi vulgi applausu triumphandi, et honores adipiscendi, nunquam tam iniquo animo certarent, nec tantus furor eorum mentes agigaret. Atque haec non tantum ratio, sed etiam experientia quotidianis exemplis docet; nempe similes leges, quibus scilicet imperatur, quid unicuique credendum sit, et contra hanc aut illam opinionem aliquid dicere, vel scribere prohibetur, saepe institutas fuisse ad largiendum, vel potius cedendum eorum ira, qui libera ingenia ferre nequeunt, et torva quadam authoritate seditiosae plebis devotionem facile in rabiem mutare, et in quos volunt, instigare possunt. At quanto satius foret, vulgi iram, et furorem cohibere, quam leges inutiles statuere, quae violari non possunt, nisi ab iis, qui virtutes, et artes amant, et Rempublicam in tantam angustiam redigere, ut viros ingenuos sustinere non possit? Quid enim majus Reipublicae malum excogitari potest, quam quod viri honesti, quia diversa sentiunt, et simulare nesciunt, tanquam improbi in exilium mittantur? quid inquam magis perniciosum, quam quod homines ob nullum scelus, neque facinus,

sed quia liberalis ingenii sunt, pro hostibus habeantur, et ad necem ducantur, et quod catasta, malorum formido, pulcherrimum fiat theatrum ad summam tolerantiae, et virtutis exemplum cum insigni majestatis opprobrio ostentandum? qui enim se honestos norunt, mortem ut scelesti non timent, nec supplicium deprecantur; eorum quippe animus nulla turpis facti poenitentia angitur, sed contra honestum, non supplicium putant, pro bona causa mori, et pro libertate gloriosum. Quid ergo talium nece exempli statuitur, cujus causam inertes, et animo impotentes ignorant, seditiosi oderunt, et honesti amant? Nemo sane ex eadem exemplum capere potest, nisi ad imitandum, vel saltem ad adulandum.

Ne itaque assentatio, sed ut fides in pretio sit, et ut summae potestates imperium optime retineant, nec seditiosis cedere cogantur, iudicii libertas necessario concedenda est, et homines ita regendi sunt, ut quamvis diversa, et contraria palam sentiant, concorditer tamen vivant. Nec dubitare possumus, quin haec ratio imperandi optima sit, et minora patiatur incommoda; quandoquidem cum hominum natura maxime convenit. In imperio enim democratico (quod maxime ad statum naturalem accedit) omnes pacisci ostendimus, ex communi decreto agere, at non judicare, et ratiocinari; hoc est, quia omnes homines non possunt aequae eadem sentire, pacti sunt, ut id vim decreti haberet, quod plurima haberet suffragia, retinendo interim auctoritatem eadem, ubi meliora viderint, abrogandi; quo igitur hominibus libertas iudicandi minus conceditur, eo a statu maxime naturali magis receditur, et consequenter violentius regnatur. Ut autem porro constet, ex hac libertate nulla oriri incommoda, quae non possint sola summae potestatis auctoritate vitari : et hac sola homines, etsi palam contraria sentientes facile retineri, ne invicem laedant; exempla praesto sunt; nec opus mihi est ea longe petere : urbs Amstelodamum exemplo sit, quae tanto cum suo incremento, et omnium nationum admiratione hujus libertatis fructus experitur; in hac enim florentissima Republica, et urbe praestantissima omnes cujuscunque nationis, et sectae homines summa cum concordia vivunt, et ut alicui bona sua credant, id tantum scire curant, num dives, an pauper sit, et num bona fide, an dolo solitus sit agere : Caeterum Religio, vel secta nihil eos movet, quia haec

coram iudice ad justificandam, vel damnandam causam nihil juvat; et nulla omnino tam odiosa secta est, cujus sectarii (modo neminem laedant, et suum unicuique tribuant, honesteque vivant) publica magistratuum auctoritate, et praesidio non protegantur : Contra cum olim Remonstrantium, et Contraremonstrantium controversia de religione a Politicis et Ordinibus provinciarum agitari incepit, tandem in schisma abiit, et multis tum exemplis constitit, leges, quae de Religione conduntur, ad dirimendas scilicet controversias, homines magis irritare, quam corrigere, alios deinde infinitam ex iisdem licentiam sumere, praeterea schismata non oriri ex magno veritatis studio (fonte scilicet comitatis, et mansuetudinis), sed ex magna libidine regnandi; ex quibus luce meridiana clarius constat eos potius schismaticos esse, qui aliorum scripta damnant, et vulgum petulantem in scriptores seditiose instigant, quam scriptores ipsi, qui plerumque doctis tantum scribunt, et solam rationem in auxilium vocant; deinde eos revera perturbatores esse, qui in libera Republica libertatem iudicii, quae non potest opprimi, tollere tamen volunt.

His ostendimus I. impossibile esse libertatem hominibus dicendi ea, quae sentiunt, adimere. II. hanc libertatem, salvo jure, et auctoritate summarum potestatum unicuique concedi, et eandem unumquemque servare posse, salvo eodem jure, si nullam inde licentiamumat, ad aliquid in Rempublicam tanquam jus introducendum, vel aliquid contra receptas leges agendum. III. hanc eandem libertatem unumquemque habere posse, servata Reipublicae pace, et nulla ex eadem incommoda oriri, quae facile coerceri non possint. IV. eandem salva etiam pietate unumquemque habere posse. V. leges, quae de rebus speculativis conduntur, inutiles omnino esse. VI. Denique ostendimus, hanc libertatem non tantum servata Reipublicae pace, pietate, et summarum potestatum jure posse, sed ad haec omnia conservandum, etiam debere concedi; nam ubi ex adverso eandem hominibus adimere laboratur, et discrepantium opiniones, non autem animi, qui soli peccare possunt, in iudicium vocantur, ibi in honestos exempla eduntur, quae potius martyria videntur, quaeque reliquos magis irritant, et ad misericordiam, si non ad vindictam plus movent, quam terrent; bonae deinde artes, et fides

corrumpuntur, adulescentes, et perfidi fovuntur, et adversarii triumphant, quod eorum irae concessum sit, quodque imperium tenentes suae doctrinae, cujus interpretes habentur, sectatores fecerint, ex quo fit, ut eorum auctoritatem, et jus usurpare audeant, nec jactare erubescant, se a Deo immediate electos, et sua decreta divina, summarum autem potestatum contra humana esse, quae propterea divinis, hoc est, suis decretis, ut cedant, volunt; quae omnia nemo ignorare potest Reipublicae saluti omnino repugnare. Quapropter hic, ut supra cap. XVIII., concludimus nihil reipublicae tutius, quam ut pietas, et Religio in solo Charitatis, et Aequitatis exercitio comprehendatur, et jus summarum potestatum tam circa sacra, quam profana ad actiones tantum referatur, caeterum unicuique et sentire, quae velit, et quae sentiat, dicere concedatur.

His, quae in hoc Tractatu agere constitueram, absolvi. Superest tantum expresse monere, me nihil in eo scripsisse, quod non libentissime examini, et iudicio summarum Potestatum Patriae meae subjiciam : Nam si quid horum, quae dixi, patriis legibus repugnare, vel communi saluti obesse iudicabunt, id ego indictum volo : scio me hominem esse, et errare potuisse; ne autem errarem, sedulo curavi, et apprime, ut quicquid scriberem, legibus patriae, pietati, bonisque moribus omnino responderet.

FINIS

Ethics



Translated by R. H. M. Elwes

Spinoza's magnum opus, *Ethics* was written between 1664 and 1665, and published posthumously in 1677. An ambitious attempt to apply the method of Euclid to philosophy, the book proposes a small number of definitions and axioms from which he attempts to derive hundreds of propositions and corollaries. Examples include "When the Mind imagines its own lack of power, it is saddened by it", "A free man thinks of nothing less than of death", and "The human Mind cannot be absolutely destroyed with the Body, but something of it remains which is eternal."

The first part of *Ethics* concerns the relationship between God and the universe. Although tradition holds that God exists outside of the universe, which he created for a reason, Spinoza denies this belief. The author argues that God is the natural world and that the things that make up the universe, including human beings, are God's "modes". Therefore, everything is dependent upon God. The modes are also logically dependent on God's essence, since everything that happens follows from the nature of God, just as it follows from the nature of a triangle that its angles are equal to two right angles.

The second part of *Ethics* explores themes of the human mind and body. Spinoza attacks several Cartesian positions: that the mind and body are distinct substances that can affect one another; that we know our minds better than we know our bodies; that our senses may be trusted; that despite being created by God we can make mistakes, namely, when we affirm, of our own free will, an idea that is not clear and distinct. Spinoza argues that the mind's self-knowledge is not fundamental: it cannot know its own thoughts better than it knows the ways in which its body is acted upon by other bodies. Furthermore, there is no difference between contemplating an idea and thinking that it is true; in fact, he

posits that there is no freedom of the will at all. Sensory perception is entirely inaccurate, as it reflects how our own bodies work more than how things really are.

In the third part, Spinoza declares that all things, including human beings, strive to persevere in their being, as all things try to last for as long as they can. Spinoza explains how this striving underlies our emotions, such as love, hate, joy, sadness and so on. Our mind is in certain cases active, and in certain cases passive. In so far as it has adequate ideas it is necessarily active, and in so far as it has inadequate ideas, it is necessarily passive.

The fourth part explores human passions, which Spinoza regards as aspects of the mind that direct us outwards to seek what gives pleasure and shun what gives pain. He deems our domination by these passions as a form of bondage, which can torment people and make it impossible for mankind to live in harmony with one another.

The fifth and final part argues that reason can govern the affects in the pursuit of virtue, which for the author is self-preservation. Only with the aid of reason can humans distinguish the passions that truly aid virtue from those that are ultimately harmful. By reason, we can view things as they truly are. As Spinoza treats God and nature as indistinguishable, by knowing things as they are we can then improve our knowledge of God. Seeing that all things are determined by nature to be as they are, we can achieve the rational tranquillity that best promotes our happiness, while liberating ourselves from being driven by our passions.

Shortly after his death in 1677, Spinoza's works were placed on the Catholic Church's Index of Banned Books. Condemnations soon appeared, such as Aubert de Versé's *L'impie convaincu* (1685). For the next hundred years, European philosophers could only read his works in secret. Locke, Hume, Leibniz and Kant all stand accused by later scholars of indulging in periods of closeted 'Spinozism'. The first known translation of the *Ethics* into English was completed in 1856 by the novelist George Eliot, though not published until much later. The book next appeared in English in 1883, this time by the novelist Hale White.

Spinoza rose clearly into view for anglophone metaphysicians in the late nineteenth century, during the British craze for Hegel. In his admiration for Spinoza, Hegel was joined in this period by his countrymen Schelling, Goethe, Schopenhauer and Nietzsche. In fact, within the German philosophical sphere, Spinoza's influence on German Idealism was remarkable. He was both a challenge and an inspiration for the three major figures of this movement: Hegel, Schelling and Fichte — who all sought to define their own philosophical positions in relation to his work.

B. D. S.
OPERA
POSTHUMA,

*Quorum series post Præfationem
exhibetur.*



JH.N.

MDCLXXVII.

The Latin edition of Spinoza's works, published by his friends shortly after his death, was entitled 'Opera posthuma'. To protect themselves from the reactions that would have been triggered by the radical theses exposed there, they omitted the name of the publisher, Jan Rieuwertsz, and the place of publication, Amsterdam, indicating only the author's initials.

E T H I C A

Ordine Geometrico demonstrata ,

E·T

*In quinque Partes distincta,
in quibus agitur ,*

- I. De Deo.
- II. De Naturâ & Origine MENTIS.
- III. De Origine & Naturâ AFFECTUUM.
- IV. De SERVITUTE Humanâ, seu de AFFECTUUM VIRIBUS.
- V. De POTENTIA INTELLECTUS, seu de LIBERTATE Humanâ.

The opening page of 'Ethics', in the posthumous Latin first edition

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[Translation by R. H. M. Elwes](#)

[The Original Latin Text](#)



Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz came into direct contact with Spinoza and maintained a fruitful correspondence with him.

Translation by R. H. M. Elwes

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PREFACE

AXIOMS.

PROPOSITIONS.

PART I. CONCERNING GOD.

DEFINITIONS.



I. BY THAT which is self — caused, I mean that of which the essence involves existence, or that of which the nature is only conceivable as existent.

II. A thing is called finite after its kind, when it can be limited by another thing of the same nature; for instance, a body is called finite because we always conceive another greater body. So, also, a thought is limited by another thought, but a body is not limited by thought, nor a thought by body.

III. By substance, I mean that which is in itself, and is conceived through itself: in other words, that of which a conception can be formed independently of any other conception.

IV. By attribute, I mean that which the intellect perceives as constituting the essence of substance.

V. By mode, I mean the modifications¹ of substance, or that which exists in, and is conceived through, something other than itself.

¹“Affectiones”

VI. By God, I mean a being absolutely infinite — that is, a substance consisting in infinite attributes, of which each expresses eternal and infinite essentiality.

Explanation — I say absolutely infinite, not infinite after its kind: for, of a thing infinite only after its kind, infinite attributes may be denied; but that which is absolutely infinite, contains in its essence whatever expresses reality, and involves no negation.

VII. That thing is called free, which exists solely by the necessity of its own nature, and of which the action is determined by itself alone. On the other hand,

that thing is necessary, or rather constrained, which is determined by something external to itself to a fixed and definite method of existence or action.

VIII. By eternity, I mean existence itself, in so far as it is conceived necessarily to follow solely from the definition of that which is eternal.

Explanation — Existence of this kind is conceived as an eternal truth, like the essence of a thing, and, therefore, cannot be explained by means of continuance or time, though continuance may be conceived without a beginning or end.

AXIOMS.



I. EVERYTHING WHICH exists, exists either in itself or in something else.

II. That which cannot be conceived through anything else must be conceived through itself.

III. From a given definite cause an effect necessarily follows; and, on the other hand, if no definite cause be granted, it is impossible that an effect can follow.

IV. The knowledge of an effect depends on and involves the knowledge of a cause.

V. Things which have nothing in common cannot be understood, the one by means of the other; the conception of one does not involve the conception of the other.

VI. A true idea must correspond with its ideate or object.

VII. If a thing can be conceived as non — existing, its essence does not involve existence.

PROPOSITIONS.



PROP. I. SUBSTANCE is by nature prior to its modifications.

Proof. — This is clear from Deff. iii. and v.

PROP. II. Two substances, whose attributes are different, have nothing in common.

Proof. — Also evident from Def. iii. For each must exist in itself, and be conceived through itself; in other words, the conception of one does not imply the conception of the other.

PROP. III. Things which have nothing in common cannot be one the cause of the other.

Proof. — If they have nothing in common, it follows that one cannot be apprehended by means of the other (Ax. v.), and, therefore, one cannot be the cause of the other (Ax. iv.). Q.E.D.

PROP. IV. Two or more distinct things are distinguished one from the other, either by the difference of the attributes of the substances, or by the difference of their modifications.

Proof. — Everything which exists, exists either in itself or in something else (Ax. i.), — that is (by Deff. iii. and v.), nothing is granted in addition to the understanding, except substance and its modifications. Nothing is, therefore, given besides the understanding, by which several things may be distinguished one from the other, except the substances, or, in other words (see Ax. iv.), their attributes and modifications. Q.E.D.

PROP. V. There cannot exist in the universe two or more substances having the same nature or attribute.

Proof. — If several distinct substances be granted, they must be distinguished one from the other, either by the difference of their attributes, or by the difference

of their modifications (Prop. iv.). If only by the difference of their attributes, it will be granted that there cannot be more than one with an identical attribute. If by the difference of their modifications — as substance is naturally prior to its modifications (Prop. i.), — it follows that setting the modifications aside, and considering substance in itself, that is truly, (Deff. iii. and vi.), there cannot be conceived one substance different from another, — that is (by Prop. iv.), there cannot be granted several substances, but one substance only. Q.E.D.

PROP. VI. One substance cannot be produced by another substance.

Proof. — It is impossible that there should be in the universe two substances with an identical attribute, i.e. which have anything common to them both (Prop. ii.), and, therefore (Prop. iii.), one cannot be the cause of the other, neither can one be produced by the other. Q.E.D.

Corollary. — Hence it follows that a substance cannot be produced by anything external to itself. For in the universe nothing is granted, save substances and their modifications (as appears from Ax. i. and Deff. iii. and v.). Now (by the last Prop.) substance cannot be produced by another substance, therefore it cannot be produced by anything external to itself. Q.E.D. This is shown still more readily by the absurdity of the contradictory. For, if substance be produced by an external cause, the knowledge of it would depend on the knowledge of its cause (Ax. iv.), and (by Def. iii.) it would itself not be substance.

PROP. VII. Existence belongs to the nature of substances.

Proof. — Substance cannot be produced by anything external (Corollary, Prop vi.), it must, therefore, be its own cause — that is, its essence necessarily involves existence, or existence belongs to its nature.

PROP. VIII. Every substance is necessarily infinite.

Proof. — There can only be one substance with an identical attribute, and existence follows from its nature (Prop. vii.); its nature, therefore, involves existence, either as finite or infinite. It does not exist as finite, for (by Def. ii.) it would then be limited by something else of the same kind, which would also

necessarily exist (Prop. vii.); and there would be two substances with an identical attribute, which is absurd (Prop. v.). It therefore exists as infinite. Q.E.D.

Note I. — As finite existence involves a partial negation, and infinite existence is the absolute affirmation of the given nature, it follows (solely from Prop. vii.) that every substance is necessarily infinite.

Note II. — No doubt it will be difficult for those who think about things loosely, and have not been accustomed to know them by their primary causes, to comprehend the demonstration of Prop. vii.: for such persons make no distinction between the modifications of substances and the substances themselves, and are ignorant of the manner in which things are produced; hence they may attribute to substances the beginning which they observe in natural objects. Those who are ignorant of true causes, make complete confusion — think that trees might talk just as well as men — that men might be formed from stones as well as from seed; and imagine that any form might be changed into any other. So, also, those who confuse the two natures, divine and human, readily attribute human passions to the deity, especially so long as they do not know how passions originate in the mind. But, if people would consider the nature of substance, they would have no doubt about the truth of Prop. vii. In fact, this proposition would be a universal axiom, and accounted a truism. For, by substance, would be understood that which is in itself, and is conceived through itself — that is, something of which the conception requires not the conception of anything else; whereas modifications exist in something external to themselves, and a conception of them is formed by means of a conception of the thing in which they exist. Therefore, we may have true ideas of non — existent modifications; for, although they may have no actual existence apart from the conceiving intellect, yet their essence is so involved in something external to themselves that they may through it be conceived. Whereas the only truth substances can have, external to the intellect, must consist in their existence, because they are conceived through themselves. Therefore, for a person to say that he has a clear and distinct — that is, a true — idea of a substance, but that he is not sure whether such substance exists, would

be the same as if he said that he had a true idea, but was not sure whether or no it was false (a little consideration will make this plain); or if anyone affirmed that substance is created, it would be the same as saying that a false idea was true — in short, the height of absurdity. It must, then, necessarily be admitted that the existence of substance as its essence is an eternal truth. And we can hence conclude by another process of reasoning — that there is but one such substance. I think that this may profitably be done at once; and, in order to proceed regularly with the demonstration, we must premise: ——

1. The true definition of a thing neither involves nor expresses anything beyond the nature of the thing defined. From this it follows that ——

2. No definition implies or expresses a certain number of individuals, inasmuch as it expresses nothing beyond the nature of the thing defined. For instance, the definition of a triangle expresses nothing beyond the actual nature of a triangle: it does not imply any fixed number of triangles.

3. There is necessarily for each individual existent thing a cause why it should exist.

4. This cause of existence must either be contained in the nature and definition of the thing defined, or must be postulated apart from such definition.

It therefore follows that, if a given number of individual things exist in nature, there must be some cause for the existence of exactly that number, neither more nor less. For example, if twenty men exist in the universe (for simplicity's sake, I will suppose them existing simultaneously, and to have had no predecessors), and we want to account for the existence of these twenty men, it will not be enough to show the cause of human existence in general; we must also show why there are exactly twenty men, neither more nor less: for a cause must be assigned for the existence of each individual. Now this cause cannot be contained in the actual nature of man, for the true definition of man does not involve any consideration of the number twenty. Consequently, the cause for the existence of these twenty men, and, consequently, of each of them, must necessarily be sought externally to each individual. Hence we may lay down the absolute rule, that everything which

may consist of several individuals must have an external cause. And, as it has been shown already that existence appertains to the nature of substance, existence must necessarily be included in its definition; and from its definition alone existence must be deducible. But from its definition (as we have shown, notes ii., iii.), we cannot infer the existence of several substances; therefore it follows that there is only one substance of the same nature. Q.E.D.

PROP. IX. The more reality or being a thing has, the greater the number of its attributes (Def. iv.).

PROP. X. Each particular attribute of the one substance must be conceived through itself.

Proof. — An attribute is that which the intellect perceives of substance, as constituting its essence (Def. iv.), and, therefore, must be conceived through itself (Def. iii.). Q.E.D.

Note — It is thus evident that, though two attributes are, in fact, conceived as distinct — that is, one without the help of the other — yet we cannot, therefore, conclude that they constitute two entities, or two different substances. For it is the nature of substance that each of its attributes is conceived through itself, inasmuch as all the attributes it has have always existed simultaneously in it, and none could be produced by any other; but each expresses the reality or being of substance. It is, then, far from an absurdity to ascribe several attributes to one substance: for nothing in nature is more clear than that each and every entity must be conceived under some attribute, and that its reality or being is in proportion to the number of its attributes expressing necessity or eternity and infinity. Consequently it is abundantly clear, that an absolutely infinite being must necessarily be defined as consisting in infinite attributes, each of which expresses a certain eternal and infinite essence.

If anyone now ask, by what sign shall he be able to distinguish different substances, let him read the following propositions, which show that there is but one substance in the universe, and that it is absolutely infinite, wherefore such a sign would be sought in vain.

PROP. XI. God, or substance, consisting of infinite attributes, of which each expresses eternal and infinite essentiality, necessarily exists.

Proof. — If this be denied, conceive, if possible, that God does not exist: then his essence does not involve existence. But this (Prop. vii.) is absurd. Therefore God necessarily exists.

Another proof. — Of everything whatsoever a cause or reason must be assigned, either for its existence, or for its non — existence — e.g. if a triangle exist, a reason or cause must be granted for its existence; if, on the contrary, it does not exist, a cause must also be granted, which prevents it from existing, or annuls its existence. This reason or cause must either be contained in the nature of the thing in question, or be external to it. For instance, the reason for the non — existence of a square circle is indicated in its nature, namely, because it would involve a contradiction. On the other hand, the existence of substance follows also solely from its nature, inasmuch as its nature involves existence. (See Prop. vii.)

But the reason for the existence of a triangle or a circle does not follow from the nature of those figures, but from the order of universal nature in extension. From the latter it must follow, either that a triangle necessarily exists, or that it is impossible that it should exist. So much is self — evident. It follows therefrom that a thing necessarily exists, if no cause or reason be granted which prevents its existence.

If, then, no cause or reason can be given, which prevents the existence of God, or which destroys his existence, we must certainly conclude that he necessarily does exist. If such a reason or cause should be given, it must either be drawn from the very nature of God, or be external to him — that is, drawn from another substance of another nature. For if it were of the same nature, God, by that very fact, would be admitted to exist. But substance of another nature could have nothing in common with God (by Prop. ii.), and therefore would be unable either to cause or to destroy his existence.

As, then, a reason or cause which would annul the divine existence cannot be drawn from anything external to the divine nature, such cause must perforce, if

God does not exist, be drawn from God's own nature, which would involve a contradiction. To make such an affirmation about a being absolutely infinite and supremely perfect is absurd; therefore, neither in the nature of God, nor externally to his nature, can a cause or reason be assigned which would annul his existence. Therefore, God necessarily exists. Q.E.D.

Another proof. — The potentiality of non — existence is a negation of power, and contrariwise the potentiality of existence is a power, as is obvious. If, then, that which necessarily exists is nothing but finite beings, such finite beings are more powerful than a being absolutely infinite, which is obviously absurd; therefore, either nothing exists, or else a being absolutely infinite necessarily exists also. Now we exist either in ourselves, or in something else which necessarily exists (see Axiom. i. and Prop. vii.). Therefore a being absolutely infinite — in other words, God (Def. vi.) — necessarily exists. Q.E.D.

Note. — In this last proof, I have purposely shown God's existence à posteriori, so that the proof might be more easily followed, not because, from the same premises, God's existence does not follow à priori. For, as the potentiality of existence is a power, it follows that, in proportion as reality increases in the nature of a thing, so also will it increase its strength for existence. Therefore a being absolutely infinite, such as God, has from himself an absolutely infinite power of existence, and hence he does absolutely exist. Perhaps there will be many who will be unable to see the force of this proof, inasmuch as they are accustomed only to consider those things which flow from external causes. Of such things, they see that those which quickly come to pass — that is, quickly come into existence — quickly also disappear; whereas they regard as more difficult of accomplishment — that is, not so easily brought into existence — those things which they conceive as more complicated.

However, to do away with this misconception, I need not here show the measure of truth in the proverb, "What comes quickly, goes quickly," nor discuss whether, from the point of view of universal nature, all things are equally easy, or otherwise: I need only remark that I am not here speaking of things, which come

to pass through causes external to themselves, but only of substances which (by Prop. vi.) cannot be produced by any external cause. Things which are produced by external causes, whether they consist of many parts or few, owe whatsoever perfection or reality they possess solely to the efficacy of their external cause; and therefore their existence arises solely from the perfection of their external cause, not from their own. Contrariwise, whatsoever perfection is possessed by substance is due to no external cause; wherefore the existence of substance must arise solely from its own nature, which is nothing else but its essence. Thus, the perfection of a thing does not annul its existence, but, on the contrary, asserts it. Imperfection, on the other hand, does annul it; therefore we cannot be more certain of the existence of anything, than of the existence of a being absolutely infinite or perfect — that is, of God. For inasmuch as his essence excludes all imperfection, and involves absolute perfection, all cause for doubt concerning his existence is done away, and the utmost certainty on the question is given. This, I think, will be evident to every moderately attentive reader.

PROP. XII. No attribute of substance can be conceived from which it would follow that substance can be divided.

Proof. — The parts into which substance as thus conceived would be divided either will retain the nature of substance, or they will not. If the former, then (by Prop. viii.) each part will necessarily be infinite, and (by Prop. vi.) self — caused, and (by Prop. v.) will perforce consist of a different attribute, so that, in that case, several substances could be formed out of one substance, which (by Prop. vi.) is absurd. Moreover, the parts (by Prop. ii.) would have nothing in common with their whole, and the whole (by Def. iv. and Prop. x.) could both exist and be conceived without its parts, which everyone will admit to be absurd. If we adopt the second alternative — namely, that the parts will not retain the nature of substance — then, if the whole substance were divided into equal parts, it would lose the nature of substance, and would cease to exist, which (by Prop. vii.) is absurd.

PROP. XIII. Substance absolutely infinite is indivisible.

Proof. — If it could be divided, the parts into which it was divided would either retain the nature of absolutely infinite substance, or they would not. If the former, we should have several substances of the same nature, which (by Prop. v.) is absurd. If the latter, then (by Prop. vii.) substance absolutely infinite could cease to exist, which (by Prop. xi.) is also absurd.

Corollary. — It follows, that no substance, and consequently no extended substance, in so far as it is substance, is divisible.

Note. — The indivisibility of substance may be more easily understood as follows. The nature of substance can only be conceived as infinite, and by a part of substance, nothing else can be understood than finite substance, which (by Prop. viii) involves a manifest contradiction.

PROP. XIV. Besides God no substance can be granted or conceived.

Proof. — As God is a being absolutely infinite, of whom no attribute that expresses the essence of substance can be denied (by Def. vi.), and he necessarily exists (by Prop. xi.); if any substance besides God were granted, it would have to be explained by some attribute of God, and thus two substances with the same attribute would exist, which (by Prop. v.) is absurd; therefore, besides God no substance can be granted, or, consequently, be conceived. If it could be conceived, it would necessarily have to be conceived as existent; but this (by the first part of this proof) is absurd. Therefore, besides God no substance can be granted or conceived. Q.E.D.

Corollary I. — Clearly, therefore: 1. God is one, that is (by Def. vi.) only one substance can be granted in the universe, and that substance is absolutely infinite, as we have already indicated (in the note to Prop. x.).

Corollary II. — It follows: 2. That extension and thought are either attributes of God or (by Ax. i.) accidents (affectiones) of the attributes of God.

PROP. XV. Whatsoever is, is in God, and without God nothing can be, or be conceived.

Proof. — Besides God, no substance is granted or can be conceived (by Prop. xiv.), that is (by Def. iii.) nothing which is in itself and is conceived through itself.

But modes (by Def. v.) can neither be, nor be conceived without substance; wherefore they can only be in the divine nature, and can only through it be conceived. But substances and modes form the sum total of existence (by Ax. i.), therefore, without God nothing can be, or be conceived. Q.E.D.

Note. — Some assert that God, like a man, consists of body and mind, and is susceptible of passions. How far such persons have strayed from the truth is sufficiently evident from what has been said. But these I pass over. For all who have in anywise reflected on the divine nature deny that God has a body. Of this they find excellent proof in the fact that we understand by body a definite quantity, so long, so broad, so deep, bounded by a certain shape, and it is the height of absurdity to predicate such a thing of God, a being absolutely infinite. But meanwhile by other reasons with which they try to prove their point, they show that they think corporeal or extended substance wholly apart from the divine nature, and say it was created by God. Wherefrom the divine nature can have been created, they are wholly ignorant; thus they clearly show, that they do not know the meaning of their own words. I myself have proved sufficiently clearly, at any rate in my own judgment (Coroll. Prop. vi, and note 2, Prop. viii.), that no substance can be produced or created by anything other than itself. Further, I showed (in Prop. xiv.), that besides God no substance can be granted or conceived. Hence we drew the conclusion that extended substance is one of the infinite attributes of God. However, in order to explain more fully, I will refute the arguments of my adversaries, which all start from the following points: —

Extended substance, in so far as it is substance, consists, as they think, in parts, wherefore they deny that it can be infinite, or consequently, that it can appertain to God. This they illustrate with many examples, of which I will take one or two. If extended substance, they say, is infinite, let it be conceived to be divided into two parts; each part will then be either finite or infinite. If the former, then infinite substance is composed of two finite parts, which is absurd. If the latter, then one infinite will be twice as large as another infinite, which is also absurd.

Further, if an infinite line be measured out in foot lengths, it will consist of an infinite number of such parts; it would equally consist of an infinite number of parts, if each part measured only an inch: therefore, one infinity would be twelve times as great as the other.

Lastly, if from a single point there be conceived to be drawn two diverging lines which at first are at a definite distance apart, but are produced to infinity, it is certain that the distance between the two lines will be continually increased, until at length it changes from definite to indefinable. As these absurdities follow, it is said, from considering quantity as infinite, the conclusion is drawn, that extended substance must necessarily be finite, and, consequently, cannot appertain to the nature of God.

The second argument is also drawn from God's supreme perfection. God, it is said, inasmuch as he is a supremely perfect being, cannot be passive; but extended substance, insofar as it is divisible, is passive. It follows, therefore, that extended substance does not appertain to the essence of God.

Such are the arguments I find on the subject in writers, who by them try to prove that extended substance is unworthy of the divine nature, and cannot possibly appertain thereto. However, I think an attentive reader will see that I have already answered their propositions; for all their arguments are founded on the hypothesis that extended substance is composed of parts, and such a hypothesis I have shown (Prop. xii., and Coroll. Prop. xiii.) to be absurd. Moreover, anyone who reflects will see that all these absurdities (if absurdities they be, which I am not now discussing), from which it is sought to extract the conclusion that extended substance is finite, do not at all follow from the notion of an infinite quantity, but merely from the notion that an infinite quantity is measurable, and composed of finite parts therefore, the only fair conclusion to be drawn is that: infinite quantity is not measurable, and cannot be composed of finite parts. This is exactly what we have already proved (in Prop. xii.). Wherefore the weapon which they aimed at us has in reality recoiled upon themselves. If, from this absurdity of theirs, they persist in drawing the

conclusion that extended substance must be finite, they will in good sooth be acting like a man who asserts that circles have the properties of squares, and, finding himself thereby landed in absurdities, proceeds to deny that circles have any center, from which all lines drawn to the circumference are equal. For, taking extended substance, which can only be conceived as infinite, one, and indivisible (Props. viii., v., xii.) they assert, in order to prove that it is finite, that it is composed of finite parts, and that it can be multiplied and divided.

So, also, others, after asserting that a line is composed of points, can produce many arguments to prove that a line cannot be infinitely divided. Assuredly it is not less absurd to assert that extended substance is made up of bodies or parts, than it would be to assert that a solid is made up of surfaces, a surface of lines, and a line of points. This must be admitted by all who know clear reason to be infallible, and most of all by those who deny the possibility of a vacuum. For if extended substance could be so divided that its parts were really separate, why should not one part admit of being destroyed, the others remaining joined together as before? And why should all be so fitted into one another as to leave no vacuum? Surely in the case of things, which are really distinct one from the other, one can exist without the other, and can remain in its original condition. As, then, there does not exist a vacuum in nature (of which anon), but all parts are bound to come together to prevent it, it follows from this that the parts cannot really be distinguished, and that extended substance in so far as it is substance cannot be divided.

If anyone asks me the further question, Why are we naturally so prone to divide quantity? I answer, that quantity is conceived by us in two ways; in the abstract and superficially, as we imagine it; or as substance, as we conceive it solely by the intellect. If, then, we regard quantity as it is represented in our imagination, which we often and more easily do, we shall find that it is finite, divisible, and compounded of parts; but if we regard it as it is represented in our intellect, and conceive it as substance, which it is very difficult to do, we shall then, as I have sufficiently proved, find that it is infinite, one, and indivisible. This

will be plain enough to all who make a distinction between the intellect and the imagination, especially if it be remembered, that matter is everywhere the same, that its parts are not distinguishable, except in so far as we conceive matter as diversely modified, whence its parts are distinguished, not really, but modally. For instance, water, in so far as it is water, we conceive to be divided, and its parts to be separated one from the other; but not in so far as it is extended substance; from this point of view it is neither separated nor divisible. Further, water, in so far as it is water, is produced and corrupted; but, in so far as it is substance, it is neither produced nor corrupted.

I think I have now answered the second argument; it is, in fact, founded on the same assumption as the first — namely, that matter, in so far as it is substance, is divisible, and composed of parts. Even if it were so, I do not know why it should be considered unworthy of the divine nature, inasmuch as besides God (by Prop. xiv.) no substance can be granted, wherefrom it could receive its modifications. All things, I repeat, are in God, and all things which come to pass, come to pass solely through the laws of the infinite nature of God, and follow (as I will shortly show) from the necessity of his essence. Wherefore it can in nowise be said, that God is passive in respect to anything other than himself, or that extended substance is unworthy of the Divine nature, even if it be supposed divisible, so long as it is granted to be infinite and eternal. But enough of this for the present.

PROP. XVI. From the necessity of the divine nature must follow an infinite number of things in infinite ways — that is, all things which can fall within the sphere of infinite intellect.

Proof. — This proposition will be clear to everyone, who remembers that from the given definition of any thing the intellect infers several properties, which really necessarily follow therefrom (that is, from the actual essence of the thing defined); and it infers more properties in proportion as the definition of the thing expresses more reality, that is, in proportion as the essence of the thing defined involves more reality. Now, as the divine nature has absolutely infinite attributes (by Def. vi.), of which each expresses infinite essence after its kind, it follows that

from the necessity of its nature an infinite number of things (that is, everything which can fall within the sphere of an infinite intellect) must necessarily follow. Q.E.D.

Corollary I. — Hence it follows, that God is the efficient cause of all that can fall within the sphere of an infinite intellect.

Corollary II. — It also follows that God is a cause in himself, and not through an accident of his nature.

Corollary III. — It follows, thirdly, that God is the absolutely first cause.

PROP. XVII. God acts solely by the laws of his own nature, and is not constrained by anyone.

Proof. — We have just shown (in Prop. xvi.), that solely from the necessity of the divine nature, or, what is the same thing, solely from the laws of his nature, an infinite number of things absolutely follow in an infinite number of ways; and we proved (in Prop. xv.), that without God nothing can be nor be conceived but that all things are in God. Wherefore nothing can exist; outside himself, whereby he can be conditioned or constrained to act. Wherefore God acts solely by the laws of his own nature, and is not constrained by anyone. Q.E.D.

Corollary I. — It follows: 1. That there can be no cause which, either extrinsically or intrinsically, besides the perfection of his own nature, moves God to act.

Corollary II. — It follows: 2. That God is the sole free cause. For God alone exists by the sole necessity of his nature (by Prop. xi. and Prop. xiv., Coroll. i.), and acts by the sole necessity of his own nature, wherefore God is (by Def. vii.) the sole free cause. Q.E.D.

Note. — Others think that God is a free cause, because he can, as they think, bring it about, that those things which we have said follow from his nature — that is, which are in his power, should not come to pass, or should not be produced by him. But this is the same as if they said, that God could bring it about, that it should follow from the nature of a triangle that its three interior angles should not

be equal to two right angles; or that from a given cause no effect should follow, which is absurd.

Moreover, I will show below, without the aid of this proposition, that neither intellect nor will appertain to God's nature. I know that there are many who think that they can show, that supreme intellect and free will do appertain to God's nature; for they say they know of nothing more perfect, which they can attribute to God, than that which is the highest perfection in ourselves. Further, although they conceive God as actually supremely intelligent, they yet do not believe that he can bring into existence everything which he actually understands, for they think that they would thus destroy God's power. If, they contend, God had created everything which is in his intellect, he would not be able to create anything more, and this, they think, would clash with God's omnipotence; therefore, they prefer to assert that God is indifferent to all things, and that he creates nothing except that which he has decided, by some absolute exercise of will, to create. However, I think I have shown sufficiently clearly (by Prop. xvi.), that from God's supreme power, or infinite nature, an infinite number of things — that is, all things have necessarily flowed forth in an infinite number of ways, or always flow from the same necessity; in the same way as from the nature of a triangle it follows from eternity and for eternity, that its three interior angles are equal to two right angles. Wherefore the omnipotence of God has been displayed from all eternity, and will for all eternity remain in the same state of activity. This manner of treating the question attributes to God an omnipotence, in my opinion, far more perfect. For, otherwise, we are compelled to confess that God understands an infinite number of creatable things, which he will never be able to create, for, if he created all that he understands, he would, according to this showing, exhaust his omnipotence, and render himself imperfect. Wherefore, in order to establish that God is perfect, we should be reduced to establishing at the same time, that he cannot bring to pass everything over which his power extends; this seems to be a hypothesis most absurd, and most repugnant to God's omnipotence.

Further (to say a word here concerning the intellect and the will which we attribute to God), if intellect and will appertain to the eternal essence of God, we must take these words in some significance quite different from those they usually bear. For intellect and will, which should constitute the essence of God, would perforce be as far apart as the poles from the human intellect and will, in fact, would have nothing in common with them but the name; there would be about as much correspondence between the two as there is between the Dog, the heavenly constellation, and a dog, an animal that barks. This I will prove as follows. If intellect belongs to the divine nature, it cannot be in nature, as ours is generally thought to be, posterior to, or simultaneous with the things understood, inasmuch as God is prior to all things by reason of his causality (Prop. xvi., Coroll. i.). On the contrary, the truth and formal essence of things is as it is, because it exists by representation as such in the intellect of God. Wherefore the intellect of God, in so far as it is conceived to constitute God's essence, is, in reality, the cause of things, both of their essence and of their existence. This seems to have been recognized by those who have asserted, that God's intellect, God's will, and God's power, are one and the same. As, therefore, God's intellect is the sole cause of things, namely, both of their essence and existence, it must necessarily differ from them in respect to its essence, and in respect to its existence. For a cause differs from a thing it causes, precisely in the quality which the latter gains from the former.

For example, a man is the cause of another man's existence, but not of his essence (for the latter is an eternal truth), and, therefore, the two men may be entirely similar in essence, but must be different in existence; and hence if the existence of one of them cease, the existence of the other will not necessarily cease also; but if the essence of one could be destroyed, and be made false, the essence of the other would be destroyed also. Wherefore, a thing which is the cause both of the essence and of the existence of a given effect, must differ from such effect both in respect to its essence, and also in respect to its existence. Now the intellect of God is the cause both of the essence and the existence of our

intellect; therefore, the intellect of God in so far as it is conceived to constitute the divine essence, differs from our intellect both in respect to essence and in respect to existence, nor can it in anywise agree therewith save in name, as we said before. The reasoning would be identical in the case of the will, as anyone can easily see.

PROP. XVIII. God is the indwelling and not the transient cause of all things.

Proof. — All things which are, are in God, and must be conceived through God (by Prop. xv.), therefore (by Prop. xvi., Coroll. i.) God is the cause of those things which are in him. This is our first point. Further, besides God there can be no substance (by Prop. xiv.), that is nothing in itself external to God. This is our second point. God, therefore, is the indwelling and not the transient cause of all things. Q.E.D.

PROP. XIX. God, and all the attributes of God, are eternal.

Proof. — God (by Def. vi.) is substance, which (by Prop. xi.) necessarily exists, that is (by Prop. vii.) existence appertains to its nature, or (what is the same thing) follows from its definition; therefore, God is eternal (by Def. viii.). Further, by the attributes of God we must understand that which (by Def. iv.) expresses the essence of the divine substance — in other words, that which appertains to substance: that, I say, should be involved in the attributes of substance. Now eternity appertains to the nature of substance (as I have already shown in Prop. vii.); therefore, eternity must appertain to each of the attributes, and thus all are eternal. Q.E.D.

Note. — This proposition is also evident from the manner in which (in Prop. xi.) I demonstrated the existence of God; it is evident, I repeat, from that proof, that the existence of God, like his essence, is an eternal truth. Further (in Prop. xix. of my “Principles of the Cartesian Philosophy”), I have proved the eternity of God, in another manner, which I need not here repeat.

PROP. XX. The existence of God and his essence are one and the same.

Proof. — God (by the last Prop.) and all his attributes are eternal, that is (by Def. viii.) each of his attributes expresses existence. Therefore the same attributes

of God which explain his eternal essence, explain at the same time his eternal existence — in other words, that which constitutes God's essence constitutes at the same time his existence. Wherefore God's existence and God's essence are one and the same. Q.E.D.

Coroll. I. — Hence it follows that God's existence, like his essence, is an eternal truth.

Coroll. II — Secondly, it follows that God, and all the attributes of God, are unchangeable. For if they could be changed in respect to existence, they must also be able to be changed in respect to essence — that is, obviously, be changed from true to false, which is absurd.

PROP. XXI. All things which follow from the absolute nature of any attribute of God must always exist and be infinite, or, in other words, are eternal and infinite through the said attribute.

Proof. — Conceive, if it be possible (supposing the proposition to be denied), that something in some attribute of God can follow from the absolute nature of the said attribute, and that at the same time it is finite, and has a conditioned existence or duration; for instance, the idea of God expressed in the attribute thought. Now thought, in so far as it is supposed to be an attribute of God, is necessarily (by Prop. xi.) in its nature infinite. But, in so far as it possesses the idea of God, it is supposed finite. It cannot, however, be conceived as finite, unless it be limited by thought (by Def. ii.); but it is not limited by thought itself, in so far as it has constituted the idea of God (for so far it is supposed to be finite); therefore, it is limited by thought, in so far as it has not constituted the idea of God, which nevertheless (by Prop. xi.) must necessarily exist.

We have now granted, therefore, thought not constituting the idea of God, and, accordingly, the idea of God does not naturally follow from its nature in so far as it is absolute thought (for it is conceived as constituting, and also as not constituting, the idea of God), which is against our hypothesis. Wherefore, if the idea of God expressed in the attribute thought, or, indeed, anything else in any attribute of God (for we may take any example, as the proof is of universal

application) follows from the necessity of the absolute nature of the said attribute, the said thing must necessarily be infinite, which was our first point.

Furthermore, a thing which thus follows from the necessity of the nature of any attribute cannot have a limited duration. For if it can, suppose a thing, which follows from the necessity of the nature of some attribute, to exist in some attribute of God, for instance, the idea of God expressed in the attribute thought, and let it be supposed at some time not to have existed, or to be about not to exist.

Now thought being an attribute of God, must necessarily exist unchanged (by Prop. xi., and Prop. xx., Coroll. ii.); and beyond the limits of the duration of the idea of God (supposing the latter at some time not to have existed, or not to be going to exist) thought would perforce have existed without the idea of God, which is contrary to our hypothesis, for we supposed that, thought being given, the idea of God necessarily flowed therefrom. Therefore the idea of God expressed in thought, or anything which necessarily follows from the absolute nature of some attribute of God, cannot have a limited duration, but through the said attribute is eternal, which is our second point. Bear in mind that the same proposition may be affirmed of anything, which in any attribute necessarily follows from God's absolute nature.

PROP. XXII. Whatsoever follows from any attribute of God, in so far as it is modified by a modification, which exists necessarily and as infinite, through the said attribute, must also exist necessarily and as infinite.

Proof. — The proof of this proposition is similar to that of the preceding one.

PROP. XXIII. Every mode, which exists both necessarily and as infinite, must necessarily follow either from the absolute nature of some attribute of God, or from an attribute modified by a modification which exists necessarily, and as infinite.

Proof. — A mode exists in something else, through which it must be conceived (Def. v.), that is (Prop. xv.), it exists solely in God, and solely through God can be conceived. If therefore a mode is conceived as necessarily existing and infinite, it must necessarily be inferred or perceived through some attribute of God, in so far

as such attribute is conceived as expressing the infinity and necessity of existence, in other words (Def. viii.) eternity; that is, in so far as it is considered absolutely. A mode, therefore, which necessarily exists as infinite, must follow from the absolute nature of some attribute of God, either immediately (Prop. xxi.) or through the means of some modification, which follows from the absolute nature of the said attribute; that is (by Prop. xxii.), which exists necessarily and as infinite.

PROP. XXIV. The essence of things produced by God does not involve existence.

Proof. — This proposition is evident from Def. i. For that of which the nature (considered in itself) involves existence is self — caused, and exists by the sole necessity of its own nature.

Corollary. — Hence it follows that God is not only the cause of things coming into existence, but also of their continuing in existence, that is, in scholastic phraseology, God is cause of the being of things (*essendi rerum*). For whether things exist, or do not exist, whenever we contemplate their essence, we see that it involves neither existence nor duration; consequently, it cannot be the cause of either the one or the other. God must be the sole cause, inasmuch as to him alone does existence appertain. (Prop. xiv. Coroll. i.) Q.E.D.

PROP. XXV. God is the efficient cause not only of the existence of things, but also of their essence.

Proof. — If this be denied, then God is not the cause of the essence of things; and therefore the essence of things can (by Ax. iv.) be conceived without God. This (by Prop. xv.) is absurd. Therefore, God is the cause of the essence of things. Q.E.D.

Note. — This proposition follows more clearly from Prop. xvi. For it is evident thereby that, given the divine nature, the essence of things must be inferred from it, no less than their existence — in a word, God must be called the cause of all things, in the same sense as he is called the cause of himself. This will be made still clearer by the following corollary.

Corollary. — Individual things are nothing but modifications of the attributes of God, or modes by which the attributes of God are expressed in a fixed and definite manner. The proof appears from Prop. xv. and Def. v.

PROP. XXVI. A thing which is conditioned to act in a particular manner, has necessarily been thus conditioned by God; and that which has not been conditioned by God cannot condition itself to act.

Proof. — That by which things are said to be conditioned to act in a particular manner is necessarily something positive (this is obvious); therefore both of its essence and of its existence God by the necessity of his nature is the efficient cause (Props. xxv. and xvi.); this is our first point. Our second point is plainly to be inferred therefrom. For if a thing, which has not been conditioned by God, could condition itself, the first part of our proof would be false, and this, as we have shown is absurd.

PROP. XXVII. A thing, which has been conditioned by God to act in a particular way, cannot render itself unconditioned.

Proof. — This proposition is evident from the third axiom.

PROP. XXVIII. Every individual thing, or everything which is finite and has a conditioned existence, cannot exist or be conditioned to act, unless it be conditioned for existence and action by a cause other than itself, which also is finite, and has a conditioned existence; and likewise this cause cannot in its turn exist, or be conditioned to act, unless it be conditioned for existence and action by another cause, which also is finite, and has a conditioned existence, and so on to infinity.

Proof. — Whatsoever is conditioned to exist and act, has been thus conditioned by God (by Prop. xxvi. and Prop. xxiv., Coroll.).

But that which is finite, and has a conditioned existence, cannot be produced by the absolute nature of any attribute of God; for whatsoever follows from the absolute nature of any attribute of God is infinite and eternal (by Prop. xxi.). It must, therefore, follow from some attribute of God, in so far as the said attribute is considered as in some way modified; for substance and modes make up the sum

total of existence (by Ax. i. and Def. iii., v.), while modes are merely modifications of the attributes of God. But from God, or from any of his attributes, in so far as the latter is modified by a modification infinite and eternal, a conditioned thing cannot follow. Wherefore it must follow from, or be conditioned for, existence and action by God or one of his attributes, in so far as the latter are modified by some modification which is finite, and has a conditioned existence. This is our first point. Again, this cause or this modification (for the reason by which we established the first part of this proof) must in its turn be conditioned by another cause, which also is finite, and has a conditioned existence, and, again, this last by another (for the same reason); and so on (for the same reason) to infinity. Q.E.D.

Note. — As certain things must be produced immediately by God, namely those things which necessarily follow from his absolute nature, through the means of these primary attributes, which, nevertheless, can neither exist nor be conceived without God, it follows: — 1. That God is absolutely the proximate cause of those things immediately produced by him. I say absolutely, not after his kind, as is usually stated. For the effects of God cannot either exist or be conceived without a cause (Prop. xv. and Prop. xxiv. Coroll.). 2. That God cannot properly be styled the remote cause of individual things, except for the sake of distinguishing these from what he immediately produces, or rather from what follows from his absolute nature. For, by a remote cause, we understand a cause which is in no way conjoined to the effect. But all things which are, are in God, and so depend on God, that without him they can neither be nor be conceived.

PROP. XXIX. Nothing in the universe is contingent, but all things are conditioned to exist and operate in a particular manner by the necessity of the divine nature.

Proof. — Whatsoever is, is in God (Prop. xv.). But God cannot be called a thing contingent. For (by Prop. xi.) he exists necessarily, and not contingently. Further, the modes of the divine nature follow therefrom necessarily, and not contingently (Prop. xvi.); and they thus follow, whether we consider the divine

nature absolutely, or whether we consider it as in any way conditioned to act (Prop. xxvii.). Further, God is not only the cause of these modes, in so far as they simply exist (by Prop. xxiv, Coroll.), but also in so far as they are considered as conditioned for operating in a particular manner (Prop. xxvi.). If they be not conditioned by God (Prop. xxvi.), it is impossible, and not contingent, that they should condition themselves; contrariwise, if they be conditioned by God, it is impossible, and not contingent, that they should render themselves unconditioned. Wherefore all things are conditioned by the necessity of the divine nature, not only to exist, but also to exist and operate in a particular manner, and there is nothing that is contingent. Q.E.D.

Note. — Before going any further, I wish here to explain, what we should understand by nature viewed as active (*natura naturans*), and nature viewed as passive (*natura naturata*). I say to explain, or rather call attention to it, for I think that, from what has been said, it is sufficiently clear, that by nature viewed as active we should understand that which is in itself, and is conceived through itself, or those attributes of substance, which express eternal and infinite essence, in other words (Prop. xiv., Coroll. i., and Prop. xvii., Coroll. ii) God, in so far as he is considered as a free cause.

By nature viewed as passive I understand all that which follows from the necessity of the nature of God, or of any of the attributes of God, that is, all the modes of the attributes of God, in so far as they are considered as things which are in God, and which without God cannot exist or be conceived.

PROP. XXX. Intellect, in function (*actu*) finite, or in function infinite, must comprehend the attributes of God and the modifications of God, and nothing else.

Proof. — A true idea must agree with its object (Ax. vi.); in other words (obviously), that which is contained in the intellect in representation must necessarily be granted in nature. But in nature (by Prop. xiv., Coroll. i.) there is no substance save God, nor any modifications save those (Prop. xv.) which are in God, and cannot without God either be or be conceived. Therefore the intellect, in

function finite, or in function infinite, must comprehend the attributes of God and the modifications of God, and nothing else. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXXI. The intellect in function, whether finite or infinite, as will, desire, love, &c., should be referred to passive nature and not to active nature.

Proof. — By the intellect we do not (obviously) mean absolute thought, but only a certain mode of thinking, differing from other modes, such as love, desire, &c., and therefore (Def. v.) requiring to be conceived through absolute thought. It must (by Prop. xv. and Def. vi.), through some attribute of God which expresses the eternal and infinite essence of thought, be so conceived, that without such attribute it could neither be nor be conceived. It must therefore be referred to nature passive rather than to nature active, as must also the other modes of thinking. Q.E.D.

Note. — I do not here, by speaking of intellect in function, admit that there is such a thing as intellect in potentiality: but, wishing to avoid all confusion, I desire to speak only of what is most clearly perceived by us, namely, of the very act of understanding, than which nothing is more clearly perceived. For we cannot perceive anything without adding to our knowledge of the act of understanding.

PROP. XXXII. Will cannot be called a free cause, but only a necessary cause.

Proof. — Will is only a particular mode of thinking, like intellect; therefore (by Prop. xxviii.) no volition can exist, nor be conditioned to act, unless it be conditioned by some cause other than itself, which cause is conditioned by a third cause, and so on to infinity. But if will be supposed infinite, it must also be conditioned to exist and act by God, not by virtue of his being substance absolutely infinite, but by virtue of his possessing an attribute which expresses the infinite and eternal essence of thought (by Prop. xxiii.). Thus, however it be conceived, whether as finite or infinite, it requires a cause by which it should be conditioned to exist and act. Thus (Def. vii.) it cannot be called a free cause, but only a necessary or constrained cause. Q.E.D.

Coroll. I. — Hence it follows, first, that God does not act according to freedom of the will.

Coroll. II. — It follows, secondly, that will and intellect stand in the same relation to the nature of God as do motion, and rest, and absolutely all natural phenomena, which must be conditioned by God (Prop. xxix.) to exist and act in a particular manner. For will, like the rest, stands in need of a cause, by which it is conditioned to exist and act in a particular manner. And although, when will or intellect be granted, an infinite number of results may follow, yet God cannot on that account be said to act from freedom of the will, any more than the infinite number of results from motion and rest would justify us in saying that motion and rest act by free will. Wherefore will no more appertains to God than does anything else in nature, but stands in the same relation to him as motion, rest, and the like, which we have shown to follow from the necessity of the divine nature, and to be conditioned by it to exist and act in a particular manner.

PROP. XXXIII. Things could not have been brought into being by God in any manner or in any order different from that which has in fact obtained.

Proof — All things necessarily follow from the nature of God (Prop. xvi.), and by the nature of God are conditioned to exist and act in a particular way (Prop. xxix.). If things, therefore, could have been of a different nature, or have been conditioned to act in a different way, so that the order of nature would have been different, God's nature would also have been able to be different from what it now is; and therefore (by Prop. xi.) that different nature also would have perforce existed, and consequently there would have been able to be two or more Gods. This (by Prop. xiv., Coroll. i.) is absurd. Therefore things could not have been brought into being by God in any other manner, &c. Q.E.D.

Note I. — As I have thus shown, more clearly than the sun at noonday, that there is nothing to justify us in calling things contingent, I wish to explain briefly what meaning we shall attach to the word contingent; but I will first explain the words necessary and impossible.

A thing is called necessary either in respect to its essence or in respect to its cause; for the existence of a thing necessarily follows, either from its essence and definition, or from a given efficient cause. For similar reasons a thing is said to be

impossible; namely, inasmuch as its essence or definition involves a contradiction, or because no external cause is granted, which is conditioned to produce such an effect; but a thing can in no respect be called contingent, save in relation to the imperfection of our knowledge.

A thing of which we do not know whether the essence does or does not involve a contradiction, or of which, knowing that it does not involve a contradiction, we are still in doubt concerning the existence, because the order of causes escapes us, — such a thing, I say, cannot appear to us either necessary or impossible. Wherefore we call it contingent or possible.

Note II. — It clearly follows from what we have said, that things have been brought into being by God in the highest perfection, inasmuch as they have necessarily followed from a most perfect nature. Nor does this prove any imperfection in God, for it has compelled us to affirm his perfection. From its contrary proposition, we should clearly gather (as I have just shown), that God is not supremely perfect, for if things had been brought into being in any other way, we should have to assign to God a nature different from that, which we are bound to attribute to him from the consideration of an absolutely perfect being.

I do not doubt, that many will scout this idea as absurd, and will refuse to give their minds up to contemplating it, simply because they are accustomed to assign to God a freedom very different from that which we (Def. vii.) have deduced. They assign to him, in short, absolute free will. However, I am also convinced that if such persons reflect on the matter, and duly weigh in their minds our series of propositions, they will reject such freedom as they now attribute to God, not only as nugatory, but also as a great impediment to organized knowledge. There is no need for me to repeat what I have said in the note to Prop. xvii. But, for the sake of my opponents, I will show further, that although it be granted that will pertains to the essence of God, it nevertheless follows from his perfection, that things could not have been by him created other than they are, or in a different order; this is easily proved, if we reflect on what our opponents themselves concede, namely, that it depends solely on the decree and will of God, that each

thing is what it is. If it were otherwise, God would not be the cause of all things. Further, that all the decrees of God have been ratified from all eternity by God himself. If it were otherwise, God would be convicted of imperfection or change. But in eternity there is no such thing as when, before, or after; hence it follows solely from the perfection of God, that God never can decree, or never could have decreed anything but what is; that God did not exist before his decrees, and would not exist without them. But, it is said, supposing that God had made a different universe, or had ordained other decrees from all eternity concerning nature and her order, we could not therefore conclude any imperfection in God. But persons who say this must admit that God can change his decrees. For if God had ordained any decrees concerning nature and her order, different from those which he has ordained — in other words, if he had willed and conceived something different concerning nature — he would perforce have had a different intellect from that which he has, and also a different will. But if it were allowable to assign to God a different intellect and a different will, without any change in his essence or his perfection, what would there be to prevent him changing the decrees which he has made concerning created things, and nevertheless remaining perfect? For his intellect and will concerning things created and their order are the same, in respect to his essence and perfection, however they be conceived.

Further, all the philosophers whom I have read admit that God's intellect is entirely actual, and not at all potential; as they also admit that God's intellect, and God's will, and God's essence are identical, it follows that, if God had had a different actual intellect and a different will, his essence would also have been different; and thus, as I concluded at first, if things had been brought into being by God in a different way from that which has obtained, God's intellect and will, that is (as is admitted) his essence would perforce have been different, which is absurd.

As these things could not have been brought into being by God in any but the actual way and order which has obtained; and as the truth of this proposition follows from the supreme perfection of God; we can have no sound reason for

persuading ourselves to believe that God did not wish to create all the things which were in his intellect, and to create them in the same perfection as he had understood them.

But, it will be said, there is in things no perfection nor imperfection; that which is in them, and which causes them to be called perfect or imperfect, good or bad, depends solely on the will of God. If God had so willed, he might have brought it about that what is now perfection should be extreme imperfection, and vice versâ. What is such an assertion, but an open declaration that God, who necessarily understands that which he wishes, might bring it about by his will, that he should understand things differently from the way in which he does understand them? This (as we have just shown) is the height of absurdity. Wherefore, I may turn the argument against its employers, as follows: — All things depend on the power of God. In order that things should be different from what they are, God's will would necessarily have to be different. But God's will cannot be different (as we have just most clearly demonstrated) from God's perfection. Therefore neither can things be different. I confess, that the theory which subjects all things to the will of an indifferent deity, and asserts that they are all dependent on his fiat, is less far from the truth than the theory of those, who maintain that God acts in all things with a view of promoting what is good. For these latter persons seem to set up something beyond God, which does not depend on God, but which God in acting looks to as an exemplar, or which he aims at as a definite goal. This is only another name for subjecting God to the dominion of destiny, an utter absurdity in respect to God, whom we have shown to be the first and only free cause of the essence of all things and also of their existence. I need, therefore, spend no time in refuting such wild theories.

PROP. XXXIV. God's power is identical with his essence.

Proof. — From the sole necessity of the essence of God it follows that God is the cause of himself (Prop. xi.) and of all things (Prop. xvi. and Coroll.). Wherefore the power of God, by which he and all things are and act, is identical with his essence. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXXV. Whatsoever we conceive to be in the power of God, necessarily exists.

Proof. — Whatsoever is in God's power, must (by the last Prop.) be comprehended in his essence in such a manner, that it necessarily follows therefrom, and therefore necessarily exists. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXXVI. There is no cause from whose nature some effect does not follow.

Proof. — Whatsoever exists expresses God's nature or essence in a given conditioned manner (by Prop. xxv., Coroll.); that is, (by Prop. xxxiv.), whatsoever exists, expresses in a given conditioned manner God's power, which is the cause of all things, therefore an effect must (by Prop. xvi.) necessarily follow. Q.E.D.

APPENDIX:



IN THE FOREGOING I have explained the nature and properties of God. I have shown that he necessarily exists, that he is one: that he is, and acts solely by the necessity of his own nature; that he is the free cause of all things, and how he is so; that all things are in God, and so depend on him, that without him they could neither exist nor be conceived; lastly, that all things are predetermined by God, not through his free will or absolute fiat, but from the very nature of God or infinite power. I have further, where occasion afforded, taken care to remove the prejudices, which might impede the comprehension of my demonstrations. Yet there still remain misconceptions not a few, which might and may prove very grave hindrances to the understanding of the concatenation of things, as I have explained it above. I have therefore thought it worth while to bring these misconceptions before the bar of reason.

All such opinions spring from the notion commonly entertained, that all things in nature act as men themselves act, namely, with an end in view. It is accepted as certain, that God himself directs all things to a definite goal (for it is said that God made all things for man, and man that he might worship him). I will, therefore, consider this opinion, asking first, why it obtains general credence, and why all men are naturally so prone to adopt it? secondly, I will point out its falsity; and, lastly, I will show how it has given rise to prejudices about good and bad, right and wrong, praise and blame, order and confusion, beauty and ugliness, and the like. However, this is not the place to deduce these misconceptions from the nature of the human mind: it will be sufficient here, if I assume as a starting point, what ought to be universally admitted, namely, that all men are born ignorant of the causes of things, that all have the desire to seek for what is useful to them, and that they are conscious of such desire. Herefrom it follows, first, that men think

themselves free inasmuch as they are conscious of their volitions and desires, and never even dream, in their ignorance, of the causes which have disposed them so to wish and desire. Secondly, that men do all things for an end, namely, for that which is useful to them, and which they seek. Thus it comes to pass that they only look for a knowledge of the final causes of events, and when these are learned, they are content, as having no cause for further doubt. If they cannot learn such causes from external sources, they are compelled to turn to considering themselves, and reflecting what end would have induced them personally to bring about the given event, and thus they necessarily judge other natures by their own. Further, as they find in themselves and outside themselves many means which assist them not a little in the search for what is useful, for instance, eyes for seeing, teeth for chewing, herbs and animals for yielding food, the sun for giving light, the sea for breeding fish, &c., they come to look on the whole of nature as a means for obtaining such conveniences. Now as they are aware, that they found these conveniences and did not make them, they think they have cause for believing, that some other being has made them for their use. As they look upon things as means, they cannot believe them to be self — created; but, judging from the means which they are accustomed to prepare for themselves, they are bound to believe in some ruler or rulers of the universe endowed with human freedom, who have arranged and adapted everything for human use. They are bound to estimate the nature of such rulers (having no information on the subject) in accordance with their own nature, and therefore they assert that the gods ordained everything for the use of man, in order to bind man to themselves and obtain from him the highest honor. Hence also it follows, that everyone thought out for himself, according to his abilities, a different way of worshipping God, so that God might love him more than his fellows, and direct the whole course of nature for the satisfaction of his blind cupidity and insatiable avarice. Thus the prejudice developed into superstition, and took deep root in the human mind; and for this reason everyone strove most zealously to understand and explain the final causes of things; but in their endeavor to show that nature does nothing in vain, i.e.

nothing which is useless to man, they only seem to have demonstrated that nature, the gods, and men are all mad together. Consider, I pray you, the result: among the many helps of nature they were bound to find some hindrances, such as storms, earthquakes, diseases, &c.: so they declared that such things happen, because the gods are angry at some wrong done to them by men, or at some fault committed in their worship. Experience day by day protested and showed by infinite examples, that good and evil fortunes fall to the lot of pious and impious alike; still they would not abandon their inveterate prejudice, for it was more easy for them to class such contradictions among other unknown things of whose use they were ignorant, and thus to retain their actual and innate condition of ignorance, than to destroy the whole fabric of their reasoning and start afresh. They therefore laid down as an axiom, that God's judgments far transcend human understanding. Such a doctrine might well have sufficed to conceal the truth from the human race for all eternity, if mathematics had not furnished another standard of verity in considering solely the essence and properties of figures without regard to their final causes. There are other reasons (which I need not mention here) besides mathematics, which might have caused men's minds to be directed to these general prejudices, and have led them to the knowledge of the truth.

I have now sufficiently explained my first point. There is no need to show at length, that nature has no particular goal in view, and that final causes are mere human figments. This, I think, is already evident enough, both from the causes and foundations on which I have shown such prejudice to be based, and also from Prop. xvi., and the Corollary of Prop. xxxii., and, in fact, all those propositions in which I have shown, that everything in nature proceeds from a sort of necessity, and with the utmost perfection. However, I will add a few remarks, in order to overthrow this doctrine of a final cause utterly. That which is really a cause it considers as an effect, and vice versâ: it makes that which is by nature first to be last, and that which is highest and most perfect to be most imperfect. Passing over the questions of cause and priority as self — evident, it is plain from Props. xxi., xxii., xxiii. that the effect is most perfect which is produced immediately by God;

the effect which requires for its production several intermediate causes is, in that respect, more imperfect. But if those things which were made immediately by God were made to enable him to attain his end, then the things which come after, for the sake of which the first were made, are necessarily the most excellent of all.

Further, this doctrine does away with the perfection of God: for, if God acts for an object, he necessarily desires something which he lacks. Certainly, theologians and metaphysicians draw a distinction between the object of want and the object of assimilation; still they confess that God made all things for the sake of himself, not for the sake of creation. They are unable to point to anything prior to creation, except God himself, as an object for which God should act, and are therefore driven to admit (as they clearly must), that God lacked those things for whose attainment he created means, and further that he desired them.

We must not omit to notice that the followers of this doctrine, anxious to display their talent in assigning final causes, have imported a new method of argument in proof of their theory — namely, a reduction, not to the impossible, but to ignorance; thus showing that they have no other method of exhibiting their doctrine. For example, if a stone falls from a roof on to someone's head, and kills him, they will demonstrate by their new method, that the stone fell in order to kill the man; for, if it had not by God's will fallen with that object, how could so many circumstances (and there are often many concurrent circumstances) have all happened together by chance? Perhaps you will answer that the event is due to the facts that the wind was blowing, and the man was walking that way. "But why," they will insist, "was the wind blowing, and why was the man at that very time walking that way?" If you again answer, that the wind had then sprung up because the sea had begun to be agitated the day before, the weather being previously calm, and that the man had been invited by a friend, they will again insist: "But why was the sea agitated, and why was the man invited at that time?" So they will pursue their questions from cause to cause, till at last you take refuge in the will of God — in other words, the sanctuary of ignorance. So, again, when they survey the frame of the human body, they are amazed; and being ignorant of the causes

of so great a work of art, conclude that it has been fashioned, not mechanically, but by divine and supernatural skill, and has been so put together that one part shall not hurt another.

Hence anyone who seeks for the true causes of miracles, and strives to understand natural phenomena as an intelligent being, and not to gaze at them like a fool, is set down and denounced as an impious heretic by those, whom the masses adore as the interpreters of nature and the gods. Such persons know that, with the removal of ignorance, the wonder which forms their only available means for proving and preserving their authority would vanish also. But I now quit this subject, and pass on to my third point.

After men persuaded themselves, that everything which is created is created for their sake, they were bound to consider as the chief quality in everything that which is most useful to themselves, and to account those things the best of all which have the most beneficial effect on mankind. Further, they were bound to form abstract notions for the explanation of the nature of things, such as goodness, badness, order, confusion, warmth, cold, beauty, deformity, and so on; and from the belief that they are free agents arose the further notions of praise and blame, sin and merit.

I will speak of these latter hereafter, when I treat of human nature; the former I will briefly explain here.

Everything which conduces to health and the worship of God they have called good, everything which hinders these objects they have styled bad; and inasmuch as those who do not understand the nature of things do not verify phenomena in any way, but merely imagine them after a fashion, and mistake their imagination for understanding, such persons firmly believe that there is an order in things, being really ignorant both of things and their own nature. When phenomena are of such a kind, that the impression they make on our senses requires little effort of imagination, and can consequently be easily remembered, we say that they are well — ordered; if the contrary, that they are ill — ordered or confused. Further, as things which are easily imagined are more pleasing to us, men prefer order to

confusion — as though there were any order in nature, except in relation to our imagination — and say that God has created all things in order; thus, without knowing it, attributing imagination to God, unless, indeed, they would have it that God foresaw human imagination, and arranged everything, so that it should be most easily imagined. If this be their theory, they would not, perhaps, be daunted by the fact that we find an infinite number of phenomena, far surpassing our imagination, and very many others which confound its weakness. But enough has been said on this subject. The other abstract notions are nothing but modes of imagining, in which the imagination is differently affected: though they are considered by the ignorant as the chief attributes of things, inasmuch as they believe that everything was created for the sake of themselves; and, according as they are affected by it, style it good or bad, healthy or rotten and corrupt. For instance, if the motion which objects we see communicate to our nerves be conducive to health, the objects causing it are styled beautiful; if a contrary motion be excited, they are styled ugly.

Things which are perceived through our sense of smell are styled fragrant or fetid; if through our taste, sweet or bitter, full — flavored or insipid; if through our touch, hard or soft, rough or smooth, &c.

Whatsoever affects our ears is said to give rise to noise, sound, or harmony. In this last case, there are men lunatic enough to believe, that even God himself takes pleasure in harmony; and philosophers are not lacking who have persuaded themselves, that the motion of the heavenly bodies gives rise to harmony — all of which instances sufficiently show that everyone judges of things according to the state of his brain, or rather mistakes for things the forms of his imagination. We need no longer wonder that there have arisen all the controversies we have witnessed, and finally skepticism: for, although human bodies in many respects agree, yet in very many others they differ; so that what seems good to one seems bad to another; what seems well ordered to one seems confused to another; what is pleasing to one displeases another, and so on. I need not further enumerate, because this is not the place to treat the subject at length, and also because the fact

is sufficiently well known. It is commonly said: "So many men, so many minds; everyone is wise in his own way; brains differ as completely as palates." All of which proverbs show, that men judge of things according to their mental disposition, and rather imagine than understand: for, if they understood phenomena, they would, as mathematicians attest, be convinced, if not attracted, by what I have urged.

We have now perceived, that all the explanations commonly given of nature are mere modes of imagining, and do not indicate the true nature of anything, but only the constitution of the imagination; and, although they have names, as though they were entities, existing externally to the imagination, I call them entities imaginary rather than real; and, therefore, all arguments against us drawn from such abstractions are easily rebutted.

Many argue in this way. If all things follow from a necessity of the absolutely perfect nature of God, why are there so many imperfections in nature? such, for instance, as things corrupt to the point of putridity, loathsome deformity, confusion, evil, sin, &c. But these reasoners are, as I have said, easily confuted, for the perfection of things is to be reckoned only from their own nature and power; things are not more or less perfect, according as they delight or offend human senses, or according as they are serviceable or repugnant to mankind. To those who ask why God did not so create all men, that they should be governed only by reason, I give no answer but this: because matter was not lacking to him for the creation of every degree of perfection from highest to lowest; or, more strictly, because the laws of his nature are so vast, as to suffice for the production of everything conceivable by an infinite intelligence, as I have shown in Prop. xvi.

Such are the misconceptions I have undertaken to note; if there are any more of the same sort, everyone may easily dissipate them for himself with the aid of a little reflection.

PART II. ON THE NATURE AND ORIGIN OF THE MIND



PREFACE



I NOW PASS on to explaining the results, which must necessarily follow from the essence of God, or of the eternal and infinite being; not, indeed, all of them (for we proved in Part i., Prop. xvi., that an infinite number must follow in an infinite number of ways), but only those which are able to lead us, as it were by the hand, to the knowledge of the human mind and its highest blessedness.

DEFINITIONS



DEFINITION I. BY body I mean a mode which expresses in a certain determinate manner the essence of God, in so far as he is considered as an extended thing. (See Pt. i., Prop. xxv., Coroll.)

DEFINITION II. I consider as belonging to the essence of a thing that, which being given, the thing is necessarily given also, and, which being removed, the thing is necessarily removed also; in other words, that without which the thing, and which itself without the thing, can neither be nor be conceived.

DEFINITION III. By idea, I mean the mental conception which is formed by the mind as a thinking thing.

Explanation. — I say conception rather than perception, because the word perception seems to imply that the mind is passive in respect to the object; whereas conception seems to express an activity of the mind.

DEFINITION IV. By an adequate idea, I mean an idea which, in so far as it is considered in itself, without relation to the object, has all the properties or intrinsic marks of a true idea.

Explanation. — I say intrinsic, in order to exclude that mark which is extrinsic, namely, the agreement between the idea and its object (ideatum).

DEFINITION V. Duration is the indefinite continuance of existing.

Explanation. — I say indefinite, because it cannot be determined through the existence itself of the existing thing, or by its efficient cause, which necessarily gives the existence of the thing, but does not take it away.

DEFINITION VI. Reality and perfection I use as synonymous terms.

DEFINITION VII. By particular things, I mean things which are finite and have a conditioned existence; but if several individual things concur in one action,

so as to be all simultaneously the effect of one cause, I consider them all, so far, as one particular thing.

AXIOMS



I. THE ESSENCE of man does not involve necessary existence, that is, it may, in the order of nature, come to pass that this or that man does or does not exist.

II. Man thinks.

III. Modes of thinking, such as love, desire, or any other of the passions, do not take place, unless there be in the same individual an idea of the thing loved, desired, &c. But the idea can exist without the presence of any other mode of thinking.

IV. We perceive that a certain body is affected in many ways.

V. We feel and perceive no particular things, save bodies and modes of thought.

N.B. The Postulates are given after the conclusion of Prop. xiii.

PROPOSITIONS



PROP. I. THOUGHT is an attribute of God, or God is a thinking thing.

Proof. — Particular thoughts, or this and that thought, are modes which, in a certain conditioned manner, express the nature of God (Pt. i., Prop. xxv., Coroll.). God therefore possesses the attribute (Pt. i., Def. v.) of which the concept is involved in all particular thoughts, which latter are conceived thereby. Thought, therefore, is one of the infinite attributes of God, which express God's eternal and infinite essence (Pt. i., Def. vi.). In other words, God is a thinking thing. Q.E.D.

Note. — This proposition is also evident from the fact, that we are able to conceive an infinite thinking being. For, in proportion as a thinking being is conceived as thinking more thoughts, so is it conceived as containing more reality or perfection. Therefore a being, which can think an infinite number of things in an infinite number of ways, is, necessarily, in respect of thinking, infinite. As, therefore, from the consideration of thought alone, we conceive an infinite being, thought is necessarily (Pt. i., Deff. iv. and vi.) one of the infinite attributes of God, as we were desirous of showing.

PROP. II. Extension is an attribute of God, or God is an extended thing.

Proof. — The proof of this proposition is similar to that of the last.

PROP. III. In God there is necessarily the idea not only of his essence, but also of all things which necessarily follow from his essence.

Proof. — God (by the first Prop. of this Part) can think an infinite number of things in infinite ways, or (what is the same thing, by Prop. xvi., Part i.) can form the idea of his essence, and of all things which necessarily follow therefrom. Now all that is in the power of God necessarily is (Pt. i., Prop. xxxv.). Therefore, such an idea as we are considering necessarily is, and in God alone. Q.E.D. (Part i., Prop. xv.)

Note. — The multitude understand by the power of God the free will of God, and the right over all things that exist, which latter are accordingly generally considered as contingent. For it is said that God has the power to destroy all things, and to reduce them to nothing. Further, the power of God is very often likened to the power of kings. But this doctrine we have refuted (Pt. i., Prop. xxxii., Corolls. i. and ii.), and we have shown (Part i., Prop. xvi.) that God acts by the same necessity, as that by which he understands himself; in other words, as it follows from the necessity of the divine nature (as all admit), that God understands himself, so also does it follow by the same necessity, that God performs infinite acts in infinite ways. We further showed (Part i., Prop. xxxiv.), that God's power is identical with God's essence in action; therefore it is as impossible for us to conceive God as not acting, as to conceive him as non — existent. If we might pursue the subject further, I could point out, that the power which is commonly attributed to God is not only human (as showing that God is conceived by the multitude as a man, or in the likeness of a man), but involves a negation of power. However, I am unwilling to go over the same ground so often. I would only beg the reader again and again, to turn over frequently in his mind what I have said in Part I from Prop. xvi. to the end. No one will be able to follow my meaning, unless he is scrupulously careful not to confound the power of God with the human power and right of kings.

PROP. IV. The idea of God, from which an infinite number of things follow in infinite ways, can only be one.

Proof. — Infinite intellect comprehends nothing save the attributes of God and his modifications (Part i., Prop. xxx.). Now God is one (Part i., Prop. xiv., Coroll.). Therefore the idea of God, wherefrom an infinite number of things follow in infinite ways, can only be one. Q.E.D.

PROP. V. The actual being of ideas owns God as its cause, only in so far as he is considered as a thinking thing, not in so far as he is unfolded in any other attribute; that is, the ideas both of the attributes of God and of particular things do

not own as their efficient cause their objects (ideata) or the things perceived, but God himself in so far as he is a thinking thing.

Proof. — This proposition is evident from Prop. iii. of this Part. We there drew the conclusion, that God can form the idea of his essence, and of all things which follow necessarily therefrom, solely because he is a thinking thing, and not because he is the object of his own idea. Wherefore the actual being of ideas owns for cause God, in so far as he is a thinking thing. It may be differently proved as follows: the actual being of ideas is (obviously) a mode of thought, that is (Part i., Prop. xxv., Coroll.) a mode which expresses in a certain manner the nature of God, in so far as he is a thinking thing, and therefore (Part i., Prop. x.) involves the conception of no other attribute of God, and consequently (by Part i., Ax. iv.) is not the effect of any attribute save thought. Therefore the actual being of ideas owns God as its cause, in so far as he is considered as a thinking thing, &c. Q.E.D.

PROP. VI. The modes of any given attribute are caused by God, in so far as he is considered through the attribute of which they are modes, and not in so far as he is considered through any other attribute.

Proof. — Each attribute is conceived through itself, without any other (Part i., Prop. x.); wherefore the modes of each attribute involve the conception of that attribute, but not of any other. Thus (Part i., Ax. iv.) they are caused by God, only in so far as he is considered through the attribute whose modes they are, and not in so far as he is considered through any other. Q.E.D.

Corollary. — Hence the actual being of things, which are not modes of thought, does not follow from the divine nature, because that nature has prior knowledge of the things. Things represented in ideas follow, and are derived from their particular attribute, in the same manner, and with the same necessity as ideas follow (according to what we have shown) from the attribute of thought.

PROP. VII. The order and connection of ideas is the same as the order and connection of things.

Proof. — This proposition is evident from Part i., Ax. iv. For the idea of everything that is caused depends on a knowledge of the cause, whereof it is an effect.

Corollary. — Hence God's power of thinking is equal to his realized power of action — that is, whatsoever follows from the infinite nature of God in the world of extension (formaliter), follows without exception in the same order and connection from the idea of God in the world of thought (objective).

Note. — Before going any further, I wish to recall to mind what has been pointed out above — namely, that whatsoever can be perceived by the infinite intellect as constituting the essence of substance, belongs altogether only to one substance: consequently, substance thinking and substance extended are one and the same substance, comprehended now through one attribute, now through the other. So, also, a mode of extension and the idea of that mode are one and the same thing, though expressed in two ways. This truth seems to have been dimly recognized by those Jews who maintained that God, God's intellect, and the things understood by God are identical. For instance, a circle existing in nature, and the idea of a circle existing, which is also in God, are one and the same thing displayed through different attributes. Thus, whether we conceive nature under the attribute of extension, or under the attribute of thought, or under any other attribute, we shall find the same order, or one and the same chain of causes — that is, the same things following in either case.

I said that God is the cause of an idea — for instance, of the idea of a circle, — in so far as he is a thinking thing; and of a circle, in so far as he is an extended thing, simply because the actual being of the idea of a circle can only be perceived as a proximate cause through another mode of thinking, and that again through another, and so on to infinity; so that, so long as we consider things as modes of thinking, we must explain the order of the whole of nature, or the whole chain of causes, through the attribute of thought only. And, in so far as we consider things as modes of extension, we must explain the order of the whole of nature through the attributes of extension only; and so on, in the case of the other

attributes. Wherefore of things as they are in themselves God is really the cause, inasmuch as he consists of infinite attributes. I cannot for the present explain my meaning more clearly.

PROP. VIII. The ideas of particular things, or of modes, that do not exist, must be comprehended in the infinite idea of God, in the same way as the formal essences of particular things or modes are contained in the attributes of God.

Proof. — This proposition is evident from the last; it is understood more clearly from the preceding note.

Corollary. — Hence, so long as particular things do not exist, except in so far as they are comprehended in the attributes of God, their representations in thought or ideas do not exist, except in so far as the infinite idea of God exists; and when particular things are said to exist, not only in so far as they are involved in the attributes of God, but also in so far as they are said to continue, their ideas will also involve existence, through which they are said to continue.

Note. — If anyone desires an example to throw more light on this question, I shall, I fear, not be able to give him any, which adequately explains the thing of which I here speak, inasmuch as it is unique; however, I will endeavour to illustrate it as far as possible. The nature of a circle is such that if any number of straight lines intersect within it, the rectangles formed by their segments will be equal to one another; thus, infinite equal rectangles are contained in a circle. Yet none of these rectangles can be said to exist, except in so far as the circle exists; nor can the idea of any of these rectangles be said to exist, except in so far as they are comprehended in the idea of the circle. Let us grant that, from this infinite number of rectangles, two only exist. The ideas of these two not only exist, in so far as they are contained in the idea of the circle, but also as they involve the existence of those rectangles; wherefore they are distinguished from the remaining ideas of the remaining rectangles.

PROP. IX. The idea of an individual thing actually existing is caused by God, not in so far as he is infinite, but in so far as he is considered as affected by

another idea of a thing actually existing, of which he is the cause, in so far as he is affected by a third idea, and so on to infinity.

Proof. — The idea of an individual thing actually existing is an individual mode of thinking, and is distinct from other modes (by the Corollary and note to Prop. viii. of this part); thus (by Prop. vi. of this part) it is caused by God, in so far only as he is a thinking thing. But not (by Prop. xxviii. of Part i.) in so far as he is a thing thinking absolutely, only in so far as he is considered as affected by another mode of thinking; and he is the cause of this latter, as being affected by a third, and so on to infinity. Now, the order and connection of ideas is (by Prop. vii. of this book) the same as the order and connection of causes. Therefore of a given individual idea another individual idea, or God, in so far as he is considered as modified by that idea, is the cause; and of this second idea God is the cause, in so far as he is affected by another idea, and so on to infinity. Q.E.D.

Corollary. — Whatsoever takes place in the individual object of any idea, the knowledge thereof is in God, in so far only as he has the idea of the object.

Proof. — Whatsoever takes place in the object of any idea, its idea is in God (by Prop. iii. of this part), not in so far as he is infinite, but in so far as he is considered as affected by another idea of an individual thing (by the last Prop.); but (by Prop. vii. of this part) the order and connection of ideas is the same as the order and connection of things. The knowledge, therefore, of that which takes place in any individual object will be in God, in so far only as he has the idea of that object. Q.E.D.

PROP. X. The being of substance does not appertain to the essence of man — in other words, substance does not constitute the actual being² of man.

² — “Forma”

Proof. — The being of substance involves necessary existence (Part i., Prop. vii.). If, therefore, the being of substance appertains to the essence of man,

substance being granted, man would necessarily be granted also (II. Def. ii.), and, consequently, man would necessarily exist, which is absurd (II. Ax. i.). Therefore, &c. Q.E.D.

Note. — This proposition may also be proved from I.v., in which it is shown that there cannot be two substances of the same nature; for as there may be many men, the being of substance is not that which constitutes the actual being of man. Again, the proposition is evident from the other properties of substance — namely, that substance is in its nature infinite, immutable, indivisible, &c., as anyone may see for himself.

Corollary. — Hence it follows, that the essence of man is constituted by certain modifications of the attributes of God. For (by the last Prop.) the being of substance does not belong to the essence of man. That essence therefore (by i. 15) is something which is in God, and which without God can neither be nor be conceived, whether it be a modification (i. 25. Coroll.), or a mode which expresses God's nature in a certain conditioned manner.

Note. — Everyone must surely admit, that nothing can be or be conceived without God. All men agree that God is the one and only cause of all things, both of their essence and of their existence; that is, God is not only the cause of things in respect to their being made (*secundum fieri*), but also in respect to their being (*secundum esse*).

At the same time many assert, that that, without which a thing cannot be nor be conceived, belongs to the essence of that thing; wherefore they believe that either the nature of God appertains to the essence of created things, or else that created things can be or be conceived without God; or else, as is more probably the case, they hold inconsistent doctrines. I think the cause for such confusion is mainly, that they do not keep to the proper order of philosophic thinking. The nature of God, which should be reflected on first, inasmuch as it is prior both in the order of knowledge and the order of nature, they have taken to be last in the order of knowledge, and have put into the first place what they call the objects of sensation; hence, while they are considering natural phenomena, they give no

attention at all to the divine nature, and, when afterwards they apply their mind to the study of the divine nature, they are quite unable to bear in mind the first hypotheses, with which they have overlaid the knowledge of natural phenomena, inasmuch as such hypotheses are no help towards understanding the divine nature. So that it is hardly to be wondered at, that these persons contradict themselves freely.

However, I pass over this point. My intention here was only to give a reason for not saying, that that, without which a thing cannot be or be conceived, belongs to the essence of that thing: individual things cannot be or be conceived without God, yet God does not appertain to their essence. I said that “I considered as belonging to the essence of a thing that, which being given, the thing is necessarily given also, and which being removed, the thing is necessarily removed also; or that without which the thing, and which itself without the thing can neither be nor be conceived.” (II. Def. ii.)

PROP. XI. The first element, which constitutes the actual being of the human mind, is the idea of some particular thing actually existing.

Proof. — The essence of man (by the Coroll. of the last Prop.) is constituted by certain modes of the attributes of God, namely (by II. Ax. ii.), by the modes of thinking, of all which (by II. Ax. iii.) the idea is prior in nature, and, when the idea is given, the other modes (namely, those of which the idea is prior in nature) must be in the same individual (by the same Axiom). Therefore an idea is the first element constituting the human mind. But not the idea of a non — existent thing, for then (II. viii. Coroll.) the idea itself cannot be said to exist; it must therefore be the idea of something actually existing. But not of an infinite thing. For an infinite thing (I. xxi., xxii.), must always necessarily exist; this would (by II. Ax. i.) involve an absurdity. Therefore the first element, which constitutes the actual being of the human mind, is the idea of something actually existing. Q.E.D.

Corollary. — Hence it follows, that the human mind is part of the infinite intellect of God; thus when we say, that the human mind perceives this or that, we make the assertion, that God has this or that idea, not in so far as he is infinite, but

in so far as he is displayed through the nature of the human mind, or in so far as he constitutes the essence of the human mind; and when we say that God has this or that idea, not only in so far as he constitutes the essence of the human mind, but also in so far as he, simultaneously with the human mind, has the further idea of another thing, we assert that the human mind perceives a thing in part or inadequately.

Note. — Here, I doubt not, readers will come to a stand, and will call to mind many things which will cause them to hesitate; I therefore beg them to accompany me slowly, step by step, and not to pronounce on my statements, till they have read to the end.

PROP. XII. Whatsoever comes to pass in the object of the idea, which constitutes the human mind, must be perceived by the human mind, or there will necessarily be an idea in the human mind of the said occurrence. That is, if the object of the idea constituting the human mind be a body, nothing can take place in that body without being perceived by the mind.

Proof. — Whatsoever comes to pass in the object of any idea, the knowledge thereof is necessarily in God (II. ix. Coroll.), in so far as he is considered as affected by the idea of the said object, that is (II. xi.), in so far as he constitutes the mind of anything. Therefore, whatsoever takes place in the object constituting the idea of the human mind, the knowledge thereof is necessarily in God, in so far as he constitutes the essence of the human mind; that is (by II. xi. Coroll.) the knowledge of the said thing will necessarily be in the mind, in other words the mind perceives it.

Note. — This proposition is also evident, and is more clearly to be understood from II. vii., which see.

PROP. XIII. The object of the idea constituting the human mind is the body, in other words a certain mode of extension which actually exists, and nothing else.

Proof. — If indeed the body were not the object of the human mind, the ideas of the modifications of the body would not be in God (II. ix. Coroll.) in virtue of his constituting our mind, but in virtue of his constituting the mind of something

else; that is (II. xi. Coroll.) the ideas of the modifications of the body would not be in our mind: now (by II. Ax. iv.) we do possess the idea of the modifications of the body. Therefore the object of the idea constituting the human mind is the body, and the body as it actually exists (II. xi.). Further, if there were any other object of the idea constituting the mind besides body, then, as nothing can exist from which some effect does not follow (I. xxxvi.) there would necessarily have to be in our mind an idea, which would be the effect of that other object (II. xi.); but (I. Ax. v.) there is no such idea. Wherefore the object of our mind is the body as it exists, and nothing else. Q.E.D.

Note. — We thus comprehend, not only that the human mind is united to the body, but also the nature of the union between mind and body. However, no one will be able to grasp this adequately or distinctly, unless he first has adequate knowledge of the nature of our body. The propositions we have advanced hitherto have been entirely general, applying not more to men than to other individual things, all of which, though in different degrees, are animated.^{[3](#)} For of everything there is necessarily an idea in God, of which God is the cause, in the same way as there is an idea of the human body; thus whatever we have asserted of the idea of the human body must necessarily also be asserted of the idea of everything else. Still, on the other hand, we cannot deny that ideas, like objects, differ one from the other, one being more excellent than another and containing more reality, just as the object of one idea is more excellent than the object of another idea, and contains more reality.

^{[3](#)} “Animata”

Wherefore, in order to determine, wherein the human mind differs from other things, and wherein it surpasses them, it is necessary for us to know the nature of its object, that is, of the human body. What this nature is, I am not able here to explain, nor is it necessary for the proof of what I advance, that I should do so. I

will only say generally, that in proportion as any given body is more fitted than others for doing many actions or receiving many impressions at once, so also is the mind, of which it is the object, more fitted than others for forming many simultaneous perceptions; and the more the actions of the body depend on itself alone, and the fewer other bodies concur with it in action, the more fitted is the mind of which it is the object for distinct comprehension. We may thus recognize the superiority of one mind over others, and may further see the cause, why we have only a very confused knowledge of our body, and also many kindred questions, which I will, in the following propositions, deduce from what has been advanced. Wherefore I have thought it worth while to explain and prove more strictly my present statements. In order to do so, I must premise a few propositions concerning the nature of bodies.

AXIOM I. All bodies are either in motion or at rest.

AXIOM II. Every body is moved sometimes more slowly, sometimes more quickly.

LEMMA I. Bodies are distinguished from one another in respect of motion and rest, quickness and slowness, and not in respect of substance.

Proof. — The first part of this proposition is, I take it, self — evident. That bodies are not distinguished in respect of substance, is plain both from I. v. and I. viii. It is brought out still more clearly from I. xv, note.

LEMMA II. All bodies agree in certain respects.

Proof. — All bodies agree in the fact, that they involve the conception of one and the same attribute (II., Def. i.). Further, in the fact that they may be moved less or more quickly, and may be absolutely in motion or at rest.

LEMMA III. A body in motion or at rest must be determined to motion or rest by another body, which other body has been determined to motion or rest by a third body, and that third again by a fourth, and so on to infinity.

Proof. — Bodies are individual things (II., Def. i.), which (Lemma I.) are distinguished one from the other in respect to motion and rest; thus (I. xxviii.) each must necessarily be determined to motion or rest by another individual thing,

namely (II. vi.), by another body, which other body is also (Ax. i.) in motion or at rest. And this body again can only have been set in motion or caused to rest by being determined by a third body to motion or rest. This third body again by a fourth, and so on to infinity. Q.E.D.

Corollary. — Hence it follows, that a body in motion keeps in motion, until it is determined to a state of rest by some other body; and a body at rest remains so, until it is determined to a state of motion by some other body. This is indeed self — evident. For when I suppose, for instance, that a given body, A, is at rest, and do not take into consideration other bodies in motion, I cannot affirm anything concerning the body A, except that it is at rest. If it afterwards comes to pass that A is in motion, this cannot have resulted from its having been at rest, for no other consequence could have been involved than its remaining at rest. If, on the other hand, A be given in motion, we shall, so long as we only consider A, be unable to affirm anything concerning it, except that it is in motion. If A is subsequently found to be at rest, this rest cannot be the result of A's previous motion, for such motion can only have led to continued motion; the state of rest therefore must have resulted from something, which was not in A, namely, from an external cause determining A to a state of rest.

Axiom I. — All modes, wherein one body is affected by another body, follow simultaneously from the nature of the body affected and the body affecting; so that one and the same body may be moved in different modes, according to the difference in the nature of the bodies moving it; on the other hand, different bodies may be moved in different modes by one and the same body.

Axiom II. — When a body in motion impinges on another body at rest, which it is unable to move, it recoils, in order to continue its motion, and the angle made by the line of motion in the recoil and the plane of the body at rest, whereon the moving body has impinged, will be equal to the angle formed by the line of motion of incidence and the same plane.

So far we have been speaking only of the most simple bodies, which are only distinguished one from the other by motion and rest, quickness and slowness. We

now pass on to compound bodies.

Definition. — When any given bodies of the same or different magnitude are compelled by other bodies to remain in contact, or if they be moved at the same or different rates of speed, so that their mutual movements should preserve among themselves a certain fixed relation, we say that such bodies are in union, and that together they compose one body or individual, which is distinguished from other bodies by the fact of this union.

Axiom III. — In proportion as the parts of an individual, or a compound body, are in contact over a greater or less superficies, they will with greater or less difficulty admit of being moved from their position; consequently the individual will, with greater or less difficulty, be brought to assume another form. Those bodies, whose parts are in contact over large superficies, are called hard; those, whose parts are in contact over small superficies, are called soft; those, whose parts are in motion among one another, are called fluid.

LEMMA IV. If from a body or individual, compounded of several bodies, certain bodies be separated, and if, at the same time, an equal number of other bodies of the same nature take their place, the individual will preserve its nature as before, without any change in its actuality (forma).

Proof. — Bodies (Lemma i.) are not distinguished in respect of substance: that which constitutes the actuality (formam) of an individual consists (by the last Def.) in a union of bodies; but this union, although there is a continual change of bodies, will (by our hypothesis) be maintained; the individual, therefore, will retain its nature as before, both in respect of substance and in respect of mode. Q.E.D.

LEMMA V. If the parts composing an individual become greater or less, but in such proportion, that they all preserve the same mutual relations of motion and rest, the individual will still preserve its original nature, and its actuality will not be changed.

Proof. — The same as for the last Lemma.

LEMMA VI. If certain bodies composing an individual be compelled to change the motion, which they have in one direction, for motion in another direction, but in such a manner, that they be able to continue their motions and their mutual communication in the same relations as before, the individual will retain its own nature without any change of its actuality.

Proof. — This proposition is self — evident, for the individual is supposed to retain all that, which, in its definition, we spoke of as its actual being.

LEMMA VII. Furthermore, the individual thus composed preserves its nature, whether it be, as a whole, in motion or at rest, whether it be moved in this or that direction; so long as each part retains its motion, and preserves its communication with other parts as before.

Proof. — This proposition is evident from the definition of an individual prefixed to Lemma iv.

Note. — We thus see, how a composite individual may be affected in many different ways, and preserve its nature notwithstanding. Thus far we have conceived an individual as composed of bodies only distinguished one from the other in respect of motion and rest, speed and slowness; that is, of bodies of the most simple character. If, however, we now conceive another individual composed of several individuals of diverse natures, we shall find that the number of ways in which it can be affected, without losing its nature, will be greatly multiplied. Each of its parts would consist of several bodies, and therefore (by Lemma vi.) each part would admit, without change to its nature, of quicker or slower motion, and would consequently be able to transmit its motions more quickly or more slowly to the remaining parts. If we further conceive a third kind of individuals composed of individuals of this second kind, we shall find that they may be affected in a still greater number of ways without changing their actuality. We may easily proceed thus to infinity, and conceive the whole of nature as one individual, whose parts, that is, all bodies, vary in infinite ways, without any change in the individual as a whole. I should feel bound to explain and demonstrate this point at more length, if I were writing a special treatise on body.

But I have already said that such is not my object; I have only touched on the question, because it enables me to prove easily that which I have in view.

POSTULATES



I. THE HUMAN body is composed of a number of individual parts, of diverse nature, each one of which is in itself extremely complex.

II. Of the individual parts composing the human body some are fluid, some soft, some hard.

III. The individual parts composing the human body, and consequently the human body itself, are affected in a variety of ways by external bodies.

IV. The human body stands in need for its preservation of a number of other bodies, by which it is continually, so to speak, regenerated.

V. When the fluid part of the human body is determined by an external body to impinge often on another soft part, it changes the surface of the latter, and, as it were, leaves the impression thereupon of the external body which impels it.

VI. The human body can move external bodies, and arrange them in a variety of ways.

PROP. XIV. The human mind is capable of perceiving a great number of things, and is so in proportion as its body is capable of receiving a great number of impressions.

Proof. — The human body (by Post. iii. and vi.) is affected in very many ways by external bodies, and is capable in very many ways of affecting external bodies. But (II. xii.) the human mind must perceive all that takes place in the human body; the human mind is, therefore, capable of perceiving a great number of things, and is so in proportion, &c. Q.E.D.

PROP. XV. The idea, which constitutes the actual being of the human mind, is not simple, but compounded of a great number of ideas.

Proof. — The idea constituting the actual being of the human mind is the idea of the body (II. xiii.), which (Post. i.) is composed of a great number of complex

individual parts. But there is necessarily in God the idea of each individual part whereof the body is composed (II. viii. Coroll.); therefore (II. vii.), the idea of the human body is composed of these numerous ideas of its component parts. Q.E.D.

PROP. XVI. The idea of every mode, in which the human body is affected by external bodies, must involve the nature of the human body, and also the nature of the external body.

Proof. — All the modes, in which any given body is affected, follow from the nature of the body affected, and also from the nature of the affecting body (by Ax. i., after the Coroll. of Lemma iii.), wherefore their idea also necessarily (by I. Ax. iv.) involves the nature of both bodies; therefore, the idea of every mode, in which the human body is affected by external bodies, involves the nature of the human body and of the external body. Q.E.D.

Corollary I. — Hence it follows, first, that the human mind perceives the nature of a variety of bodies, together with the nature of its own.

Corollary II. — It follows, secondly, that the ideas, which we have of external bodies, indicate rather the constitution of our own body than the nature of external bodies. I have amply illustrated this in the Appendix to Part I.

PROP. XVII. If the human body is affected in a manner which involves the nature of any external body, the human mind will regard the said external body as actually existing, or as present to itself, until the human body be affected in such a way, as to exclude the existence or the presence of the said external body.

Proof. — This proposition is self — evident, for so long as the human body continues to be thus affected, so long will the human mind (II. xii.) regard this modification of the body — that is (by the last Prop.), it will have the idea of the mode as actually existing, and this idea involves the nature of the external body. In other words, it will have the idea which does not exclude, but postulates the existence or presence of the nature of the external body; therefore the mind (by II. xvi., Coroll. i.) will regard the external body as actually existing, until it is affected, &c. Q.E.D.

Corollary. — The mind is able to regard as present external bodies, by which the human body has once been affected, even though they be no longer in existence or present.

Proof. — When external bodies determine the fluid parts of the human body, so that they often impinge on the softer parts, they change the surface of the last named (Post. v.); hence (Ax. ii., after the Coroll. of Lemma iii.) they are refracted therefrom in a different manner from that which they followed before such change; and, further, when afterwards they impinge on the new surfaces by their own spontaneous movement, they will be refracted in the same manner, as though they had been impelled towards those surfaces by external bodies; consequently, they will, while they continue to be thus refracted, affect the human body in the same manner, whereof the mind (II. xii.) will again take cognizance — that is (II. xvii.), the mind will again regard the external body as present, and will do so, as often as the fluid parts of the human body impinge on the aforesaid surfaces by their own spontaneous motion. Wherefore, although the external bodies, by which the human body has once been affected, be no longer in existence, the mind will nevertheless regard them as present, as often as this action of the body is repeated. Q.E.D.

Note. — We thus see how it comes about, as is often the case, that we regard as present many things which are not. It is possible that the same result may be brought about by other causes; but I think it suffices for me here to have indicated one possible explanation, just as well as if I had pointed out the true cause. Indeed, I do not think I am very far from the truth, for all my assumptions are based on postulates, which rest, almost without exception, on experience, that cannot be controverted by those who have shown, as we have, that the human body, as we feel it, exists (Coroll. after II. xiii.). Furthermore (II. vii. Coroll., II. xvi. Coroll. ii.), we clearly understand what is the difference between the idea, say, of Peter, which constitutes the essence of Peter's mind, and the idea of the said Peter, which is in another man, say, Paul. The former directly answers to the essence of Peter's own body, and only implies existence so long as Peter exists;

the latter indicates rather the disposition of Paul's body than the nature of Peter, and, therefore, while this disposition of Paul's body lasts, Paul's mind will regard Peter as present to itself, even though he no longer exists. Further, to retain the usual phraseology, the modifications of the human body, of which the ideas represent external bodies as present to us, we will call the images of things, though they do not recall the figure of things. When the mind regards bodies in this fashion, we say that it imagines. I will here draw attention to the fact, in order to indicate where error lies, that the imaginations of the mind, looked at in themselves, do not contain error. The mind does not err in the mere act of imagining, but only in so far as it is regarded as being without the idea, which excludes the existence of such things as it imagines to be present to it. If the mind, while imagining non — existent things as present to it, is at the same time conscious that they do not really exist, this power of imagination must be set down to the efficacy of its nature, and not to a fault, especially if this faculty of imagination depend solely on its own nature — that is (I. Def. vii.), if this faculty of imagination be free.

PROP. XVIII. If the human body has once been affected by two or more bodies at the same time, when the mind afterwards imagines any of them, it will straightway remember the others also.

Proof. — The mind (II. xvii. Coroll.) imagines any given body, because the human body is affected and disposed by the impressions from an external body, in the same manner as it is affected when certain of its parts are acted on by the said external body; but (by our hypothesis) the body was then so disposed, that the mind imagined two bodies at once; therefore, it will also in the second case imagine two bodies at once, and the mind, when it imagines one, will straightway remember the other. Q.E.D.

Note. — We now clearly see what Memory is. It is simply a certain association of ideas involving the nature of things outside the human body, which association arises in the mind according to the order and association of the modifications (affectiones) of the human body. I say, first, it is an association of those ideas

only, which involve the nature of things outside the human body: not of ideas which answer to the nature of the said things: ideas of the modifications of the human body are, strictly speaking (II. xvi.), those which involve the nature both of the human body and of external bodies. I say, secondly, that this association arises according to the order and association of the modifications of the human body, in order to distinguish it from that association of ideas, which arises from the order of the intellect, whereby the mind perceives things through their primary causes, and which is in all men the same. And hence we can further clearly understand, why the mind from the thought of one thing, should straightway arrive at the thought of another thing, which has no similarity with the first; for instance, from the thought of the word *pomum* (an apple), a Roman would straightway arrive at the thought of the fruit apple, which has no similitude with the articulate sound in question, nor anything in common with it, except that the body of the man has often been affected by these two things; that is, that the man has often heard the word *pomum*, while he was looking at the fruit; similarly every man will go on from one thought to another, according as his habit has ordered the images of things in his body. For a soldier, for instance, when he sees the tracks of a horse in sand, will at once pass from the thought of a horse to the thought of a horseman, and thence to the thought of war, &c.; while a countryman will proceed from the thought of a horse to the thought of a plough, a field, &c. Thus every man will follow this or that train of thought, according as he has been in the habit of conjoining and associating the mental images of things in this or that manner.

PROP. XIX. The human mind has no knowledge of the body, and does not know it to exist, save through the ideas of the modifications whereby the body is affected.

Proof. — The human mind is the very idea or knowledge of the human body (II. xiii.), which (II. ix.) is in God, in so far as he is regarded as affected by another idea of a particular thing actually existing: or, inasmuch as (Post. iv.) the human body stands in need of very many bodies whereby it is, as it were,

continually regenerated; and the order and connection of ideas is the same as the order and connection of causes (II. vii.); this idea will therefore be in God, in so far as he is regarded as affected by the ideas of very many particular things. Thus God has the idea of the human body, or knows the human body, in so far as he is affected by very many other ideas, and not in so far as he constitutes the nature of the human mind; that is (by II. xi. Coroll.), the human mind does not know the human body. But the ideas of the modifications of body are in God, in so far as he constitutes the nature of the human mind, or the human mind perceives those modifications (II. xii.), and consequently (II. xvi.) the human body itself, and as actually existing; therefore the mind perceives thus far only the human body. Q.E.D.

PROP. XX. The idea or knowledge of the human mind is also in God, following in God in the same manner, and being referred to God in the same manner, as the idea or knowledge of the human body.

Proof. — Thought is an attribute of God (II. i.); therefore (II. iii.) there must necessarily be in God the idea both of thought itself and of all its modifications, consequently also of the human mind (II. xi.). Further, this idea or knowledge of the mind does not follow from God, in so far as he is infinite, but in so far as he is affected by another idea of an individual thing (II. ix.). But (II. vii.) the order and connection of ideas is the same as the order and connection of causes; therefore this idea or knowledge of the mind is in God and is referred to God, in the same manner as the idea or knowledge of the body. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXI. This idea of the mind is united to the mind in the same way as the mind is united to the body.

Proof. — That the mind is united to the body we have shown from the fact, that the body is the object of the mind (II. xii. and xiii.); and so for the same reason the idea of the mind must be united with its object, that is, with the mind in the same manner as the mind is united to the body. Q.E.D.

Note. — This proposition is comprehended much more clearly from what we have said in the note to II. vii. We there showed that the idea of body and body,

that is, mind and body (II. xiii.), are one and the same individual conceived now under the attribute of thought, now under the attribute of extension; wherefore the idea of the mind and the mind itself are one and the same thing, which is conceived under one and the same attribute, namely, thought. The idea of the mind, I repeat, and the mind itself are in God by the same necessity and follow from him from the same power of thinking. Strictly speaking, the idea of the mind, that is, the idea of an idea, is nothing but the distinctive quality (forma) of the idea in so far as it is conceived as a mode of thought without reference to the object; if a man knows anything, he, by that very fact, knows that he knows it, and at the same time knows that he knows that he knows it, and so on to infinity. But I will treat of this hereafter.

PROP. XXII. The human mind perceives not only the modifications of the body, but also the ideas of such modifications.

Proof. — The ideas of the ideas of modifications follow in God in the same manner, and are referred to God in the same manner, as the ideas of the said modifications. This is proved in the same way as II. xx. But the ideas of the modifications of the body are in the human mind (II. xii.), that is, in God, in so far as he constitutes the essence of the human mind; therefore the ideas of these ideas will be in God, in so far as he has the knowledge or idea of the human mind, that is (II. xxi.), they will be in the human mind itself, which therefore perceives not only the modifications of the body, but also the ideas of such modifications. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXIII. The mind does not know itself, except in so far as it perceives the ideas of the modifications of the body.

Proof. — The idea or knowledge of the mind (II. xx.) follows in God in the same manner, and is referred to God in the same manner, as the idea or knowledge of the body. But since (II. xix.) the human mind does not know the human body itself, that is (II. xi. Coroll.), since the knowledge of the human body is not referred to God, in so far as he constitutes the nature of the human mind; therefore, neither is the knowledge of the mind referred to God, in so far as he

constitutes the essence of the human mind; therefore (by the same Coroll. II. xi.), the human mind thus far has no knowledge of itself. Further the ideas of the modifications, whereby the body is affected, involve the nature of the human body itself (II. xvi.), that is (II. xiii.), they agree with the nature of the mind; wherefore the knowledge of these ideas necessarily involves knowledge of the mind; but (by the last Prop.) the knowledge of these ideas is in the human mind itself; wherefore the human mind thus far only has knowledge of itself. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXIV. The human mind does not involve an adequate knowledge of the parts composing the human body.

Proof. — The parts composing the human body do not belong to the essence of that body, except in so far as they communicate their motions to one another in a certain fixed relation (Def. after Lemma iii.), not in so far as they can be regarded as individuals without relation to the human body. The parts of the human body are highly complex individuals (Post. i.), whose parts (Lemma iv.) can be separated from the human body without in any way destroying the nature and distinctive quality of the latter, and they can communicate their motions (Ax. i., after Lemma iii.) to other bodies in another relation; therefore (II. iii.) the idea or knowledge of each part will be in God, inasmuch (II. ix.) as he is regarded as affected by another idea of a particular thing, which particular thing is prior in the order of nature to the aforesaid part (II. vii.). We may affirm the same thing of each part of each individual composing the human body; therefore, the knowledge of each part composing the human body is in God, in so far as he is affected by very many ideas of things, and not in so far as he has the idea of the human body only, in other words, the idea which constitutes the nature of the human mind (II. xiii); therefore (II. xi. Coroll.), the human mind does not involve an adequate knowledge of the human body. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXV. The idea of each modification of the human body does not involve an adequate knowledge of the external body.

Proof. — We have shown that the idea of a modification of the human body involves the nature of an external body, in so far as that external body conditions

the human body in a given manner. But, in so far as the external body is an individual, which has no reference to the human body, the knowledge or idea thereof is in God (II. ix.), in so far as God is regarded as affected by the idea of a further thing, which (II. vii.) is naturally prior to the said external body. Wherefore an adequate knowledge of the external body is not in God, in so far as he has the idea of the modification of the human body; in other words, the idea of the modification of the human body does not involve an adequate knowledge of the external body. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXVI. The human mind does not perceive any external body as actually existing, except through the ideas of the modifications of its own body.

Proof. — If the human body is in no way affected by a given external body, then (II. vii.) neither is the idea of the human body, in other words, the human mind, affected in any way by the idea of the existence of the said external body, nor does it in any manner perceive its existence. But, in so far as the human body is affected in any way by a given external body, thus far (II. xvi. and Coroll.) it perceives that external body. Q.E.D.

Corollary. — In so far as the human mind imagines an external body, it has not an adequate knowledge thereof.

Proof. — When the human mind regards external bodies through the ideas of the modifications of its own body, we say that it imagines (see II. xvii. note); now the mind can only imagine external bodies as actually existing. Therefore (by II. xxv.), in so far as the mind imagines external bodies, it has not an adequate knowledge of them. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXVII. The idea of each modification of the human body does not involve an adequate knowledge of the human body itself.

Proof. — Every idea of a modification of the human body involves the nature of the human body, in so far as the human body is regarded as affected in a given manner (II. xvi.). But, inasmuch as the human body is an individual which may be affected in many other ways, the idea of the said modification, &c. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXVIII. The ideas of the modifications of the human body, in so far as they have reference only to the human mind, are not clear and distinct, but confused.

Proof. — The ideas of the modifications of the human body involve the nature both of the human body and of external bodies (II. xvi.); they must involve the nature not only of the human body but also of its parts; for the modifications are modes (Post. iii.), whereby the parts of the human body, and, consequently, the human body as a whole are affected. But (by II. xxiv., xxv.) the adequate knowledge of external bodies, as also of the parts composing the human body, is not in God, in so far as he is regarded as affected by the human mind, but in so far as he is regarded as affected by other ideas. These ideas of modifications, in so far as they are referred to the human mind alone, are as consequences without premisses, in other words, confused ideas. Q.E.D.

Note. — The idea which constitutes the nature of the human mind is, in the same manner, proved not to be, when considered in itself alone, clear and distinct; as also is the case with the idea of the human mind, and the ideas of the ideas of the modifications of the human body, in so far as they are referred to the mind only, as everyone may easily see.

PROP. XXIX. The idea of the idea of each modification of the human body does not involve an adequate knowledge of the human mind.

Proof. — The idea of a modification of the human body (II. xxvii.) does not involve an adequate knowledge of the said body, in other words, does not adequately express its nature; that is (II. xiii.) it does not agree with the nature of the mind adequately; therefore (I. Ax. vi) the idea of this idea does not adequately express the nature of the human mind, or does not involve an adequate knowledge thereof.

Corollary. — Hence it follows that the human mind, when it perceives things after the common order of nature, has not an adequate but only a confused and fragmentary knowledge of itself, of its own body, and of external bodies. For the mind does not know itself, except in so far as it perceives the ideas of the

modifications of body (II. xxiii.). It only perceives its own body (II. xix.) through the ideas of the modifications, and only perceives external bodies through the same means; thus, in so far as it has such ideas of modification, it has not an adequate knowledge of itself (II. xxix.), nor of its own body (II. xxvii.), nor of external bodies (II. xxv.), but only a fragmentary and confused knowledge thereof (II. xxviii. and note). Q.E.D.

Note. — I say expressly, that the mind has not an adequate but only a confused knowledge of itself, its own body, and of external bodies, whenever it perceives things after the common order of nature; that is, whenever it is determined from without, namely, by the fortuitous play of circumstance, to regard this or that; not at such times as it is determined from within, that is, by the fact of regarding several things at once, to understand their points of agreement, difference, and contrast. Whenever it is determined in anywise from within, it regards things clearly and distinctly, as I will show below.

PROP. XXX. We can only have a very inadequate knowledge of the duration of our body.

Proof. — The duration of our body does not depend on its essence (II. Ax. i.), nor on the absolute nature of God (I. xxi.). But (I. xxviii.) it is conditioned to exist and operate by causes, which in their turn are conditioned to exist and operate in a fixed and definite relation by other causes, these last again being conditioned by others, and so on to infinity. The duration of our body therefore depends on the common order of nature, or the constitution of things. Now, however a thing may be constituted, the adequate knowledge of that thing is in God, in so far as he has the ideas of all things, and not in so far as he has the idea of the human body only. (II. ix. Coroll.) Wherefore the knowledge of the duration of our body is in God very inadequate, in so far as he is only regarded as constituting the nature of the human mind; that is (II. xi. Coroll.), this knowledge is very inadequate to our mind. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXXI. We can only have a very inadequate knowledge of the duration of particular things external to ourselves.

Proof. — Every particular thing, like the human body, must be conditioned by another particular thing to exist and operate in a fixed and definite relation; this other particular thing must likewise be conditioned by a third, and so on to infinity. (I. xxviii.) As we have shown in the foregoing proposition, from this common property of particular things, we have only a very inadequate knowledge of the duration of our body; we must draw a similar conclusion with regard to the duration of particular things, namely, that we can only have a very inadequate knowledge of the duration thereof. Q.E.D.

Corollary. — Hence it follows that all particular things are contingent and perishable. For we can have no adequate idea of their duration (by the last Prop.), and this is what we must understand by the contingency and perishableness of things. (I. xxxiii., Note i.) For (I. xxix.), except in this sense, nothing is contingent.

PROP. XXXII. All ideas, in so far as they are referred to God, are true.

Proof. — All ideas which are in God agree in every respect with their objects (II. vii. Coroll.), therefore (I. Ax. vi.) they are all true. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXXIII. There is nothing positive in ideas, which causes them to be called false.

Proof. — If this be denied, conceive, if possible, a positive mode of thinking, which should constitute the distinctive quality of falsehood. Such a mode of thinking cannot be in God (II. xxxii.); external to God it cannot be or be conceived (I. xv.). Therefore there is nothing positive in ideas which causes them to be called false. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXXIV. Every idea, which in us is absolute or adequate and perfect, is true.

Proof. — When we say that an idea in us is adequate and perfect, we say, in other words (II. xi. Coroll.), that the idea is adequate and perfect in God, in so far as he constitutes the essence of our mind; consequently (II. xxxii.), we say that such an idea is true. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXXV. Falsity consists in the privation of knowledge, which inadequate, fragmentary, or confused ideas involve.

Proof. — There is nothing positive in ideas, which causes them to be called false (II. xxxiii.); but falsity cannot consist in simple privation (for minds, not bodies, are said to err and to be mistaken), neither can it consist in absolute ignorance, for ignorance and error are not identical; wherefore it consists in the privation of knowledge, which inadequate, fragmentary, or confused ideas involve. Q.E.D.

Note. — In the note to II. xvii. I explained how error consists in the privation of knowledge, but in order to throw more light on the subject I will give an example. For instance, men are mistaken in thinking themselves free; their opinion is made up of consciousness of their own actions, and ignorance of the causes by which they are conditioned. Their idea of freedom, therefore, is simply their ignorance of any cause for their actions. As for their saying that human actions depend on the will, this is a mere phrase without any idea to correspond thereto. What the will is, and how it moves the body, they none of them know; those who boast of such knowledge, and feign dwellings and habitations for the soul, are wont to provoke either laughter or disgust. So, again, when we look at the sun, we imagine that it is distant from us about two hundred feet; this error does not lie solely in this fancy, but in the fact that, while we thus imagine, we do not know the sun's true distance or the cause of the fancy. For although we afterwards learn, that the sun is distant from us more than six hundred of the earth's diameters, we none the less shall fancy it to be near; for we do not imagine the sun as near us, because we are ignorant of its true distance, but because the modification of our body involves the essence of the sun, in so far as our said body is affected thereby.

PROP. XXXVI. Inadequate and confused ideas follow by the same necessity, as adequate or clear and distinct ideas.

Proof. — All ideas are in God (I. xv.), and in so far as they are referred to God are true (II. xxxii.) and (II. vii. Coroll.) adequate; therefore there are no ideas

confused or inadequate, except in respect to a particular mind (cf. II. xxiv. and xxviii.); therefore all ideas, whether adequate or inadequate, follow by the same necessity (II. vi.). Q.E.D.

PROP. XXXVII. That which is common to all (cf. Lemma II., above), and which is equally in a part and in the whole, does not constitute the essence of any particular thing.

Proof. — If this be denied, conceive, if possible, that it constitutes the essence of some particular thing; for instance, the essence of B. Then (II. Def. ii.) it cannot without B either exist or be conceived; but this is against our hypothesis. Therefore it does not appertain to B's essence, nor does it constitute the essence of any particular thing. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXXVIII. Those things, which are common to all, and which are equally in a part and in the whole, cannot be conceived except adequately.

Proof. — Let A be something, which is common to all bodies, and which is equally present in the part of any given body and in the whole. I say A cannot be conceived except adequately. For the idea thereof in God will necessarily be adequate (II. vii. Coroll.), both in so far as God has the idea of the human body, and also in so far as he has the idea of the modifications of the human body, which (II. xvi., xxv., xxvii.) involve in part the nature of the human body and the nature of external bodies; that is (II. xii., xiii.), the idea in God will necessarily be adequate, both in so far as he constitutes the human mind, and in so far as he has the ideas, which are in the human mind. Therefore the mind (II. xi. Coroll.) necessarily perceives A adequately, and has this adequate perception, both in so far as it perceives itself, and in so far as it perceives its own or any external body, nor can A be conceived in any other manner. Q.E.D.

Corollary — Hence it follows that there are certain ideas or notions common to all men; for (by Lemma ii.) all bodies agree in certain respects, which (by the foregoing Prop.) must be adequately or clearly and distinctly perceived by all.

PROP. XXXIX. That, which is common to and a property of the human body and such other bodies as are wont to affect the human body, and which is present

equally in each part of either, or in the whole, will be represented by an adequate idea in the mind.

Proof. — If A be that, which is common to and a property of the human body and external bodies, and equally present in the human body and in the said external bodies, in each part of each external body and in the whole, there will be an adequate idea of A in God (II. vii. Coroll.), both in so far as he has the idea of the human body, and in so far as he has the ideas of the given external bodies. Let it now be granted, that the human body is affected by an external body through that, which it has in common therewith, namely, A; the idea of this modification will involve the property A (II. xvi.), and therefore (II. vii. Coroll.) the idea of this modification, in so far as it involves the property A, will be adequate in God, in so far as God is affected by the idea of the human body; that is (II. xiii.), in so far as he constitutes the nature of the human mind; therefore (II. xi. Coroll.) this idea is also adequate in the human mind. Q.E.D.

Corollary. — Hence it follows that the mind is fitted to perceive adequately more things, in proportion as its body has more in common with other bodies.

PROP. XL. Whatsoever ideas in the mind follow from ideas which are therein adequate, are also themselves adequate.

Proof. — This proposition is self — evident. For when we say that an idea in the human mind follows from ideas which are therein adequate, we say, in other words (II. xi. Coroll.), that an idea is in the divine intellect, whereof God is the cause, not in so far as he is infinite, nor in so far as he is affected by the ideas of very many particular things, but only in so far as he constitutes the essence of the human mind.

Note I. — I have thus set forth the cause of those notions, which are common to all men, and which form the basis of our ratiocination. But there are other causes of certain axioms or notions, which it would be to the purpose to set forth by this method of ours; for it would thus appear what notions are more useful than others, and what notions have scarcely any use at all. Furthermore, we should see what notions are common to all men, and what notions are only clear and distinct

to those who are unshackled by prejudice, and we should detect those which are ill — founded. Again we should discern whence the notions called secondary derived their origin, and consequently the axioms on which they are founded, and other points of interest connected with these questions. But I have decided to pass over the subject here, partly because I have set it aside for another treatise, partly because I am afraid of wearying the reader by too great prolixity. Nevertheless, in order not to omit anything necessary to be known, I will briefly set down the causes, whence are derived the terms styled transcendental, such as Being, Thing, Something. These terms arose from the fact, that the human body, being limited, is only capable of distinctly forming a certain number of images (what an image is I explained in the II. xvii. note) within itself at the same time; if this number be exceeded, the images will begin to be confused; if this number of images, of which the body is capable of forming distinctly within itself, be largely exceeded, all will become entirely confused one with another. This being so, it is evident (from II. Prop. xvii. Coroll., and xviii.) that the human mind can distinctly imagine as many things simultaneously, as its body can form images simultaneously. When the images become quite confused in the body, the mind also imagines all bodies confusedly without any distinction, and will comprehend them, as it were, under one attribute, namely, under the attribute of Being, Thing, &c. The same conclusion can be drawn from the fact that images are not always equally vivid, and from other analogous causes, which there is no need to explain here; for the purpose which we have in view it is sufficient for us to consider one only. All may be reduced to this, that these terms represent ideas in the highest degree confused. From similar causes arise those notions, which we call general, such as man, horse, dog, &c. They arise, to wit, from the fact that so many images, for instance, of men, are formed simultaneously in the human mind, that the powers of imagination break down, not indeed utterly, but to the extent of the mind losing count of small differences between individuals (e.g. colour, size, &c.) and their definite number, and only distinctly imagining that, in which all the individuals, in so far as the body is affected by them, agree; for that is the point,

in which each of the said individuals chiefly affected the body; this the mind expresses by the name man, and this it predicates of an infinite number of particular individuals. For, as we have said, it is unable to imagine the definite number of individuals. We must, however, bear in mind, that these general notions are not formed by all men in the same way, but vary in each individual according as the point varies, whereby the body has been most often affected and which the mind most easily imagines or remembers. For instance, those who have most often regarded with admiration the stature of man, will by the name of man understand an animal of erect stature; those who have been accustomed to regard some other attribute, will form a different general image of man, for instance, that man is a laughing animal, a two — footed animal without feathers, a rational animal, and thus, in other cases, everyone will form general images of things according to the habit of his body.

It is thus not to be wondered at, that among philosophers, who seek to explain things in nature merely by the images formed of them, so many controversies should have arisen.

Note II. — From all that has been said above it is clear, that we, in many cases, perceive and form our general notions: — (1.) From particular things represented to our intellect fragmentarily, confusedly, and without order through our senses (II. xxix. Coroll.); I have settled to call such perceptions by the name of knowledge from the mere suggestions of experience.^{[4](#)}

^{[4](#)} A Baconian phrase. Nov. Org. Aph. 100. [Pollock, p. 126, n.]

(2.) From symbols, e.g., from the fact of having read or heard certain words we remember things and form certain ideas concerning them, similar to those through which we imagine things (II. xviii. note). I shall call both these ways of regarding things knowledge of the first kind, opinion, or imagination. (3.) From the fact that we have notions common to all men, and adequate ideas of the properties of

things (II. xxxviii. Coroll., xxxix. and Coroll. and xl.); this I call reason and knowledge of the second kind. Besides these two kinds of knowledge, there is, as I will hereafter show, a third kind of knowledge, which we will call intuition. This kind of knowledge proceeds from an adequate idea of the absolute essence of certain attributes of God to the adequate knowledge of the essence of things. I will illustrate all three kinds of knowledge by a single example. Three numbers are given for finding a fourth, which shall be to the third as the second is to the first. Tradesmen without hesitation multiply the second by the third, and divide the product by the first; either because they have not forgotten the rule which they received from a master without any proof, or because they have often made trial of it with simple numbers, or by virtue of the proof of the nineteenth proposition of the seventh book of Euclid, namely, in virtue of the general property of proportionals.

But with very simple numbers there is no need of this. For instance, one, two, three, being given, everyone can see that the fourth proportional is six; and this is much clearer, because we infer the fourth number from an intuitive grasping of the ratio, which the first bears to the second.

PROP. XLI. Knowledge of the first kind is the only source of falsity, knowledge of the second and third kinds is necessarily true.

Proof. — To knowledge of the first kind we have (in the foregoing note) assigned all those ideas, which are inadequate and confused; therefore this kind of knowledge is the only source of falsity (II. xxxv.). Furthermore, we assigned to the second and third kinds of knowledge those ideas which are adequate; therefore these kinds are necessarily true (II. xxxiv.). Q.E.D.

PROP. XLII. Knowledge of the second and third kinds, not knowledge of the first kind, teaches us to distinguish the true from the false.

Proof. — This proposition is self — evident. He, who knows how to distinguish between true and false, must have an adequate idea of true and false. That is (II. xl., note ii.), he must know the true and the false by the second or third kind of knowledge.

PROP. XLIII. He, who has a true idea, simultaneously knows that he has a true idea, and cannot doubt of the truth of the thing perceived.

Proof. — A true idea in us is an idea which is adequate in God, in so far as he is displayed through the nature of the human mind (II. xi. Coroll.). Let us suppose that there is in God, in so far as he is displayed through the human mind, an adequate idea, A. The idea of this idea must also necessarily be in God, and be referred to him in the same way as the idea A (by II. xx., whereof the proof is of universal application). But the idea A is supposed to be referred to God, in so far as he is displayed through the human mind; therefore, the idea of the idea A must be referred to God in the same manner; that is (by II. xi. Coroll.), the adequate idea of the idea A will be in the mind, which has the adequate idea A; therefore he, who has an adequate idea or knows a thing truly (II. xxxiv.), must at the same time have an adequate idea or true knowledge of his knowledge; that is, obviously, he must be assured. Q.E.D.

Note. — I explained in the note to II. xxi. what is meant by the idea of an idea; but we may remark that the foregoing proposition is in itself sufficiently plain. No one, who has a true idea, is ignorant that a true idea involves the highest certainty. For to have a true idea is only another expression for knowing a thing perfectly, or as well as possible. No one, indeed, can doubt of this, unless he thinks that an idea is something lifeless, like a picture on a panel, and not a mode of thinking — namely, the very act of understanding. And who, I ask, can know that he understands anything, unless he do first understand it? In other words, who can know that he is sure of a thing, unless he be first sure of that thing? Further, what can there be more clear, and more certain, than a true idea as a standard of truth? Even as light displays both itself and darkness, so is truth a standard both of itself and of falsity.

I think I have thus sufficiently answered these questions — namely, if a true idea is distinguished from a false idea, only in so far as it is said to agree with its object, a true idea has no more reality or perfection than a false idea (since the two are only distinguished by an extrinsic mark); consequently, neither will a man

who has a true idea have any advantage over him who has only false ideas. Further, how comes it that men have false ideas? Lastly, how can anyone be sure, that he has ideas which agree with their objects? These questions, I repeat, I have, in my opinion, sufficiently answered. The difference between a true idea and a false idea is plain: from what was said in II. xxxv., the former is related to the latter as being is to not — being. The causes of falsity I have set forth very clearly in II. xix. and II. xxxv. with the note. From what is there stated, the difference between a man who has true ideas, and a man who has only false ideas, is made apparent. As for the last question — as to how a man can be sure that he has ideas that agree with their objects, I have just pointed out, with abundant clearness, that his knowledge arises from the simple fact, that he has an idea which corresponds with its object — in other words, that truth is its own standard. We may add that our mind, in so far as it perceives things truly, is part of the infinite intellect of God (II. xi. Coroll.); therefore, the clear and distinct ideas of the mind are as necessarily true as the ideas of God.

PROP. XLIV. It is not in the nature of reason to regard things as contingent, but as necessary.

Proof. — It is in the nature of reason to perceive things truly (II. xli.), namely (I. Ax. vi.), as they are in themselves — that is (I. xxix.), not as contingent, but as necessary. Q.E.D.

Corollary I. — Hence it follows, that it is only through our imagination that we consider things, whether in respect to the future or the past, as contingent.

Note. — How this way of looking at things arises, I will briefly explain. We have shown above (II. xvii. and Coroll.) that the mind always regards things as present to itself, even though they be not in existence, until some causes arise which exclude their existence and presence. Further (II. xviii.), we showed that, if the human body has once been affected by two external bodies simultaneously, the mind, when it afterwards imagines one of the said external bodies, will straightway remember the other — that is, it will regard both as present to itself, unless there arise causes which exclude their existence and presence. Further, no

one doubts that we imagine time, from the fact that we imagine bodies to be moved some more slowly than others, some more quickly, some at equal speed. Thus, let us suppose that a child yesterday saw Peter for the first time in the morning, Paul at noon, and Simon in the evening; then, that today he again sees Peter in the morning. It is evident, from II. Prop. xviii., that, as soon as he sees the morning light, he will imagine that the sun will traverse the same parts of the sky, as it did when he saw it on the preceding day; in other words, he will imagine a complete day, and, together with his imagination of the morning, he will imagine Peter; with noon, he will imagine Paul; and with evening, he will imagine Simon — that is, he will imagine the existence of Paul and Simon in relation to a future time; on the other hand, if he sees Simon in the evening, he will refer Peter and Paul to a past time, by imagining them simultaneously with the imagination of a past time. If it should at any time happen, that on some other evening the child should see James instead of Simon, he will, on the following morning, associate with his imagination of evening sometimes Simon, sometimes James, not both together: for the child is supposed to have seen, at evening, one or other of them, not both together. His imagination will therefore waver; and, with the imagination of future evenings, he will associate first one, then the other — that is, he will imagine them in the future, neither of them as certain, but both as contingent. This wavering of the imagination will be the same, if the imagination be concerned with things which we thus contemplate, standing in relation to time past or time present: consequently, we may imagine things as contingent, whether they be referred to time present, past, or future.

Corollary II. — It is in the nature of reason to perceive things under a certain form of eternity (*sub quâdam æternitatis specie*).

Proof. — It is in the nature of reason to regard things, not as contingent, but as necessary (II. xliv.). Reason perceives this necessity of things (II. xli.) truly — that is (I. Ax. vi.), as it is in itself. But (I. xvi.) this necessity of things is the very necessity of the eternal nature of God; therefore, it is in the nature of reason to regard things under this form of eternity. We may add that the bases of reason are

the notions (II. xxxviii.), which answer to things common to all, and which (II. xxxvii.) do not answer to the essence of any particular thing: which must therefore be conceived without any relation to time, under a certain form of eternity.

PROP. XLV. Every idea of every body, or of every particular thing actually existing, necessarily involves the eternal and infinite essence of God.

Proof. — The idea of a particular thing actually existing necessarily involves both the existence and the essence of the said thing (II. viii.). Now particular things cannot be conceived without God (I. xv.); but, inasmuch as (II. vi.) they have God for their cause, in so far as he is regarded under the attribute of which the things in question are modes, their ideas must necessarily involve (I. Ax. iv.) the conception of the attributes of those ideas — that is (I. vi.), the eternal and infinite essence of God. Q.E.D.

Note. — By existence I do not here mean duration — that is, existence in so far as it is conceived abstractedly, and as a certain form of quantity. I am speaking of the very nature of existence, which is assigned to particular things, because they follow in infinite numbers and in infinite ways from the eternal necessity of God's nature (I. xvi.). I am speaking, I repeat, of the very existence of particular things, in so far as they are in God. For although each particular thing be conditioned by another particular thing to exist in a given way, yet the force whereby each particular thing perseveres in existing follows from the eternal necessity of God's nature (cf. I. xxiv. Coroll.).

PROP. XLVI. The knowledge of the eternal and infinite essence of God which every idea involves is adequate and perfect.

Proof. — The proof of the last proposition is universal; and whether a thing be considered as a part or a whole, the idea thereof, whether of the whole or of a part (by the last Prop.), will involve God's eternal and infinite essence. Wherefore, that, which gives knowledge of the eternal and infinite essence of God, is common to all, and is equally in the part and in the whole; therefore (II. xxxviii.) this knowledge will be adequate. Q.E.D.

PROP. XLVII. The human mind has an adequate knowledge of the eternal and infinite essence of God.

Proof. — The human mind has ideas (II. xxii.), from which (II. xxiii.) it perceives itself and its own body (II. xix.) and external bodies (II. xvi. Coroll. i. and II. xvii.) as actually existing; therefore (II. xlv. and xlvi.) it has an adequate knowledge of the eternal and infinite essence of God. Q.E.D.

Note. — Hence we see, that the infinite essence and the eternity of God are known to all. Now as all things are in God, and are conceived through God, we can from this knowledge infer many things, which we may adequately know, and we may form that third kind of knowledge of which we spoke in the note to II. xl., and of the excellence and use of which we shall have occasion to speak in Part V. Men have not so clear a knowledge of God as they have of general notions, because they are unable to imagine God as they do bodies, and also because they have associated the name God with images of things that they are in the habit of seeing, as indeed they can hardly avoid doing, being, as they are, men, and continually affected by external bodies. Many errors, in truth, can be traced to this head, namely, that we do not apply names to things rightly. For instance, when a man says that the lines drawn from the centre of a circle to its circumference are not equal, he then, at all events, assuredly attaches a meaning to the word circle different from that assigned by mathematicians. So again, when men make mistakes in calculation, they have one set of figures in their mind, and another on the paper. If we could see into their minds, they do not make a mistake; they seem to do so, because we think, that they have the same numbers in their mind as they have on the paper. If this were not so, we should not believe them to be in error, any more than I thought that a man was in error, whom I lately heard exclaiming that his entrance hall had flown into a neighbour's hen, for his meaning seemed to me sufficiently clear. Very many controversies have arisen from the fact, that men do not rightly explain their meaning, or do not rightly interpret the meaning of others. For, as a matter of fact, as they flatly contradict themselves, they assume

now one side, now another, of the argument, so as to oppose the opinions, which they consider mistaken and absurd in their opponents.

PROP. XLVIII. In the mind there is no absolute or free will; but the mind is determined to wish this or that by a cause, which has also been determined by another cause, and this last by another cause, and so on to infinity.

Proof. — The mind is a fixed and definite mode of thought (II. xi.), therefore it cannot be the free cause of its actions (I. xvii. Coroll. ii.); in other words, it cannot have an absolute faculty of positive or negative volition; but (by I. xxviii.) it must be determined by a cause, which has also been determined by another cause, and this last by another, &c. Q.E.D.

Note. — In the same way it is proved, that there is in the mind no absolute faculty of understanding, desiring, loving, &c. Whence it follows, that these and similar faculties are either entirely fictitious, or are merely abstract and general terms, such as we are accustomed to put together from particular things. Thus the intellect and the will stand in the same relation to this or that idea, or this or that volition, as “lapidity” to this or that stone, or as “man” to Peter and Paul. The cause which leads men to consider themselves free has been set forth in the Appendix to Part I. But, before I proceed further, I would here remark that, by the will to affirm and decide, I mean the faculty, not the desire. I mean, I repeat, the faculty, whereby the mind affirms or denies what is true or false, not the desire, wherewith the mind wishes for or turns away from any given thing. After we have proved, that these faculties of ours are general notions, which cannot be distinguished from the particular instances on which they are based, we must inquire whether volitions themselves are anything besides the ideas of things. We must inquire, I say, whether there is in the mind any affirmation or negation beyond that, which the idea, in so far as it is an idea, involves. On which subject see the following proposition, and II. Def. iii., lest the idea of pictures should suggest itself. For by ideas I do not mean images such as are formed at the back of the eye, or in the midst of the brain, but the conceptions of thought.

PROP. XLIX. There is in the mind no volition or affirmation and negation, save that which an idea, inasmuch as it is an idea, involves.

Proof. — There is in the mind no absolute faculty of positive or negative volition, but only particular volitions, namely, this or that affirmation, and this or that negation. Now let us conceive a particular volition, namely, the mode of thinking whereby the mind affirms, that the three interior angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles. This affirmation involves the conception or idea of a triangle, that is, without the idea of a triangle it cannot be conceived. It is the same thing to say, that the concept A must involve the concept B, as it is to say, that A cannot be conceived without B. Further, this affirmation cannot be made (II. Ax. iii.) without the idea of a triangle. Therefore, this affirmation can neither be nor be conceived, without the idea of a triangle. Again, this idea of a triangle must involve this same affirmation, namely, that its three interior angles are equal to two right angles. Wherefore, and vice versâ, this idea of a triangle can neither be nor be conceived without this affirmation, therefore, this affirmation belongs to the essence of the idea of a triangle, and is nothing besides. What we have said of this volition (inasmuch as we have selected it at random) may be said of any other volition, namely, that it is nothing but an idea. Q.E.D.

Corollary. — Will and understanding are one and the same.

Proof. — Will and understanding are nothing beyond the individual volitions and ideas (II. xlvi. and note). But a particular volition and a particular idea are one and the same (by the foregoing Prop.); therefore, will and understanding are one and the same. Q.E.D.

Note. — We have thus removed the cause which is commonly assigned for error. For we have shown above, that falsity consists solely in the privation of knowledge involved in ideas which are fragmentary and confused. Wherefore, a false idea, inasmuch as it is false, does not involve certainty. When we say, then, that a man acquiesces in what is false, and that he has no doubts on the subject, we do not say that he is certain, but only that he does not doubt, or that he acquiesces in what is false, inasmuch as there are no reasons, which should cause

his imagination to waver (see II. xliv. note). Thus, although the man be assumed to acquiesce in what is false, we shall never say that he is certain. For by certainty we mean something positive (II. xliii. and note), not merely the absence of doubt.

However, in order that the foregoing proposition may be fully explained, I will draw attention to a few additional points, and I will furthermore answer the objections which may be advanced against our doctrine. Lastly, in order to remove every scruple, I have thought it worth while to point out some of the advantages, which follow therefrom. I say “some,” for they will be better appreciated from what we shall set forth in the fifth part.

I begin, then, with the first point, and warn my readers to make an accurate distinction between an idea, or conception of the mind, and the images of things which we imagine. It is further necessary that they should distinguish between idea and words, whereby we signify things. These three — namely, images, words, and ideas — are by many persons either entirely confused together, or not distinguished with sufficient accuracy or care, and hence people are generally in ignorance, how absolutely necessary is a knowledge of this doctrine of the will, both for philosophic purposes and for the wise ordering of life. Those who think that ideas consist in images which are formed in us by contact with external bodies, persuade themselves that the ideas of those things, whereof we can form no mental picture, are not ideas, but only figments, which we invent by the free decree of our will; they thus regard ideas as though they were inanimate pictures on a panel, and, filled with this misconception, do not see that an idea, inasmuch as it is an idea, involves an affirmation or negation. Again, those who confuse words with ideas, or with the affirmation which an idea involves, think that they can wish something contrary to what they feel, affirm, or deny. This misconception will easily be laid aside by one, who reflects on the nature of knowledge, and seeing that it in no wise involves the conception of extension, will therefore clearly understand, that an idea (being a mode of thinking) does not consist in the image of anything, nor in words. The essence of words and images

is put together by bodily motions, which in no wise involve the conception of thought.

These few words on this subject will suffice: I will therefore pass on to consider the objections, which may be raised against our doctrine. Of these, the first is advanced by those, who think that the will has a wider scope than the understanding, and that therefore it is different therefrom. The reason for their holding the belief, that the will has wider scope than the understanding, is that they assert, that they have no need of an increase in their faculty of assent, that is of affirmation or negation, in order to assent to an infinity of things which we do not perceive, but that they have need of an increase in their faculty of understanding. The will is thus distinguished from the intellect, the latter being finite and the former infinite. Secondly, it may be objected that experience seems to teach us especially clearly, that we are able to suspend our judgment before assenting to things which we perceive; this is confirmed by the fact that no one is said to be deceived, in so far as he perceives anything, but only in so far as he assents or dissents.

For instance, he who feigns a winged horse, does not therefore admit that a winged horse exists; that is, he is not deceived, unless he admits in addition that a winged horse does exist. Nothing therefore seems to be taught more clearly by experience, than that the will or faculty of assent is free and different from the faculty of understanding. Thirdly, it may be objected that one affirmation does not apparently contain more reality than another; in other words, that we do not seem to need for affirming, that what is true is true, any greater power than for affirming, that what is false is true. We have, however, seen that one idea has more reality or perfection than another, for as objects are some more excellent than others, so also are the ideas of them some more excellent than others; this also seems to point to a difference between the understanding and the will. Fourthly, it may be objected, if man does not act from free will, what will happen if the incentives to action are equally balanced, as in the case of Buridan's ass?

Will he perish of hunger and thirst? If I say that he would, I shall seem to have in my thoughts an ass or the statue of a man rather than an actual man. If I say that he would not, he would then determine his own action, and would consequently possess the faculty of going and doing whatever he liked. Other objections might also be raised, but, as I am not bound to put in evidence everything that anyone may dream, I will only set myself to the task of refuting those I have mentioned, and that as briefly as possible.

To the first objection I answer, that I admit that the will has a wider scope than the understanding, if by the understanding be meant only clear and distinct ideas; but I deny that the will has a wider scope than the perceptions, and the faculty of forming conceptions; nor do I see why the faculty of volition should be called infinite, any more than the faculty of feeling: for, as we are able by the same faculty of volition to affirm an infinite number of things (one after the other, for we cannot affirm an infinite number simultaneously), so also can we, by the same faculty of feeling, feel or perceive (in succession) an infinite number of bodies. If it be said that there is an infinite number of things which we cannot perceive, I answer, that we cannot attain to such things by any thinking, nor, consequently, by any faculty of volition. But, it may still be urged, if God wished to bring it about that we should perceive them, he would be obliged to endow us with a greater faculty of perception, but not a greater faculty of volition than we have already. This is the same as to say that, if God wished to bring it about that we should understand an infinite number of other entities, it would be necessary for him to give us a greater understanding, but not a more universal idea of entity than that which we have already, in order to grasp such infinite entities. We have shown that will is a universal entity or idea, whereby we explain all particular volitions — in other words, that which is common to all such volitions.

As, then, our opponents maintain that this idea, common or universal to all volitions, is a faculty, it is little to be wondered at that they assert, that such a faculty extends itself into the infinite, beyond the limits of the understanding: for

what is universal is predicated alike of one, of many, and of an infinite number of individuals.

To the second objection I reply by denying, that we have a free power of suspending our judgment: for, when we say that anyone suspends his judgment, we merely mean that he sees, that he does not perceive the matter in question adequately. Suspension of judgment is, therefore, strictly speaking, a perception, and not free will. In order to illustrate the point, let us suppose a boy imagining a horse, and perceive nothing else. Inasmuch as this imagination involves the existence of the horse (II. xvii. Coroll.), and the boy does not perceive anything which would exclude the existence of the horse, he will necessarily regard the horse as present: he will not be able to doubt of its existence, although he be not certain thereof. We have daily experience of such a state of things in dreams; and I do not suppose that there is anyone, who would maintain that, while he is dreaming, he has the free power of suspending his judgment concerning the things in his dream, and bringing it about that he should not dream those things, which he dreams that he sees; yet it happens, notwithstanding, that even in dreams we suspend our judgment, namely, when we dream that we are dreaming.

Further, I grant that no one can be deceived, so far as actual perception extends — that is, I grant that the mind's imaginations, regarded in themselves, do not involve error (II. xvii. note); but I deny, that a man does not, in the act of perception, make any affirmation. For what is the perception of a winged horse, save affirming that a horse has wings? If the mind could perceive nothing else but the winged horse, it would regard the same as present to itself: it would have no reasons for doubting its existence, nor any faculty of dissent, unless the imagination of a winged horse be joined to an idea which precludes the existence of the said horse, or unless the mind perceives that the idea which it possess of a winged horse is inadequate, in which case it will either necessarily deny the existence of such a horse, or will necessarily be in doubt on the subject.

I think that I have anticipated my answer to the third objection, namely, that the will is something universal which is predicated of all ideas, and that it only

signifies that which is common to all ideas, namely, an affirmation, whose adequate essence must, therefore, in so far as it is thus conceived in the abstract, be in every idea, and be, in this respect alone, the same in all, not in so far as it is considered as constituting the idea's essence: for, in this respect, particular affirmations differ one from the other, as much as do ideas. For instance, the affirmation which involves the idea of a circle, differs from that which involves the idea of a triangle, as much as the idea of a circle differs from the idea of a triangle.

Further, I absolutely deny, that we are in need of an equal power of thinking, to affirm that that which is true is true, and to affirm that that which is false is true. These two affirmations, if we regard the mind, are in the same relation to one another as being and not — being; for there is nothing positive in ideas, which constitutes the actual reality of falsehood (II. xxxv. note, and xlvii. note).

We must therefore conclude, that we are easily deceived, when we confuse universals with singulars, and the entities of reason and abstractions with realities. As for the fourth objection, I am quite ready to admit, that a man placed in the equilibrium described (namely, as perceiving nothing but hunger and thirst, a certain food and a certain drink, each equally distant from him) would die of hunger and thirst. If I am asked, whether such an one should not rather be considered an ass than a man; I answer, that I do not know, neither do I know how a man should be considered, who hangs himself, or how we should consider children, fools, madmen, &c.

It remains to point out the advantages of a knowledge of this doctrine as bearing on conduct, and this may be easily gathered from what has been said. The doctrine is good,

1. Inasmuch as it teaches us to act solely according to the decree of God, and to be partakers in the Divine nature, and so much the more, as we perform more perfect actions and more and more understand God. Such a doctrine not only completely tranquilizes our spirit, but also shows us where our highest happiness or blessedness is, namely, solely in the knowledge of God, whereby we are led to

act only as love and piety shall bid us. We may thus clearly understand, how far astray from a true estimate of virtue are those who expect to be decorated by God with high rewards for their virtue, and their best actions, as for having endured the direst slavery; as if virtue and the service of God were not in itself happiness and perfect freedom.

2. Inasmuch as it teaches us, how we ought to conduct ourselves with respect to the gifts of fortune, or matters which are not in our power, and do not follow from our nature. For it shows us, that we should await and endure fortune's smiles or frowns with an equal mind, seeing that all things follow from the eternal decree of God by the same necessity, as it follows from the essence of a triangle, that the three angles are equal to two right angles.

3. This doctrine raises social life, inasmuch as it teaches us to hate no man, neither to despise, to deride, to envy, or to be angry with any. Further, as it tells us that each should be content with his own, and helpful to his neighbour, not from any womanish pity, favour, or superstition, but solely by the guidance of reason, according as the time and occasion demand, as I will show in Part III.

4. Lastly, this doctrine confers no small advantage on the commonwealth; for it teaches how citizens should be governed and led, not so as to become slaves, but so that they may freely do whatsoever things are best.

I have thus fulfilled the promise made at the beginning of this note, and I thus bring the second part of my treatise to a close. I think I have therein explained the nature and properties of the human mind at sufficient length, and, considering the difficulty of the subject, with sufficient clearness. I have laid a foundation, whereon may be raised many excellent conclusions of the highest utility and most necessary to be known, as will, in what follows, be partly made plain.

PART III. ON THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF THE EMOTIONS



MOST WRITERS ON the emotions and on human conduct seem to be treating rather of matters outside nature than of natural phenomena following nature's general laws. They appear to conceive man to be situated in nature as a kingdom within a kingdom: for they believe that he disturbs rather than follows nature's order, that he has absolute control over his actions, and that he is determined solely by himself. They attribute human infirmities and fickleness, not to the power of nature in general, but to some mysterious flaw in the nature of man, which accordingly they bemoan, deride, despise, or, as usually happens, abuse: he, who succeeds in hitting off the weakness of the human mind more eloquently or more acutely than his fellows, is looked upon as a seer. Still there has been no lack of very excellent men (to whose toil and industry I confess myself much indebted), who have written many noteworthy things concerning the right way of life, and have given much sage advice to mankind. But no one, so far as I know, has defined the nature and strength of the emotions, and the power of the mind against them for their restraint.

I do not forget, that the illustrious Descartes, though he believed, that the mind has absolute power over its actions, strove to explain human emotions by their primary causes, and, at the same time, to point out a way, by which the mind might attain to absolute dominion over them. However, in my opinion, he accomplishes nothing beyond a display of the acuteness of his own great intellect, as I will show in the proper place. For the present I wish to revert to those, who would rather abuse or deride human emotions than understand them. Such persons will, doubtless think it strange that I should attempt to treat of human vice and folly geometrically, and should wish to set forth with rigid reasoning those matters which they cry out against as repugnant to reason, frivolous, absurd, and

dreadful. However, such is my plan. Nothing comes to pass in nature, which can be set down to a flaw therein; for nature is always the same, and everywhere one and the same in her efficacy and power of action; that is, nature's laws and ordinances, whereby all things come to pass and change from one form to another, are everywhere and always the same; so that there should be one and the same method of understanding the nature of all things whatsoever, namely, through nature's universal laws and rules. Thus the passions of hatred, anger, envy, and so on, considered in themselves, follow from this same necessity and efficacy of nature; they answer to certain definite causes, through which they are understood, and possess certain properties as worthy of being known as the properties of anything else, whereof the contemplation in itself affords us delight. I shall, therefore, treat of the nature and strength of the emotions according to the same method, as I employed heretofore in my investigations concerning God and the mind. I shall consider human actions and desires in exactly the same manner, as though I were concerned with lines, planes, and solids.

DEFINITIONS



I. BY AN adequate cause, I mean a cause through which its effect can be clearly and distinctly perceived. By an inadequate or partial cause, I mean a cause through which, by itself, its effect cannot be understood.

II. I say that we act when anything takes place, either within us or externally to us, whereof we are the adequate cause; that is (by the foregoing definition) when through our nature something takes place within us or externally to us, which can through our nature alone be clearly and distinctly understood. On the other hand, I say that we are passive as regards something when that something takes place within us, or follows from our nature externally, we being only the partial cause.

III. By emotion I mean the modifications of the body, whereby the active power of the said body is increased or diminished, aided or constrained, and also the ideas of such modifications.

N.B. If we can be the adequate cause of any of these modifications, I then call the emotion an activity, otherwise I call it a passion, or state wherein the mind is passive.

POSTULATES



I. THE HUMAN body can be affected in many ways, whereby its power of activity is increased or diminished, and also in other ways which do not render its power of activity either greater or less.

N.B. This postulate or axiom rests on Postulate i. and Lemmas v. and vii., which see after II. xiii.

II. The human body can undergo many changes, and, nevertheless, retain the impressions or traces of objects (cf. II. Post. v.), and, consequently, the same images of things (see note II. xvii.).

PROP. I. Our mind is in certain cases active, and in certain cases passive. In so far as it has adequate ideas it is necessarily active, and in so far as it has inadequate ideas, it is necessarily passive.

Proof. — In every human mind there are some adequate ideas, and some ideas that are fragmentary and confused (II. xl. note). Those ideas which are adequate in the mind are adequate also in God, inasmuch as he constitutes the essence of the mind (II. xl. Coroll.), and those which are inadequate in the mind are likewise (by the same Coroll.) adequate in God, not inasmuch as he contains in himself the essence of the given mind alone, but as he, at the same time, contains the minds of other things. Again, from any given idea some effect must necessarily follow (I. 36); of this effect God is the adequate cause (III. Def. i.), not inasmuch as he is infinite, but inasmuch as he is conceived as affected by the given idea (II. ix.). But of that effect whereof God is the cause, inasmuch as he is affected by an idea which is adequate in a given mind, of that effect, I repeat, the mind in question is the adequate cause (II. xi. Coroll.). Therefore our mind, in so far as it has adequate ideas (III. Def. ii.), is in certain cases necessarily active; this was our first point. Again, whatsoever necessarily follows from the idea which is adequate

in God, not by virtue of his possessing in himself the mind of one man only, but by virtue of his containing, together with the mind of that one man, the minds of other things also, of such an effect (II. xi. Coroll.) the mind of the given man is not an adequate, but only a partial cause; thus (III. Def. ii.) the mind, inasmuch as it has inadequate ideas, is in certain cases necessarily passive; this was our second point. Therefore our mind, &c. Q.E.D.

Corollary. — Hence it follows that the mind is more or less liable to be acted upon, in proportion as it possesses inadequate ideas, and, contrariwise, is more or less active in proportion as it possesses adequate ideas.

PROP. II. Body cannot determine mind to think, neither can mind determine body to motion or rest or any state different from these, if such there be.

Proof. — All modes of thinking have for their cause God, by virtue of his being a thinking thing, and not by virtue of his being displayed under any other attribute (II. vi.). That, therefore, which determines the mind to thought is a mode of thought, and not a mode of extension; that is (II. Def. i.), it is not body. This was our first point. Again, the motion and rest of a body must arise from another body, which has also been determined to a state of motion or rest by a third body, and absolutely everything which takes place in a body must spring from God, in so far as he is regarded as affected by some mode of extension, and not by some mode of thought (II. vi.); that is, it cannot spring from the mind, which is a mode of thought. This was our second point. Therefore body cannot determine mind, &c. Q.E.D.

Note. — This is made more clear by what was said in the note to II. vii., namely, that mind and body are one and the same thing, conceived first under the attribute of thought, secondly, under the attribute of extension. Thus it follows that the order or concatenation of things is identical, whether nature be conceived under the one attribute or the other; consequently the order of states of activity and passivity in our body is simultaneous in nature with the order of states of activity and passivity in the mind. The same conclusion is evident from the manner in which we proved II. xii.

Nevertheless, though such is the case, and though there be no further room for doubt, I can scarcely believe, until the fact is proved by experience, that men can be induced to consider the question calmly and fairly, so firmly are they convinced that it is merely at the bidding of the mind, that the body is set in motion or at rest, or performs a variety of actions depending solely on the mind's will or the exercise of thought. However, no one has hitherto laid down the limits to the powers of the body, that is, no one has as yet been taught by experience what the body can accomplish solely by the laws of nature, in so far as she is regarded as extension. No one hitherto has gained such an accurate knowledge of the bodily mechanism, that he can explain all its functions; nor need I call attention to the fact that many actions are observed in the lower animals, which far transcend human sagacity, and that somnambulists do many things in their sleep, which they would not venture to do when awake: these instances are enough to show, that the body can by the sole laws of its nature do many things which the mind wonders at.

Again, no one knows how or by what means the mind moves the body, nor how many various degrees of motion it can impart to the body, nor how quickly it can move it. Thus, when men say that this or that physical action has its origin in the mind, which latter has dominion over the body, they are using words without meaning, or are confessing in specious phraseology that they are ignorant of the cause of the said action, and do not wonder at it.

But, they will say, whether we know or do not know the means whereby the mind acts on the body, we have, at any rate, experience of the fact that unless the human mind is in a fit state to think, the body remains inert. Moreover, we have experience, that the mind alone can determine whether we speak or are silent, and a variety of similar states which, accordingly, we say depend on the mind's decree. But, as to the first point, I ask such objectors, whether experience does not also teach, that if the body be inactive the mind is simultaneously unfitted for thinking? For when the body is at rest in sleep, the mind simultaneously is in a state of torpor also, and has no power of thinking, such as it possesses when the

body is awake. Again, I think everyone's experience will confirm the statement, that the mind is not at all times equally fit for thinking on a given subject, but according as the body is more or less fitted for being stimulated by the image of this or that object, so also is the mind more or less fitted for contemplating the said object.

But, it will be urged, it is impossible that solely from the laws of nature considered as extended substance, we should be able to deduce the causes of buildings, pictures, and things of that kind, which are produced only by human art; nor would the human body, unless it were determined and led by the mind, be capable of building a single temple. However, I have just pointed out that the objectors cannot fix the limits of the body's power, or say what can be concluded from a consideration of its sole nature, whereas they have experience of many things being accomplished solely by the laws of nature, which they would never have believed possible except under the direction of mind: such are the actions performed by somnambulists while asleep, and wondered at by their performers when awake. I would further call attention to the mechanism of the human body, which far surpasses in complexity all that has been put together by human art, not to repeat what I have already shown, namely, that from nature, under whatever attribute she be considered, infinite results follow. As for the second objection, I submit that the world would be much happier, if men were as fully able to keep silence as they are to speak. Experience abundantly shows that men can govern anything more easily than their tongues, and restrain anything more easily than their appetites; when it comes about that many believe, that we are only free in respect to objects which we moderately desire, because our desire for such can easily be controlled by the thought of something else frequently remembered, but that we are by no means free in respect to what we seek with violent emotion, for our desire cannot then be allayed with the remembrance of anything else. However, unless such persons had proved by experience that we do many things which we afterwards repent of, and again that we often, when assailed by contrary emotions, see the better and follow the worse, there would be nothing to prevent

their believing that we are free in all things. Thus an infant believes that of its own free will it desires milk, an angry child believes that it freely desires vengeance, a timid child believes that it freely desires to run away; further, a drunken man believes that he utters from the free decision of his mind words which, when he is sober, he would willingly have withheld: thus, too, a delirious man, a garrulous woman, a child, and others of like complexion, believe that they speak from the free decision of their mind, when they are in reality unable to restrain their impulse to talk. Experience teaches us no less clearly than reason, that men believe themselves to be free, simply because they are conscious of their actions, and unconscious of the causes whereby those actions are determined; and, further, it is plain that the dictates of the mind are but another name for the appetites, and therefore vary according to the varying state of the body. Everyone shapes his actions according to his emotion, those who are assailed by conflicting emotions know not what they wish; those who are not attacked by any emotion are readily swayed this way or that. All these considerations clearly show that a mental decision and a bodily appetite, or determined state, are simultaneous, or rather are one and the same thing, which we call decision, when it is regarded under and explained through the attribute of thought, and a conditioned state, when it is regarded under the attribute of extension, and deduced from the laws of motion and rest. This will appear yet more plainly in the sequel. For the present I wish to call attention to another point, namely, that we cannot act by the decision of the mind, unless we have a remembrance of having done so. For instance, we cannot say a word without remembering that we have done so. Again, it is not within the free power of the mind to remember or forget a thing at will. Therefore the freedom of the mind must in any case be limited to the power of uttering or not uttering something which it remembers. But when we dream that we speak, we believe that we speak from a free decision of the mind, yet we do not speak, or, if we do, it is by a spontaneous motion of the body. Again, we dream that we are concealing something, and we seem to act from the same decision of the mind as that, whereby we keep silence when awake concerning something we know.

Lastly, we dream that from the free decision of our mind we do something, which we should not dare to do when awake.

Now I should like to know whether there be in the mind two sorts of decisions, one sort illusive, and the other sort free? If our folly does not carry us so far as this, we must necessarily admit, that the decision of the mind, which is believed to be free, is not distinguishable from the imagination or memory, and is nothing more than the affirmation, which an idea, by virtue of being an idea, necessarily involves (II. xlix.). Wherefore these decisions of the mind arise in the mind by the same necessity, as the ideas of things actually existing. Therefore those who believe, that they speak or keep silence or act in any way from the free decision of their mind, do but dream with their eyes open.

PROP. III. The activities of the mind arise solely from adequate ideas; the passive states of the mind depend solely on inadequate ideas.

Proof. — The first element, which constitutes the essence of the mind, is nothing else but the idea of the actually existent body (II. xi. and xiii.), which (II. xv.) is compounded of many other ideas, whereof some are adequate and some inadequate (II. xxix. Coroll., II. xxxviii. Coroll.). Whatsoever therefore follows from the nature of mind, and has mind for its proximate cause, through which it must be understood, must necessarily follow either from an adequate or from an inadequate idea. But in so far as the mind (III. i.) has inadequate ideas, it is necessarily passive: wherefore the activities of the mind follow solely from adequate ideas, and accordingly the mind is only passive in so far as it has inadequate ideas. Q.E.D.

Note. — Thus we see, that passive states are not attributed to the mind, except in so far as it contains something involving negation, or in so far as it is regarded as a part of nature, which cannot be clearly and distinctly perceived through itself without other parts: I could thus show, that passive states are attributed to individual things in the same way that they are attributed to the mind, and that they cannot otherwise be perceived, but my purpose is solely to treat of the human mind.

PROP. IV. Nothing can be destroyed, except by a cause external to itself.

Proof. — This proposition is self — evident, for the definition of anything affirms the essence of that thing, but does not negative it; in other words, it postulates the essence of the thing, but does not take it away. So long therefore as we regard only the thing itself, without taking into account external causes, we shall not be able to find in it anything which could destroy it. Q.E.D.

PROP. V. Things are naturally contrary, that is, cannot exist in the same object, in so far as one is capable of destroying the other.

Proof. — If they could agree together or co — exist in the same object, there would then be in the said object something which could destroy it; but this, by the foregoing proposition, is absurd, therefore things, &c. Q.E.D.

PROP. VI. Everything, in so far as it is in itself, endeavours to persist in its own being.

Proof. — Individual things are modes whereby the attributes of God are expressed in a given determinate manner (I. xxv. Coroll.); that is, (I. xxxiv.), they are things which express in a given determinate manner the power of God, whereby God is and acts; now no thing contains in itself anything whereby it can be destroyed, or which can take away its existence (III. iv.); but contrariwise it is opposed to all that could take away its existence (III. v.). Therefore, in so far as it can, and in so far as it is in itself, it endeavours to persist in its own being. Q.E.D.

PROP. VII. The endeavour, wherewith everything endeavours to persist in its own being, is nothing else but the actual essence of the thing in question.

Proof. — From the given essence of any thing certain consequences necessarily follow (I. xxxvi.), nor have things any power save such as necessarily follows from their nature as determined (I. xxix.); wherefore the power of any given thing, or the endeavour whereby, either alone or with other things, it acts, or endeavours to act, that is (III. vi.), the power or endeavour, wherewith it endeavours to persist in its own being, is nothing else but the given or actual essence of the thing in question. Q.E.D.

PROP. VIII. The endeavour, whereby a thing endeavours to persist in its own being, involves no finite time, but an indefinite time.

Proof. — If it involved a limited time, which should determine the duration of the thing, it would then follow solely from that power whereby the thing exists, that the thing could not exist beyond the limits of that time, but that it must be destroyed; but this (III. iv.) is absurd. Wherefore the endeavour wherewith a thing exists involves no definite time; but, contrariwise, since (III. iv.) it will by the same power whereby it already exists always continue to exist, unless it be destroyed by some external cause, this endeavour involves an indefinite time.

PROP. IX. The mind, both in so far as it has clear and distinct ideas, and also in so far as it has confused ideas, endeavours to persist in its being for an indefinite period, and of this endeavour it is conscious.

Proof. — The essence of the mind is constituted by adequate and inadequate ideas (III. iii.), therefore (III. vii.), both in so far as it possesses the former, and in so far as it possesses the latter, it endeavours to persist in its own being, and that for an indefinite time (III. viii.). Now as the mind (II. xxiii.) is necessarily conscious of itself through the ideas of the modifications of the body, the mind is therefore (III. vii.) conscious of its own endeavour.

Note. — This endeavour, when referred solely to the mind, is called will, when referred to the mind and body in conjunction it is called appetite; it is, in fact, nothing else but man's essence, from the nature of which necessarily follow all those results which tend to its preservation; and which man has thus been determined to perform.

Further, between appetite and desire there is no difference, except that the term desire is generally applied to men, in so far as they are conscious of their appetite, and may accordingly be thus defined: Desire is appetite with consciousness thereof. It is thus plain from what has been said, that in no case do we strive for, wish for, long for, or desire anything, because we deem it to be good, but on the other hand we deem a thing to be good, because we strive for it, wish for it, long for it, or desire it.

PROP. X. An idea, which excludes the existence of our body, cannot be postulated in our mind, but is contrary thereto.

Proof. — Whatsoever can destroy our body, cannot be postulated therein (III. v.). Therefore neither can the idea of such a thing occur in God, in so far as he has the idea of our body (II. ix. Coroll.); that is (II. xi., xiii.), the idea of that thing cannot be postulated as in our mind, but contrariwise, since (II. xi., xiii.) the first element, that constitutes the essence of the mind, is the idea of the human body as actually existing, it follows that the first and chief endeavour of our mind is the endeavour to affirm the existence of our body: thus, an idea, which negatives the existence of our body, is contrary to our mind, &c. Q.E.D.

PROP. XI. Whatsoever increases or diminishes, helps or hinders the power of activity in our body, the idea thereof increases or diminishes, helps or hinders the power of thought in our mind.

Proof. — This proposition is evident from II. vii. or from II. xiv.

Note. — Thus we see, that the mind can undergo many changes, and can pass sometimes to a state of greater perfection, sometimes to a state of lesser perfection. These passive states of transition explain to us the emotions of pleasure and pain. By pleasure therefore in the following propositions I shall signify a passive state wherein the mind passes to a greater perfection. By pain I shall signify a passive state wherein the mind passes to a lesser perfection. Further, the emotion of pleasure in reference to the body and mind together I shall call stimulation (*titillatio*) or merriment (*hilaritas*), the emotion of pain in the same relation I shall call suffering or melancholy. But we must bear in mind, that stimulation and suffering are attributed to man, when one part of his nature is more affected than the rest, merriment and melancholy, when all parts are alike affected. What I mean by desire I have explained in the note to Prop. ix. of this part; beyond these three I recognize no other primary emotion; I will show as I proceed, that all other emotions arise from these three. But, before I go further, I should like here to explain at greater length Prop. x of this part, in order that we may clearly understand how one idea is contrary to another. In the note to II. xvii.

we showed that the idea, which constitutes the essence of mind, involves the existence of body, so long as the body itself exists. Again, it follows from what we pointed out in the Corollary to II. viii., that the present existence of our mind depends solely on the fact, that the mind involves the actual existence of the body. Lastly, we showed (II. xvii., xviii. and note) that the power of the mind, whereby it imagines and remembers things, also depends on the fact, that it involves the actual existence of the body. Whence it follows, that the present existence of the mind and its power of imagining are removed, as soon as the mind ceases to affirm the present existence of the body. Now the cause, why the mind ceases to affirm this existence of the body, cannot be the mind itself (III. iv.), nor again the fact that the body ceases to exist. For (by II. vi.) the cause, why the mind affirms the existence of the body, is not that the body began to exist; therefore, for the same reason, it does not cease to affirm the existence of the body, because the body ceases to exist; but (II. xvii.) this result follows from another idea, which excludes the present existence of our body and, consequently, of our mind, and which is therefore contrary to the idea constituting the essence of our mind.

PROP. XII. The mind, as far as it can, endeavours to conceive those things, which increase or help the power of activity in the body.

Proof. — So long as the human body is affected in a mode, which involves the nature of any external body, the human mind will regard that external body as present (II. xvii.), and consequently (II. vii.), so long as the human mind regards an external body as present, that is (II. xvii. note), conceives it, the human body is affected in a mode, which involves the nature of the said external body; thus so long as the mind conceives things, which increase or help the power of activity in our body, the body is affected in modes which increase or help its power of activity (III. Post. i.); consequently (III. xi.) the mind's power of thinking is for that period increased or helped. Thus (III. vi., ix.) the mind, as far as it can, endeavours to imagine such things. Q.E.D.

PROP. XIII. When the mind conceives things which diminish or hinder the body's power of activity, it endeavours, as far as possible, to remember things

which exclude the existence of the first — named things.

Proof. — So long as the mind conceives anything of the kind alluded to, the power of the mind and body is diminished or constrained (cf. III. xii. Proof); nevertheless it will continue to conceive it, until the mind conceives something else, which excludes the present existence thereof (II. xvii.); that is (as I have just shown), the power of the mind and of the body is diminished, or constrained, until the mind conceives something else, which excludes the existence of the former thing conceived: therefore the mind (III. ix.), as far as it can, will endeavour to conceive or remember the latter. Q.E.D.

Corollary. — Hence it follows that the mind shrinks from conceiving those things, which diminish or constrain the power of itself and of the body.

Note. — From what has been said we may clearly understand the nature of Love and Hate. Love is nothing else but pleasure accompanied by the idea of an external cause: Hate is nothing else but pain accompanied by the idea of an external cause. We further see, that he who loves necessarily endeavours to have, and to keep present to him, the object of his love; while he who hates endeavours to remove and destroy the object of his hatred. But I will treat of these matters at more length hereafter.

PROP. XIV. If the mind has once been affected by two emotions at the same time, it will, whenever it is afterwards affected by one of these two, be also affected by the other.

Proof. — If the human body has once been affected by two bodies at once, whenever afterwards the mind conceives one of them, it will straightway remember the other also (II. xviii.). But the mind's conceptions indicate rather the emotions of our body than the nature of external bodies (II. xvi. Coroll. ii.); therefore, if the body, and consequently the mind (III. Def. iii.) has been once affected by two emotions at the same time, it will, whenever it is afterwards affected by one of the two, be also affected by the other.

PROP. XV. Anything can, accidentally, be the cause of pleasure, pain, or desire.

Proof. — Let it be granted that the mind is simultaneously affected by two emotions, of which one neither increases nor diminishes its power of activity, and the other does either increase or diminish the said power (III. Post. i.). From the foregoing proposition it is evident that, whenever the mind is afterwards affected by the former, through its true cause, which (by hypothesis) neither increases nor diminishes its power of action, it will be at the same time affected by the latter, which does increase or diminish its power of activity, that is (III. xi. note) it will be affected with pleasure or pain. Thus the former of the two emotions will, not through itself, but accidentally, be the cause of pleasure or pain. In the same way also it can be easily shown, that a thing may be accidentally the cause of desire. Q.E.D.

Corollary. — Simply from the fact that we have regarded a thing with the emotion of pleasure or pain, though that thing be not the efficient cause of the emotion, we can either love or hate it.

Proof. — For from this fact alone it arises (III. xiv.), that the mind afterwards conceiving the said thing is affected with the emotion of pleasure or pain, that is (III. xi. note), according as the power of the mind and body may be increased or diminished, &c.; and consequently (III. xii.), according as the mind may desire or shrink from the conception of it (III. xiii. Coroll.), in other words (III. xiii. note), according as it may love or hate the same. Q.E.D.

Note. — Hence we understand how it may happen, that we love or hate a thing without any cause for our emotion being known to us; merely, as a phrase is, from sympathy or antipathy. We should refer to the same category those objects, which affect us pleasurable or painfully, simply because they resemble other objects which affect us in the same way. This I will show in the next Prop. I am aware that certain authors, who were the first to introduce these terms “sympathy” and “antipathy,” wished to signify thereby some occult qualities in things; nevertheless I think we may be permitted to use the same terms to indicate known or manifest qualities.

PROP. XVI. Simply from the fact that we conceive, that a given object has some point of resemblance with another object which is wont to affect the mind pleasurable or painfully, although the point of resemblance be not the efficient cause of the said emotions, we shall still regard the first — named object with love or hate.

Proof. — The point of resemblance was in the object (by hypothesis), when we regarded it with pleasure or pain, thus (III. xiv.), when the mind is affected by the image thereof, it will straightway be affected by one or the other emotion, and consequently the thing, which we perceive to have the same point of resemblance, will be accidentally (III. xv.) a cause of pleasure or pain. Thus (by the foregoing Corollary), although the point in which the two objects resemble one another be not the efficient cause of the emotion, we shall still regard the first — named object with love or hate. Q.E.D.

PROP. XVII. If we conceive that a thing, which is wont to affect us painfully, has any point of resemblance with another thing which is wont to affect us with an equally strong emotion of pleasure, we shall hate the first — named thing, and at the same time we shall love it.

Proof. — The given thing is (by hypothesis) in itself a cause of pain, and (III. xiii. note), in so far as we imagine it with this emotion, we shall hate it: further, inasmuch as we conceive that it has some point of resemblance to something else, which is wont to affect us with an equally strong emotion of pleasure, we shall with an equally strong impulse of pleasure love it (III. xvi.); thus we shall both hate and love the same thing. Q.E.D.

Note. — This disposition of the mind, which arises from two contrary emotions, is called vacillation; it stands to the emotions in the same relation as doubt does to the imagination (II. xlv. note); vacillation and doubt do not differ one from the other, except as greater differs from less. But we must bear in mind that I have deduced this vacillation from causes, which give rise through themselves to one of the emotions, and to the other accidentally. I have done this, in order that they might be more easily deduced from what went before; but I do

not deny that vacillation of the disposition generally arises from an object, which is the efficient cause of both emotions. The human body is composed (II. Post. i.) of a variety of individual parts of different nature, and may therefore (Ax.i. after Lemma iii. after II. xiii.) be affected in a variety of different ways by one and the same body; and contrariwise, as one and the same thing can be affected in many ways, it can also in many different ways affect one and the same part of the body. Hence we can easily conceive, that one and the same object may be the cause of many and conflicting emotions.

PROP. XVIII. A man is as much affected pleurably or painfully by the image of a thing past or future as by the image of a thing present.

Proof. — So long as a man is affected by the image of anything, he will regard that thing as present, even though it be non — existent (II. xvii. and Coroll.), he will not conceive it as past or future, except in so far as its image is joined to the image of time past or future (II. xlv. note). Wherefore the image of a thing, regarded in itself alone, is identical, whether it be referred to time past, time future, or time present; that is (II. xvi. Coroll.), the disposition or emotion of the body is identical, whether the image be of a thing past, future, or present. Thus the emotion of pleasure or pain is the same, whether the image be of a thing past or future. Q.E.D.

Note I. — I call a thing past or future, according as we either have been or shall be affected thereby. For instance, according as we have seen it, or are about to see it, according as it has recreated us, or will recreate us, according as it has harmed us, or will harm us. For, as we thus conceive it, we affirm its existence; that is, the body is affected by no emotion which excludes the existence of the thing, and therefore (II. xvii.) the body is affected by the image of the thing, in the same way as if the thing were actually present. However, as it generally happens that those, who have had many experiences, vacillate, so long as they regard a thing as future or past, and are usually in doubt about its issue (II. xlv. note); it follows that the emotions which arise from similar images of things are not so

constant, but are generally disturbed by the images of other things, until men become assured of the issue.

Note II. — From what has just been said, we understand what is meant by the terms Hope, Fear, Confidence, Despair, Joy, and Disappointment.⁵ Hope is nothing else but an inconstant pleasure, arising from the image of something future or past, whereof we do not yet know the issue. Fear, on the other hand, is an inconstant pain also arising from the image of something concerning which we are in doubt. If the element of doubt be removed from these emotions, hope becomes Confidence and fear becomes Despair. In other words, Pleasure or Pain arising from the image of something concerning which we have hoped or feared. Again, Joy is Pleasure arising from the image of something past whereof we have doubted the issue. Disappointment is the Pain opposed to Joy.

⁵ Conscientiæ morsus — thus rendered by Mr. Pollock.

PROP. XIX. He who conceives that the object of his love is destroyed will feel pain; if he conceives that it is preserved he will feel pleasure.

Proof. — The mind, as far as possible, endeavours to conceive those things which increase or help the body's power of activity (III. xii.); in other words (III. xii. note), those things which it loves. But conception is helped by those things which postulate the existence of a thing, and contrariwise is hindered by those which exclude the existence of a thing (II. xvii.); therefore the images of things, which postulate the existence of an object of love, help the mind's endeavour to conceive the object of love, in other words (III. xi. note), affect the mind pleasurablely; contrariwise those things, which exclude the existence of an object of love, hinder the aforesaid mental endeavour; in other words, affect the mind painfully. He, therefore, who conceives that the object of his love is destroyed will feel pain, &c. Q.E.D.

PROP. XX. He who conceives that the object of his hate is destroyed will also feel pleasure.

Proof. — The mind (III. xiii.) endeavours to conceive those things, which exclude the existence of things whereby the body's power of activity is diminished or constrained; that is (III. xiii. note), it endeavours to conceive such things as exclude the existence of what it hates; therefore the image of a thing, which excludes the existence of what the mind hates, helps the aforesaid mental effort, in other words (III. xi. note), affects the mind pleurably. Thus he who conceives that the object of his hate is destroyed will feel pleasure. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXI. He who conceives, that the object of his love is affected pleurably or painfully, will himself be affected pleurably or painfully; and the one or the other emotion will be greater or less in the lover according as it is greater or less in the thing loved.

Proof. — The images of things (as we showed in III. xix.) which postulate the existence of the object of love, help the mind's endeavour to conceive the said object. But pleasure postulates the existence of something feeling pleasure, so much the more in proportion as the emotion of pleasure is greater; for it is (III. xi. note) a transition to a greater perfection; therefore the image of pleasure in the object of love helps the mental endeavour of the lover; that is, it affects the lover pleurably, and so much the more, in proportion as this emotion may have been greater in the object of love. This was our first point. Further, in so far as a thing is affected with pain, it is to that extent destroyed, the extent being in proportion to the amount of pain (III. xi. note); therefore (III. xix.) he who conceives, that the object of his love is affected painfully, will himself be affected painfully, in proportion as the said emotion is greater or less in the object of love. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXII. If we conceive that anything pleurably affects some object of our love, we shall be affected with love towards that thing. Contrariwise, if we conceive that it affects an object of our love painfully, we shall be affected with hatred towards it.

Proof. — He, who affects pleurably or painfully the object of our love, affects us also pleurably or painfully — that is, if we conceive the loved object as affected with the said pleasure or pain (III. xxi.). But this pleasure or pain is postulated to come to us accompanied by the idea of an external cause; therefore (III. xiii. note), if we conceive that anyone affects an object of our love pleurably or painfully, we shall be affected with love or hatred towards him. Q.E.D.

Note. — Prop. xxi. explains to us the nature of Pity, which we may define as pain arising from another's hurt. What term we can use for pleasure arising from another's gain, I know not.

We will call the love towards him who confers a benefit on another, Approval; and the hatred towards him who injures another, we will call Indignation. We must further remark, that we not only feel pity for a thing which we have loved (as shown in III. xxi.), but also for a thing which we have hitherto regarded without emotion, provided that we deem that it resembles ourselves (as I will show presently). Thus, we bestow approval on one who has benefited anything resembling ourselves, and, contrariwise, are indignant with him who has done it an injury.

PROP. XXIII. He who conceives, that an object of his hatred is painfully affected, will feel pleasure. Contrariwise, if he thinks that the said object is pleurably affected, he will feel pain. Each of these emotions will be greater or less, according as its contrary is greater or less in the object of hatred.

Proof. — In so far as an object of hatred is painfully affected, it is destroyed, to an extent proportioned to the strength of the pain (III. xi. note). Therefore, he (III. xx.) who conceives, that some object of his hatred is painfully affected, will feel pleasure, to an extent proportioned to the amount of pain he conceives in the object of his hatred. This was our first point. Again, pleasure postulates the existence of the pleurably affected thing (III. xi. note), in proportion as the pleasure is greater or less. If anyone imagines that an object of his hatred is pleurably affected, this conception (III. xiii.) will hinder his own endeavour to

persist; in other words (III. xi. note), he who hates will be painfully affected. Q.E.D.

Note. — This pleasure can scarcely be felt unalloyed, and without any mental conflict. For (as I am about to show in Prop. xxvii.), in so far as a man conceives that something similar to himself is affected by pain, he will himself be affected in like manner; and he will have the contrary emotion in contrary circumstances. But here we are regarding hatred only.

PROP. XXIV. If we conceive that anyone pleasurable affects an object of our hate, we shall feel hatred towards him also. If we conceive that he painfully affects that said object, we shall feel love towards him.

Proof. — This proposition is proved in the same way as III. xxii., which see.

Note. — These and similar emotions of hatred are attributable to envy, which, accordingly, is nothing else but hatred, in so far as it is regarded as disposing a man to rejoice in another's hurt, and to grieve at another's advantage.

PROP. XXV. We endeavour to affirm, concerning ourselves, and concerning what we love, everything that we can conceive to affect pleasurable ourselves, or the loved object. Contrariwise, we endeavour to negative everything, which we conceive to affect painfully ourselves or the loved object.

Proof. — That, which we conceive to affect an object of our love pleasurable or painfully, affects us also pleasurable or painfully (III. xxi.). But the mind (III. xii.) endeavours, as far as possible, to conceive those things which affect us pleasurable; in other words (II. xvii. and Coroll.), it endeavours to regard them as present. And, contrariwise (III. xiii.), it endeavours to exclude the existence of such things as affect us painfully; therefore, we endeavour to affirm concerning ourselves, and concerning the loved object, whatever we conceive to affect ourselves, or the love object pleasurable. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXVI. We endeavour to affirm, concerning that which we hate, everything which we conceive to affect it painfully; and, contrariwise, we endeavour to deny, concerning it, everything which we conceive to affect it pleasurable.

Proof. — This proposition follows from III. xxiii., as the foregoing proposition followed from III. xxi.

Note. — Thus we see that it may readily happen, that a man may easily think too highly of himself, or a loved object, and, contrariwise, too meanly of a hated object. This feeling is called pride, in reference to the man who thinks too highly of himself, and is a species of madness, wherein a man dreams with his eyes open, thinking that he can accomplish all things that fall within the scope of his conception, and thereupon accounting them real, and exulting in them, so long as he is unable to conceive anything which excludes their existence, and determines his own power of action. Pride, therefore, is pleasure springing from a man thinking too highly of himself. Again, the pleasure which arises from a man thinking too highly of another is called over — esteem. Whereas the pleasure which arises from thinking too little of a man is called disdain.

PROP. XXVII. By the very fact that we conceive a thing, which is like ourselves, and which we have not regarded with any emotion, to be affected with any emotion, we are ourselves affected with a like emotion (*affectus*).

Proof. — The images of things are modifications of the human body, whereof the ideas represent external bodies as present to us (II. xvii.); in other words (II. x.), whereof the ideas involve the nature of our body, and, at the same time, the nature of the external bodies as present. If, therefore, the nature of the external body be similar to the nature of our body, then the idea which we form of the external body will involve a modification of our own body similar to the modification of the external body. Consequently, if we conceive anyone similar to ourselves as affected by any emotion, this conception will express a modification of our body similar to that emotion. Thus, from the fact of conceiving a thing like ourselves to be affected with any emotion, we are ourselves affected with a like emotion. If, however, we hate the said thing like ourselves, we shall, to that extent, be affected by a contrary, and not similar, emotion. Q.E.D.

Note I. — This imitation of emotions, when it is referred to pain, is called compassion (cf. III. xxii. note); when it is referred to desire, it is called emulation,

which is nothing else but the desire of anything, engendered in us by the fact that we conceive that others have the like desire.

Corollary I. — If we conceive that anyone, whom we have hitherto regarded with no emotion, pleasurable affects something similar to ourselves, we shall be affected with love towards him. If, on the other hand, we conceive that he painfully affects the same, we shall be affected with hatred towards him.

Proof. — This is proved from the last proposition in the same manner as III. xxii. is proved from III. xxi.

Corollary II. — We cannot hate a thing which we pity, because its misery affects us painfully.

Proof. — If we could hate it for this reason, we should rejoice in its pain, which is contrary to the hypothesis.

Corollary III. — We seek to free from misery, as far as we can, a thing which we pity.

Proof. — That, which painfully affects the object of our pity, affects us also with similar pain (by the foregoing proposition); therefore, we shall endeavour to recall everything which removes its existence, or which destroys it (cf. III. xiii.); in other words (III. ix. note), we shall desire to destroy it, or we shall be determined for its destruction; thus, we shall endeavour to free from misery a thing which we pity. Q.E.D.

Note II. — This will or appetite for doing good, which arises from pity of the thing whereon we would confer a benefit, is called benevolence, and is nothing else but desire arising from compassion. Concerning love or hate towards him who has done good or harm to something, which we conceive to be like ourselves, see III. xxii. note.

PROP. XXVIII. We endeavour to bring about whatsoever we conceive to conduce to pleasure; but we endeavour to remove or destroy whatsoever we conceive to be truly repugnant thereto, or to conduce to pain.

Proof. — We endeavour, as far as possible, to conceive that which we imagine to conduce to pleasure (III. xii.); in other words (II. xvii.) we shall endeavour to

conceive it as far as possible as present or actually existing. But the endeavour of the mind, or the mind's power of thought, is equal to, and simultaneous with, the endeavour of the body, or the body's power of action. (This is clear from II. vii. Coroll. and II. xi. Coroll.). Therefore we make an absolute endeavour for its existence, in other words (which by III. ix. note, come to the same thing) we desire and strive for it; this was our first point. Again, if we conceive that something, which we believed to be the cause of pain, that is (III. xiii. note), which we hate, is destroyed, we shall rejoice (III. xx.). We shall, therefore (by the first part of this proof), endeavour to destroy the same, or (III. xiii.) to remove it from us, so that we may not regard it as present; this was our second point. Wherefore whatsoever conduces to pleasure, &c. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXIX. We shall also endeavour to do whatsoever we conceive men⁶ to regard with pleasure, and contrariwise we shall shrink from doing that which we conceive men to shrink from.

⁶ By "men" in this and the following propositions, I mean men whom we regard without any particular emotion.

Proof. — From the fact of imagining, that men love or hate anything, we shall love or hate the same thing (III. xxvii.). That is (III. xiii. note), from this mere fact we shall feel pleasure or pain at the thing's presence. And so we shall endeavour to do whatsoever we conceive men to love or regard with pleasure, etc. Q.E.D.

Note. — This endeavour to do a thing or leave it undone, solely in order to please men, we call ambition, especially when we so eagerly endeavour to please the vulgar, that we do or omit certain things to our own or another's hurt: in other cases it is generally called kindliness. Furthermore I give the name of praise to the pleasure, with which we conceive the action of another, whereby he has endeavoured to please us; but of blame to the pain wherewith we feel aversion to his action.

PROP. XXX. If anyone has done something which he conceives as affecting other men pleurably, he will be affected by pleasure, accompanied by the idea of himself as cause; in other words, he will regard himself with pleasure. On the other hand, if he has done anything which he conceives as affecting others painfully, he will regard himself with pain.

Proof. — He who conceives, that he affects others with pleasure or pain, will, by that very fact, himself be affected with pleasure or pain (III. xxvii.), but, as a man (II. xix. and xxiii.) is conscious of himself through the modifications whereby he is determined to action, it follows that he who conceives, that he affects others pleurably, will be affected with pleasure accompanied by the idea of himself as cause; in other words, he will regard himself with pleasure. And so *mutatis mutandis* in the case of pain. Q.E.D.

Note. — As love (III. xiii.) is pleasure accompanied by the idea of an external cause, and hatred is pain accompanied by the idea of an external cause; the pleasure and pain in question will be a species of love and hatred. But, as the terms love and hatred are used in reference to external objects, we will employ other names for the emotions now under discussion: pleasure accompanied by the idea of an external cause⁷ we will style Honour, and the emotion contrary thereto we will style Shame: I mean in such cases as where pleasure or pain arises from a man's belief, that he is being praised or blamed: otherwise pleasure accompanied by the idea of an external cause⁸ is called self — complacency, and its contrary pain is called repentance. Again, as it may happen (II. xvii. Coroll.) that the pleasure, wherewith a man conceives that he affects others, may exist solely in his own imagination, and as (III. xxv.) everyone endeavours to conceive concerning himself that which he conceives will affect him with pleasure, it may easily come to pass that a vain man may be proud and may imagine that he is pleasing to all, when in reality he may be an annoyance to all.

⁷ So Van Vloten and Bruder. The Dutch version and Camerer read, "an internal cause." "Honor" = Gloria.

⁸ See previous endnote.

PROP. XXXI. If we conceive that anyone loves, desires, or hates anything which we ourselves love, desire, or hate, we shall thereupon regard the thing in question with more steadfast love, &c. On the contrary, if we think that anyone shrinks from something that we love, we shall undergo vacillations of soul.

Proof. — From the mere fact of conceiving that anyone loves anything we shall ourselves love that thing (III. xxvii.): but we are assumed to love it already; there is, therefore, a new cause of love, whereby our former emotion is fostered; hence we shall thereupon love it more steadfastly. Again, from the mere fact of conceiving that anyone shrinks from anything, we shall ourselves shrink from that thing (III. xxvii.). If we assume that we at the same time love it, we shall then simultaneously love it and shrink from it; in other words, we shall be subject to vacillation (III. xvii. note). Q.E.D.

Corollary. — From the foregoing, and also from III. xxviii. it follows that everyone endeavours, as far as possible, to cause others to love what he himself loves, and to hate what he himself hates: as the poet says: “As lovers let us share every hope and every fear: ironhearted were he who should love what the other leaves.”⁹

⁹ Ovid, “Amores,” II. xix. 4,5. Spinoza transposes the verses.

“Speremus pariter, pariter metuamus amantes;

Ferreus est, si quis, quod sinit alter, amat.”

Note. — This endeavour to bring it about, that our own likes and dislikes should meet with universal approval, is really ambition (see III. xxix. note); wherefore we see that everyone by nature desires (appetere), that the rest of

mankind should live according to his own individual disposition: when such a desire is equally present in all, everyone stands in everyone else's way, and in wishing to be loved or praised by all, all become mutually hateful.

PROP. XXXII. If we conceive that anyone takes delight in something, which only one person can possess, we shall endeavour to bring it about that the man in question shall not gain possession thereof.

Proof. — From the mere fact of our conceiving that another person takes delight in a thing (III. xxvii. and Coroll.) we shall ourselves love that thing and desire to take delight therein. But we assumed that the pleasure in question would be prevented by another's delight in its object; we shall, therefore, endeavour to prevent his possession thereof (III. xxviii.). Q.E.D.

Note. — We thus see that man's nature is generally so constituted, that he takes pity on those who fare ill, and envies those who fare well with an amount of hatred proportioned to his own love for the goods in their possession. Further, we see that from the same property of human nature, whence it follows that men are merciful, it follows also that they are envious and ambitious. Lastly, if we make appeal to Experience, we shall find that she entirely confirms what we have said; more especially if we turn our attention to the first years of our life. We find that children, whose body is continually, as it were, in equilibrium, laugh or cry simply because they see others laughing or crying; moreover, they desire forthwith to imitate whatever they see others doing, and to possess themselves of whatever they conceive as delighting others: inasmuch as the images of things are, as we have said, modifications of the human body, or modes wherein the human body is affected and disposed by external causes to act in this or that manner.

PROP. XXXIII. When we love a thing similar to ourselves we endeavour, as far as we can, to bring about that it should love us in return.

Proof. — That which we love we endeavour, as far as we can, to conceive in preference to anything else (III. xii.). If the thing be similar to ourselves, we shall endeavour to affect it pleasurably in preference to anything else (III. xxix.). In

other words, we shall endeavour, as far as we can, to bring it about, that the thing should be affected with pleasure accompanied by the idea of ourselves, that is (III. xiii. note), that it should love us in return. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXXIV. The greater the emotion with which we conceive a loved object to be affected towards us, the greater will be our complacency.

Proof. — We endeavour (III. xxxiii.), as far as we can, to bring about, that what we love should love us in return: in other words, that what we love should be affected with pleasure accompanied by the idea of ourself as cause. Therefore, in proportion as the loved object is more pleasurable affected because of us, our endeavour will be assisted. — that is (III. xi. and note) the greater will be our pleasure. But when we take pleasure in the fact, that we pleasurable affect something similar to ourselves, we regard ourselves with pleasure (III. 30); therefore the greater the emotion with which we conceive a loved object to be affected, &c. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXXV. If anyone conceives, that an object of his love joins itself to another with closer bonds of friendship than he himself has attained to, he will be affected with hatred towards the loved object and with envy towards his rival.

Proof. — In proportion as a man thinks, that a loved object is well affected towards him, will be the strength of his self — approval (by the last Prop.), that is (III. xxx. note), of his pleasure; he will, therefore (III. xxviii.), endeavour, as far as he can, to imagine the loved object as most closely bound to him: this endeavour or desire will be increased, if he thinks that someone else has a similar desire (III. xxxi.). But this endeavour or desire is assumed to be checked by the image of the loved object in conjunction with the image of him whom the loved object has joined to itself; therefore (III. xi. note) he will for that reason be affected with pain, accompanied by the idea of the loved object as a cause in conjunction with the image of his rival; that is, he will be (III. xiii.) affected with hatred towards the loved object and also towards his rival (III. xv. Coroll.), which latter he will envy as enjoying the beloved object. Q.E.D.

Note. — This hatred towards an object of love joined with envy is called Jealousy, which accordingly is nothing else but a wavering of the disposition arising from combined love and hatred, accompanied by the idea of some rival who is envied. Further, this hatred towards the object of love will be greater, in proportion to the pleasure which the jealous man had been wont to derive from the reciprocated love of the said object; and also in proportion to the feelings he had previously entertained towards his rival. If he had hated him, he will forthwith hate the object of his love, because he conceives it is pleasurably affected by one whom he himself hates: and also because he is compelled to associate the image of his loved one with the image of him whom he hates. This condition generally comes into play in the case of love for a woman: for he who thinks, that a woman whom he loves prostitutes herself to another, will feel pain, not only because his own desire is restrained, but also because, being compelled to associate the image of her he loves with the parts of shame and the excreta of another, he therefore shrinks from her.

We must add, that a jealous man is not greeted by his beloved with the same joyful countenance as before, and this also gives him pain as a lover, as I will now show.

PROP. XXXVI. He who remembers a thing, in which he has once taken delight, desires to possess it under the same circumstances as when he first took delight therein.

Proof. — Everything, which a man has seen in conjunction with the object of his love, will be to him accidentally a cause of pleasure (III. xv.); he will, therefore, desire to possess it, in conjunction with that wherein he has taken delight; in other words, he will desire to possess the object of his love under the same circumstances as when he first took delight therein. Q.E.D.

Corollary. — A lover will, therefore, feel pain if one of the aforesaid attendant circumstances be missing.

Proof. — For, in so far as he finds some circumstance to be missing, he conceives something which excludes its existence. As he is assumed to be

desirous for love's sake of that thing or circumstance (by the last Prop.), he will, in so far as he conceives it to be missing, feel pain (III. xix.). Q.E.D.

Note. — This pain, in so far as it has reference to the absence of the object of love, is called Regret.

PROP. XXXVII. Desire arising through pain or pleasure, hatred or love, is greater in proportion as the emotion is greater.

Proof. — Pain diminishes or constrains a man's power of activity (III. xi. note), in other words (III. vii.), diminishes or constrains the effort, wherewith he endeavours to persist in his own being; therefore (III. v.) it is contrary to the said endeavour: thus all the endeavours of a man affected by pain are directed to removing that pain. But (by the definition of pain), in proportion as the pain is greater, so also is it necessarily opposed to a greater part of man's power of activity; therefore the greater the pain, the greater the power of activity employed to remove it; that is, the greater will be the desire or appetite in endeavouring to remove it. Again, since pleasure (III. xi. note) increases or aids a man's power of activity, it may easily be shown in like manner, that a man affected by pleasure has no desire further than to preserve it, and his desire will be in proportion to the magnitude of the pleasure.

Lastly, since hatred and love are themselves emotions of pain and pleasure, it follows in like manner that the endeavour, appetite, or desire, which arises through hatred or love, will be greater in proportion to the hatred or love. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXXVIII. If a man has begun to hate an object of his love, so that love is thoroughly destroyed, he will, causes being equal, regard it with more hatred than if he had never loved it, and his hatred will be in proportion to the strength of his former love.

Proof. — If a man begins to hate that which he had loved, more of his appetites are put under restraint than if he had never loved it. For love is a pleasure (III. xiii. note) which a man endeavours as far as he can to render permanent (III. xxviii.); he does so by regarding the object of his love as present, and by affecting it as far as he can pleurably; this endeavour is greater in

proportion as the love is greater, and so also is the endeavour to bring about that the beloved should return his affection (III. xxxiii.). Now these endeavours are constrained by hatred towards the object of love (III. xiii. Coroll. and III. xxiii.); wherefore the lover (III. xi. note) will for this cause also be affected with pain, the more so in proportion as his love has been greater; that is, in addition to the pain caused by hatred, there is a pain caused by the fact that he has loved the object; wherefore the lover will regard the beloved with greater pain, or in other words, will hate it more than if he had never loved it, and with the more intensity in proportion as his former love was greater. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXXIX. He who hates anyone will endeavour to do him an injury, unless he fears that a greater injury will thereby accrue to himself; on the other hand, he who loves anyone will, by the same law, seek to benefit him.

Proof. — To hate a man is (III. xiii. note) to conceive him as a cause of pain; therefore he who hates a man will endeavour to remove or destroy him. But if anything more painful, or, in other words, a greater evil, should accrue to the hater thereby — and if the hater thinks he can avoid such evil by not carrying out the injury, which he planned against the object of his hate — he will desire to abstain from inflicting that injury (III. xxviii.), and the strength of his endeavour (III. xxxvii.) will be greater than his former endeavour to do injury, and will therefore prevail over it, as we asserted. The second part of this proof proceeds in the same manner. Wherefore he who hates another, etc. Q.E.D.

Note. — By good I here mean every kind of pleasure, and all that conduces thereto, especially that which satisfies our longings, whatsoever they may be. By evil, I mean every kind of pain, especially that which frustrates our longings. For I have shown (III. ix. note) that we in no case desire a thing because we deem it good, but, contrariwise, we deem a thing good because we desire it: consequently we deem evil that which we shrink from; everyone, therefore, according to his particular emotions, judges or estimates what is good, what is bad, what is better, what is worse, lastly, what is best, and what is worst. Thus a miser thinks that abundance of money is the best, and want of money the worst; an ambitious man

desires nothing so much as glory, and fears nothing so much as shame. To an envious man nothing is more delightful than another's misfortune, and nothing more painful than another's success. So every man, according to his emotions, judges a thing to be good or bad, useful or useless. The emotion, which induces a man to turn from that which he wishes, or to wish for that which he turns from, is called timidity, which may accordingly be defined as the fear whereby a man is induced to avoid an evil which he regards as future by encountering a lesser evil (III. xxviii.). But if the evil which he fears be shame, timidity becomes bashfulness. Lastly, if the desire to avoid a future evil be checked by the fear of another evil, so that the man knows not which to choose, fear becomes consternation, especially if both the evils feared be very great.

PROP. XL. He, who conceives himself to be hated by another, and believes that he has given him no cause for hatred, will hate that other in return.

Proof. — He who conceives another as affected with hatred, will thereupon be affected himself with hatred (III. xxvii.), that is, with pain, accompanied by the idea of an external cause. But, by the hypothesis, he conceives no cause for this pain except him who is his enemy; therefore, from conceiving that he is hated by some one, he will be affected with pain, accompanied by the idea of his enemy; in other words, he will hate his enemy in return. Q.E.D.

Note. — He who thinks that he has given just cause for hatred will (III. xxx. and note) be affected with shame; but this case (III. xxv.) rarely happens. This reciprocation of hatred may also arise from the hatred, which follows an endeavour to injure the object of our hate (III. xxxix.). He therefore who conceives that he is hated by another will conceive his enemy as the cause of some evil or pain; thus he will be affected with pain or fear, accompanied by the idea of his enemy as cause; in other words, he will be affected with hatred towards his enemy, as I said above.

Corollary I. — He who conceives, that one whom he loves hates him, will be a prey to conflicting hatred and love. For, in so far as he conceives that he is an object of hatred, he is determined to hate his enemy in return. But, by the

hypothesis, he nevertheless loves him: wherefore he will be a prey to conflicting hatred and love.

Corollary II. — If a man conceives that one, whom he has hitherto regarded without emotion, has done him any injury from motives of hatred, he will forthwith seek to repay the injury in kind.

Proof. — He who conceives, that another hates him, will (by the last proposition) hate his enemy in return, and (III. xxvi.) will endeavour to recall everything which can affect him painfully; he will moreover endeavour to do him an injury (III. xxxix.). Now the first thing of this sort which he conceives is the injury done to himself; he will, therefore, forthwith endeavour to repay it in kind. Q.E.D.

Note. — The endeavour to injure one whom we hate is called Anger; the endeavour to repay in kind injury done to ourselves is called Revenge.

PROP. XLI. If anyone conceives that he is loved by another, and believes that he has given no cause for such love, he will love that other in return. (Cf. III. xv. Coroll., and III. xvi.)

Proof. — This proposition is proved in the same way as the preceding one. See also the note appended thereto.

Note. — If he believes that he has given just cause for the love, he will take pride therein (III. xxx. and note); this is what most often happens (III. xxv.), and we said that its contrary took place whenever a man conceives himself to be hated by another. (See note to preceding proposition.) This reciprocal love, and consequently the desire of benefiting him who loves us (III. xxxix.), and who endeavours to benefit us, is called gratitude or thankfulness. It thus appears that men are much more prone to take vengeance than to return benefits.

Corollary. — He who imagines that he is loved by one whom he hates, will be a prey to conflicting hatred and love. This is proved in the same way as the first corollary of the preceding proposition.

Note. — If hatred be the prevailing emotion, he will endeavour to injure him who loves him; this emotion is called cruelty, especially if the victim be believed

to have given no ordinary cause for hatred.

PROP. XLII. He who has conferred a benefit on anyone from motives of love or honour will feel pain, if he sees that the benefit is received without gratitude.

Proof. — When a man loves something similar to himself, he endeavours, as far as he can, to bring it about that he should be loved thereby in return (III. xxxiii.). Therefore he who has conferred a benefit confers it in obedience to the desire, which he feels of being loved in return; that is (III. xxxiv.) from the hope of honour or (III. xxx. note) pleasure; hence he will endeavour, as far as he can, to conceive this cause of honour, or to regard it as actually existing. But, by the hypothesis, he conceives something else, which excludes the existence of the said cause of honour: wherefore he will thereat feel pain (III. xix.). Q.E.D.

PROP. XLIII. Hatred is increased by being reciprocated, and can on the other hand be destroyed by love.

Proof. — He who conceives, that an object of his hatred hates him in return, will thereupon feel a new hatred, while the former hatred (by hypothesis) still remains (III. xl.). But if, on the other hand, he conceives that the object of hate loves him, he will to this extent (III. xxxviii.) regard himself with pleasure, and (III. xxix.) will endeavour to please the cause of his emotion. In other words, he will endeavour not to hate him (III. xli.), and not to affect him painfully; this endeavour (III. xxxvii.) will be greater or less in proportion to the emotion from which it arises. Therefore, if it be greater than that which arises from hatred, and through which the man endeavours to affect painfully the thing which he hates, it will get the better of it and banish the hatred from his mind. Q.E.D.

PROP. XLIV. Hatred which is completely vanquished by love passes into love: and love is thereupon greater than if hatred had not preceded it.

Proof. — The proof proceeds in the same way as Prop. xxxviii. of this Part: for he who begins to love a thing, which he was wont to hate or regard with pain, from the very fact of loving feels pleasure. To this pleasure involved in love is added the pleasure arising from aid given to the endeavour to remove the pain

involved in hatred (III. xxxvii.), accompanied by the idea of the former object of hatred as cause.

Note. — Though this be so, no one will endeavour to hate anything, or to be affected with pain, for the sake of enjoying this greater pleasure; that is, no one will desire that he should be injured, in the hope of recovering from the injury, nor long to be ill for the sake of getting well. For everyone will always endeavour to persist in his being, and to ward off pain as far as he can. If the contrary is conceivable, namely, that a man should desire to hate someone, in order that he might love him the more thereafter, he will always desire to hate him. For the strength of love is in proportion to the strength of the hatred, wherefore the man would desire, that the hatred be continually increased more and more, and, for a similar reason, he would desire to become more and more ill, in order that he might take a greater pleasure in being restored to health: in such a case he would always endeavour to be ill, which (III. vi.) is absurd.

PROP. XLV. If a man conceives, that anyone similar to himself hates anything also similar to himself, which he loves, he will hate that person.

Proof. — The beloved object feels reciprocal hatred towards him who hates it (III. xl.); therefore the lover, in conceiving that anyone hates the beloved object, conceives the beloved thing as affected by hatred, in other words (III. xiii.), by pain; consequently he is himself affected by pain accompanied by the idea of the hater of the beloved thing as cause; that is, he will hate him who hates anything which he himself loves (III. xiii. note). Q.E.D.

PROP. XLVI. If a man has been affected pleasurable or painfully by anyone, of a class or nation different from his own, and if the pleasure or pain has been accompanied by the idea of the said stranger as cause, under the general category of the class or nation: the man will feel love or hatred, not only to the individual stranger, but also to the whole class or nation whereto he belongs.

Proof. — This is evident from III. xvi.

PROP. XLVII. Joy arising from the fact, that anything we hate is destroyed, or suffers other injury, is never unaccompanied by a certain pain in us.

Proof. — This is evident from III. xxvii. For in so far as we conceive a thing similar to ourselves to be affected with pain, we ourselves feel pain.

Note. — This proposition can also be proved from the Corollary to II. xvii. Whenever we remember anything, even if it does not actually exist, we regard it only as present, and the body is affected in the same manner; wherefore, in so far as the remembrance of the thing is strong, a man is determined to regard it with pain; this determination, while the image of the thing in question lasts, is indeed checked by the remembrance of other things excluding the existence of the aforesaid thing, but is not destroyed: hence, a man only feels pleasure in so far as the said determination is checked: for this reason the joy arising from the injury done to what we hate is repeated, every time we remember that object of hatred. For, as we have said, when the image of the thing in question, is aroused, inasmuch as it involves the thing's existence, it determines the man to regard the thing with the same pain as he was wont to do, when it actually did exist. However, since he has joined to the image of the thing other images, which exclude its existence, this determination to pain is forthwith checked, and the man rejoices afresh as often as the repetition takes place. This is the cause of men's pleasure in recalling past evils, and delight in narrating dangers from which they have escaped. For when men conceive a danger, they conceive it as still future, and are determined to fear it; this determination is checked afresh by the idea of freedom, which became associated with the idea of the danger when they escaped therefrom: this renders them secure afresh: therefore they rejoice afresh.

PROP. XLVIII. Love or hatred towards, for instance, Peter is destroyed, if the pleasure involved in the former, or the pain involved in the latter emotion, be associated with the idea of another cause: and will be diminished in proportion as we conceive Peter not to have been the sole cause of either emotion.

Proof. — This Prop. is evident from the mere definition of love and hatred (III. xiii. note). For pleasure is called love towards Peter, and pain is called hatred towards Peter, simply in so far as Peter is regarded as the cause of one emotion or

the other. When this condition of causality is either wholly or partly removed, the emotion towards Peter also wholly or in part vanishes. Q.E.D.

PROP. XLIX. Love or hatred towards a thing, which we conceive to be free, must, other conditions being similar, be greater than if it were felt towards a thing acting by necessity.

Proof. — A thing which we conceive as free must (I. Def. vii.) be perceived through itself without anything else. If, therefore, we conceive it as the cause of pleasure or pain, we shall therefore (III. xiii. note) love it or hate it, and shall do so with the utmost love or hatred that can arise from the given emotion. But if the thing which causes the emotion be conceived as acting by necessity, we shall then (by the same Def. vii. Part I.) conceive it not as the sole cause, but as one of the causes of the emotion, and therefore our love or hatred towards it will be less. Q.E.D.

Note. — Hence it follows, that men, thinking themselves to be free, feel more love or hatred towards one another than towards anything else: to this consideration we must add the imitation of emotions treated of in III. xxvii., xxxiv., xl. and xliii.

PROP. L. Anything whatever can be, accidentally, a cause of hope or fear.

Proof. — This proposition is proved in the same way as III. xv., which see, together with the note to III. xviii.

Note. — Things which are accidentally the causes of hope or fear are called good or evil omens. Now, in so far as such omens are the cause of hope or fear, they are (by the definitions of hope and fear given in III. xviii. note) the causes also of pleasure and pain; consequently we, to this extent, regard them with love or hatred, and endeavour either to invoke them as means towards that which we hope for, or to remove them as obstacles, or causes of that which we fear. It follows, further, from III. xxv., that we are naturally so constituted as to believe readily in that which we hope for, and with difficulty in that which we fear; moreover, we are apt to estimate such objects above or below their true value. Hence there have arisen superstitions, whereby men are everywhere assailed.

However, I do not think it worth while to point out here the vacillations springing from hope and fear; it follows from the definition of these emotions, that there can be no hope without fear, and no fear without hope, as I will duly explain in the proper place. Further, in so far as we hope for or fear anything, we regard it with love or hatred; thus everyone can apply by himself to hope and fear what we have said concerning love and hatred.

PROP. LI. Different men may be differently affected by the same object, and the same man may be differently affected at different times by the same object.

Proof. — The human body is affected by external bodies in a variety of ways (II. Post. iii.). Two men may therefore be differently affected at the same time, and therefore (by Ax. i. after Lemma iii. after II. xiii.) may be differently affected by one and the same object. Further (by the same Post.) the human body can be affected sometimes in one way, sometimes in another; consequently (by the same Axiom) it may be differently affected at different times by one and the same object. Q.E.D.

Note. — We thus see that it is possible, that what one man loves another may hate, and that what one man fears another may not fear; or, again, that one and the same man may love what he once hated, or may be bold where he once was timid, and so on. Again, as everyone judges according to his emotions what is good, what bad, what better, and what worse (III. xxxix. note), it follows that men's judgments may vary no less than their emotions¹⁰, hence when we compare some with others, we distinguish them solely by the diversity of their emotions, and style some intrepid, others timid, others by some other epithet. For instance, I shall call a man intrepid, if he despises an evil which I am accustomed to fear; if I further take into consideration, that, in his desire to injure his enemies and to benefit those whom he loves, he is not restrained by the fear of an evil which is sufficient to restrain me, I shall call him daring. Again, a man will appear timid to me, if he fears an evil which I am accustomed to despise; and if I further take into consideration that his desire is restrained by the fear of an evil, which is not

sufficient to restrain me, I shall say that he is cowardly; and in like manner will everyone pass judgment.

¹⁰ This is possible, though the human mind is part of the divine intellect, as I have shown in II. xiii. note.

Lastly, from this inconstancy in the nature of human judgment, inasmuch as a man often judges things solely by his emotions, and inasmuch as the things which he believes cause pleasure or pain, and therefore endeavours to promote or prevent, are often purely imaginary, not to speak of the uncertainty of things alluded to in III. xxviii.; we may readily conceive that a man may be at one time affected with pleasure, and at another with pain, accompanied by the idea of himself as cause. Thus we can easily understand what are Repentance and Self — complacency. Repentance is pain, accompanied by the idea of one's self as cause; Self — complacency is pleasure, accompanied by the idea of one's self as cause, and these emotions are most intense because men believe themselves to be free (III. xlix.).

PROP. LII. An object which we have formerly seen in conjunction with others, and which we do not conceive to have any property that is not common to many, will not be regarded by us for so long, as an object which we conceive to have some property peculiar to itself.

Proof. — As soon as we conceive an object which we have seen in conjunction with others, we at once remember those others (II. xviii. and note), and thus we pass forthwith from the contemplation of one object to the contemplation of another object. And this is the case with the object, which we conceive to have no property that is not common to many. For we thereupon assume that we are regarding therein nothing, which we have not before seen in conjunction with other objects. But when we suppose that we conceive an object something special, which we have never seen before, we must needs say that the mind, while regarding that object, has in itself nothing which it can fall to regarding instead

thereof; therefore it is determined to the contemplation of that object only. Therefore an object, &c. Q.E.D.

Note. — This mental modification, or imagination of a particular thing, in so far as it is alone in the mind, is called Wonder; but if it be excited by an object of fear, it is called Consternation, because wonder at an evil keeps a man so engrossed in the simple contemplation thereof, that he has no power to think of anything else whereby he might avoid the evil. If, however, the object of wonder be a man's prudence, industry, or anything of that sort, inasmuch as the said man, is thereby regarded as far surpassing ourselves, wonder is called Veneration; otherwise, if a man's anger, envy, &c., be what we wonder at, the emotion is called Horror. Again, if it be the prudence, industry, or what not, of a man we love, that we wonder at, our love will on this account be the greater (III. xii.), and when joined to wonder or veneration is called Devotion. We may in like manner conceive hatred, hope, confidence, and the other emotions, as associated with wonder; and we should thus be able to deduce more emotions than those which have obtained names in ordinary speech. Whence it is evident, that the names of the emotions have been applied in accordance rather with their ordinary manifestations than with an accurate knowledge of their nature.

To wonder is opposed Contempt, which generally arises from the fact that, because we see someone wondering at, loving, or fearing something, or because something, at first sight, appears to be like things, which we ourselves wonder at, love, fear, &c., we are, in consequence (III. xv. Coroll. and III. xxvii.), determined to wonder at, love, or fear that thing. But if from the presence, or more accurate contemplation of the said thing, we are compelled to deny concerning it all that can be the cause of wonder, love, fear, &c., the mind then, by the presence of the thing, remains determined to think rather of those qualities which are not in it, than of those which are in it; whereas, on the other hand, the presence of the object would cause it more particularly to regard that which is therein. As devotion springs from wonder at a thing which we love, so does Derision spring from contempt of a thing which we hate or fear, and Scorn from contempt of

folly, as veneration from wonder at prudence. Lastly, we can conceive the emotions of love, hope, honour, &c., in association with contempt, and can thence deduce other emotions, which are not distinguished one from another by any recognized name.

PROP. LIII. When the mind regards itself and its own power of activity, it feels pleasure: and that pleasure is greater in proportion to the distinctness wherewith it conceives itself and its own power of activity.

Proof. — A man does not know himself except through the modifications of his body, and the ideas thereof (II. xix. and xxiii.). When, therefore, the mind is able to contemplate itself, it is thereby assumed to pass to a greater perfection, or (III. xi. note) to feel pleasure; and the pleasure will be greater in proportion to the distinctness, wherewith it is able to conceive itself and its own power of activity. Q.E.D.

Corollary. — This pleasure is fostered more and more, in proportion as a man conceives himself to be praised by others. For the more he conceives himself as praised by others, the more he will imagine them to be affected with pleasure, accompanied by the idea of himself (III. xxix. note); thus he is (III. xxvii.) himself affected with greater pleasure, accompanied by the idea of himself. Q.E.D.

PROP. LIV. The mind endeavours to conceive only such things as assert its power of activity.

Proof. — The endeavour or power of the mind is the actual essence thereof (III. vii.); but the essence of the mind obviously only affirms that which the mind is and can do; not that which it neither is nor can do; therefore the mind endeavours to conceive only such things as assert or affirm its power of activity. Q.E.D.

PROP. LV. When the mind contemplates its own weakness, it feels pain thereat.

Proof. — The essence of the mind only affirms that which the mind is, or can do; in other words, it is the mind's nature to conceive only such things as assert its power of activity (last Prop.). Thus, when we say that the mind contemplates its

own weakness, we are merely saying that while the mind is attempting to conceive something which asserts its power of activity, it is checked in its endeavour — in other words (III. xi. note), it feels pain. Q.E.D.

Corollary. — This pain is more and more fostered, if a man conceives that he is blamed by others; this may be proved in the same way as the corollary to III. liii.

Note. — This pain, accompanied by the idea of our own weakness, is called humility; the pleasure, which springs from the contemplation of ourselves, is called self — love or self — complacency. And inasmuch as this feeling is renewed as often as a man contemplates his own virtues, or his own power of activity, it follows that everyone is fond of narrating his own exploits, and displaying the force both of his body and mind, and also that, for this reason, men are troublesome to one another. Again, it follows that men are naturally envious (III. xxiv. note, and III. xxxii. note), rejoicing in the shortcomings of their equals, and feeling pain at their virtues. For whenever a man conceives his own actions, he is affected with pleasure (III. liii.), in proportion as his actions display more perfection, and he conceives them more distinctly — that is (II. xl. note), in proportion as he can distinguish them from others, and regard them as something special. Therefore, a man will take most pleasure in contemplating himself, when he contemplates some quality which he denies to others. But, if that which he affirms of himself be attributable to the idea of man or animals in general, he will not be so greatly pleased: he will, on the contrary, feel pain, if he conceives that his own actions fall short when compared with those of others. This pain (III. xxviii.) he will endeavour to remove, by putting a wrong construction on the actions of his equals, or by, as far as he can, embellishing his own.

It is thus apparent that men are naturally prone to hatred and envy, which latter is fostered by their education. For parents are accustomed to incite their children to virtue solely by the spur of honour and envy. But, perhaps, some will scruple to assent to what I have said, because we not seldom admire men's virtues, and

venerate their possessors. In order to remove such doubts, I append the following corollary.

Corollary. — No one envies the virtue of anyone who is not his equal.

Proof. — Envy is a species of hatred (III. xxiv. note) or (III. xiii. note) pain, that is (III. xi. note), a modification whereby a man's power of activity, or endeavour towards activity, is checked. But a man does not endeavour or desire to do anything, which cannot follow from his nature as it is given; therefore a man will not desire any power of activity or virtue (which is the same thing) to be attributed to him, that is appropriate to another's nature and foreign to his own; hence his desire cannot be checked, nor he himself pained by the contemplation of virtue in some one unlike himself, consequently he cannot envy such an one. But he can envy his equal, who is assumed to have the same nature as himself. Q.E.D.

Note. — When, therefore, as we said in the note to III. lii., we venerate a man, through wonder at his prudence, fortitude, &c., we do so, because we conceive those qualities to be peculiar to him, and not as common to our nature; we, therefore, no more envy their possessor, than we envy trees for being tall, or lions for being courageous.

PROP. LVI. There are as many kinds of pleasure, of pain, of desire, and of every emotion compounded of these, such as vacillations of spirit, or derived from these, such as love, hatred, hope, fear, &c., as there are kinds of objects whereby we are affected.

Proof. — Pleasure and pain, and consequently the emotions compounded thereof, or derived therefrom, are passions, or passive states (III. xi. note); now we are necessarily passive (III. i.), in so far as we have inadequate ideas; and only in so far as we have such ideas are we passive (III. iii.); that is, we are only necessarily passive (II. xl. note), in so far as we conceive, or (II. xvii. and note) in so far as we are affected by an emotion, which involves the nature of our own body, and the nature of an external body. Wherefore the nature of every passive state must necessarily be so explained, that the nature of the object whereby we

are affected be expressed. Namely, the pleasure, which arises from, say, the object A, involves the nature of that object A, and the pleasure, which arises from the object B, involves the nature of the object B; wherefore these two pleasurable emotions are by nature different, inasmuch as the causes whence they arise are by nature different. So again the emotion of pain, which arises from one object, is by nature different from the pain arising from another object, and, similarly, in the case of love, hatred, hope, fear, vacillation, &c.

Thus, there are necessarily as many kinds of pleasure, pain, love, hatred, &c., as there are kinds of objects whereby we are affected. Now desire is each man's essence or nature, in so far as it is conceived as determined to a particular action by any given modification of itself (III. ix. note); therefore, according as a man is affected through external causes by this or that kind of pleasure, pain, love, hatred, &c., in other words, according as his nature is disposed in this or that manner, so will his desire be of one kind or another, and the nature of one desire must necessarily differ from the nature of another desire, as widely as the emotions differ, wherefrom each desire arose. Thus there are as many kinds of desire, as there are kinds of pleasure, pain, love, &c., consequently (by what has been shown) there are as many kinds of desire, as there are kinds of objects whereby we are affected. Q.E.D.

Note. — Among the kinds of emotions, which, by the last proposition, must be very numerous, the chief are luxury, drunkenness, lust, avarice, and ambition, being merely species of love or desire, displaying the nature of those emotions in a manner varying according to the object, with which they are concerned. For by luxury, drunkenness, lust, avarice, ambition, &c., we simply mean the immoderate love of feasting, drinking, venery, riches, and fame. Furthermore, these emotions, in so far as we distinguish them from others merely by the objects wherewith they are concerned, have no contraries. For temperance, sobriety, and chastity, which we are wont to oppose to luxury, drunkenness, and lust, are not emotions or passive states, but indicate a power of the mind which moderates the last — named emotions. However, I cannot here explain the remaining kinds of emotions

(seeing that they are as numerous as the kinds of objects), nor, if I could, would it be necessary. It is sufficient for our purpose, namely, to determine the strength of the emotions, and the mind's power over them, to have a general definition of each emotion. It is sufficient, I repeat, to understand the general properties of the emotions and the mind, to enable us to determine the quality and extent of the mind's power in moderating and checking the emotions. Thus, though there is a great difference between various emotions of love, hatred, or desire, for instance between love felt towards children, and love felt towards a wife, there is no need for us to take cognizance of such differences, or to track out further the nature and origin of the emotions.

PROP. LVII. Any emotion of a given individual differs from the emotion of another individual, only in so far as the essence of the one individual differs from the essence of the other.

Proof. — This proposition is evident from Ax. i. (which see after Lemma iii. Prop. xiii., Part II.). Nevertheless, we will prove it from the nature of the three primary emotions.

All emotions are attributable to desire, pleasure, or pain, as their definitions above given show. But desire is each man's nature or essence (III. ix. note); therefore desire in one individual differs from desire in another individual, only in so far as the nature or essence of the one differs from the nature or essence of the other. Again, pleasure and pain are passive states or passions, whereby every man's power or endeavour to persist in his being is increased or diminished, helped or hindered (III. xi. and note). But by the endeavour to persist in its being, in so far as it is attributable to mind and body in conjunction, we mean appetite and desire (III. ix. note); therefore pleasure and pain are identical with desire or appetite, in so far as by external causes they are increased or diminished, helped or hindered, in other words, they are every man's nature; wherefore the pleasure and pain felt by one man differ from the pleasure and pain felt by another man, only in so far as the nature or essence of the one man differs from the essence of the other; consequently, any emotion of one individual only differs, &c. Q.E.D.

Note. — Hence it follows, that the emotions of the animals which are called irrational (for after learning the origin of mind we cannot doubt that brutes feel) only differ from man's emotions, to the extent that brute nature differs from human nature. Horse and man are alike carried away by the desire of procreation; but the desire of the former is equine, the desire of the latter is human. So also the lusts and appetites of insects, fishes, and birds must needs vary according to the several natures. Thus, although each individual lives content and rejoices in that nature belonging to him wherein he has his being, yet the life, wherein each is content and rejoices, is nothing else but the idea, or soul, of the said individual, and hence the joy of one only differs in nature from the joy of another, to the extent that the essence of one differs from the essence of another. Lastly, it follows from the foregoing proposition, that there is no small difference between the joy which actuates, say, a drunkard, and the joy possessed by a philosopher, as I just mention here by the way. Thus far I have treated of the emotions attributable to man, in so far as he is passive. It remains to add a few words on those attributable to him in so far as he is active.

PROP. LVIII. Besides pleasure and desire, which are passivities or passions, there are other emotions derived from pleasure and desire, which are attributable to us in so far as we are active.

Proof. — When the mind conceives itself and its power of activity, it feels pleasure (III. liii.): now the mind necessarily contemplates itself, when it conceives a true or adequate idea (II. xliii.). But the mind does conceive certain adequate ideas (II. xl. note 2.). Therefore it feels pleasure in so far as it conceives adequate ideas; that is, in so far as it is active (III. i.). Again, the mind, both in so far as it has clear and distinct ideas, and in so far as it has confused ideas, endeavours to persist in its own being (III. ix.); but by such an endeavour we mean desire (by the note to the same Prop.); therefore, desire is also attributable to us, in so far as we understand, or (III. i.) in so far as we are active. Q.E.D.

PROP. LIX. Among all the emotions attributable to the mind as active, there are none which cannot be referred to pleasure or desire.

Proof. — All emotions can be referred to desire, pleasure, or pain, as their definitions, already given, show. Now by pain we mean that the mind's power of thinking is diminished or checked (III. xi. and note); therefore, in so far as the mind feels pain, its power of understanding, that is, of activity, is diminished or checked (III. i.); therefore, no painful emotions can be attributed to the mind in virtue of its being active, but only emotions of pleasure and desire, which (by the last Prop.) are attributable to the mind in that condition. Q.E.D.

Note. — All actions following from emotion, which are attributable to the mind in virtue of its understanding, I set down to strength of character (*fortitudo*), which I divide into courage (*animositas*) and highmindedness (*generositas*). By courage I mean the desire whereby every man strives to preserve his own being in accordance solely with the dictates of reason. By highmindedness I mean the desire whereby every man endeavours, solely under the dictates of reason, to aid other men and to unite them to himself in friendship. Those actions, therefore, which have regard solely to the good of the agent I set down to courage, those which aim at the good of others I set down to highmindedness. Thus temperance, sobriety, and presence of mind in danger, &c., are varieties of courage; courtesy, mercy, &c., are varieties of highmindedness.

I think I have thus explained, and displayed through their primary causes the principal emotions and vacillations of spirit, which arise from the combination of the three primary emotions, to wit, desire, pleasure, and pain. It is evident from what I have said, that we are in many ways driven about by external causes, and that like waves of the sea driven by contrary winds we toss to and fro unwitting of the issue and of our fate. But I have said, that I have only set forth the chief conflicting emotions, not all that might be given. For, by proceeding in the same way as above, we can easily show that love is united to repentance, scorn, shame, &c. I think everyone will agree from what has been said, that the emotions may be compounded one with another in so many ways, and so many variations may arise therefrom, as to exceed all possibility of computation. However, for my purpose, it is enough to have enumerated the most important; to reckon up the rest

which I have omitted would be more curious than profitable. It remains to remark concerning love, that it very often happens that while we are enjoying a thing which we longed for, the body, from the act of enjoyment, acquires a new disposition, whereby it is determined in another way, other images of things are aroused in it, and the mind begins to conceive and desire something fresh. For example, when we conceive something which generally delights us with its flavour, we desire to enjoy, that is, to eat it. But whilst we are thus enjoying it, the stomach is filled and the body is otherwise disposed. If, therefore, when the body is thus otherwise disposed, the image of the food which is present be stimulated, and consequently the endeavour or desire to eat it be stimulated also, the new disposition of the body will feel repugnance to the desire or attempt, and consequently the presence of the food which we formerly longed for will become odious. This revulsion of feeling is called satiety or weariness. For the rest, I have neglected the outward modifications of the body observable in emotions, such, for instance, as trembling, pallor, sobbing, laughter, &c., for these are attributable to the body only, without any reference to the mind. Lastly, the definitions of the emotions require to be supplemented in a few points; I will therefore repeat them, interpolating such observations as I think should here and there be added.

DEFINITIONS OF THE EMOTIONS



I. **DESIRE** IS the actual essence of man, in so far as it is conceived, as determined to a particular activity by some given modification of itself.

Explanation. — We have said above, in the note to Prop. ix. of this part, that desire is appetite, with consciousness thereof; further, that appetite is the essence of man, in so far as it is determined to act in a way tending to promote its own persistence. But, in the same note, I also remarked that, strictly speaking, I recognize no distinction between appetite and desire. For whether a man be conscious of his appetite or not, it remains one and the same appetite. Thus, in order to avoid the appearance of tautology, I have refrained from explaining desire by appetite; but I have take care to define it in such a manner, as to comprehend, under one head, all those endeavours of human nature, which we distinguish by the terms appetite, will, desire, or impulse. I might, indeed, have said, that desire is the essence of man, in so far as it is conceived as determined to a particular activity; but from such a definition (cf. II. xxiii.) it would not follow that the mind can be conscious of its desire or appetite. Therefore, in order to imply the cause of such consciousness, it was necessary to add, in so far as it is determined by some given modification, &c. For, by a modification of man's essence, we understand every disposition of the said essence, whether such disposition be innate, or whether it be conceived solely under the attribute of thought, or solely under the attribute of extension, or whether, lastly, it be referred simultaneously to both these attributes. By the term desire, then, I here mean all man's endeavours, impulses, appetites, and volitions, which vary according to each man's disposition, and are, therefore, not seldom opposed one to another, according as a man is drawn in different directions, and knows not where to turn.

II. **Pleasure** is the transition of a man from a less to a greater perfection.

III. Pain is the transition of a man from a greater to a less perfection.

Explanation — I say transition: for pleasure is not perfection itself. For, if man were born with the perfection to which he passes, he would possess the same, without the emotion of pleasure. This appears more clearly from the consideration of the contrary emotion, pain. No one can deny, that pain consists in the transition to a less perfection, and not in the less perfection itself: for a man cannot be pained, in so far as he partakes of perfection of any degree. Neither can we say, that pain consists in the absence of a greater perfection. For absence is nothing, whereas the emotion of pain is an activity; wherefore this activity can only be the activity of transition from a greater to a less perfection — in other words, it is an activity whereby a man's power of action is lessened or constrained (cf. III. xi. note). I pass over the definitions of merriment, stimulation, melancholy, and grief, because these terms are generally used in reference to the body, and are merely kinds of pleasure or pain.

IV. Wonder is the conception (*imaginatio*) of anything, wherein the mind comes to a stand, because the particular concept in question has no connection with other concepts (cf. III. lii. and note).

Explanation — In the note to II. xviii. we showed the reason, why the mind, from the contemplation of one thing, straightway falls to the contemplation of another thing, namely, because the images of the two things are so associated and arranged, that one follows the other. This state of association is impossible, if the image of the thing be new; the mind will then be at a stand in the contemplation thereof, until it is determined by other causes to think of something else.

Thus the conception of a new object, considered in itself, is of the same nature as other conceptions; hence, I do not include wonder among the emotions, nor do I see why I should so include it, inasmuch as this distraction of the mind arises from no positive cause drawing away the mind from other objects, but merely from the absence of a cause, which should determine the mind to pass from the contemplation of one object to the contemplation of another.

I, therefore, recognize only three primitive or primary emotions (as I said in the note to III. xi.), namely, pleasure, pain, and desire. I have spoken of wonder simply because it is customary to speak of certain emotions springing from the three primitive ones by different names, when they are referred to the objects of our wonder. I am led by the same motive to add a definition of contempt.

V. Contempt is the conception of anything which touches the mind so little, that its presence leads the mind to imagine those qualities which are not in it rather than such as are in it (cf. III. lii. note).

The definitions of veneration and scorn I here pass over, for I am not aware that any emotions are named after them.

VI. Love is pleasure, accompanied by the idea of an external cause.

Explanation — This definition explains sufficiently clearly the essence of love; the definition given by those authors who say that love is the lover's wish to unite himself to the loved object expresses a property, but not the essence of love; and, as such authors have not sufficiently discerned love's essence, they have been unable to acquire a true conception of its properties, accordingly their definition is on all hands admitted to be very obscure. It must, however, be noted, that when I say that it is a property of love, that the lover should wish to unite himself to the beloved object, I do not here mean by wish consent, or conclusion, or a free decision of the mind (for I have shown such, in II. xlviii., to be fictitious); neither do I mean a desire of being united to the loved object when it is absent, or of continuing in its presence when it is at hand; for love can be conceived without either of these desires; but by wish I mean the contentment, which is in the lover, on account of the presence of the beloved object, whereby the pleasure of the lover is strengthened, or at least maintained.

VII. Hatred is pain, accompanied by the idea of an external cause.

Explanation — These observations are easily grasped after what has been said in the explanation of the preceding definition (cf. also III. xiii. note).

VIII. Inclination is pleasure, accompanied by the idea of something which is accidentally a cause of pleasure.

IX. Aversion is pain, accompanied by the idea of something which is accidentally the cause of pain (cf. III. xv. note).

X. Devotion is love towards one whom we admire.

Explanation — Wonder (*admiratio*) arises (as we have shown, III. lii.) from the novelty of a thing. If, therefore, it happens that the object of our wonder is often conceived by us, we shall cease to wonder at it; thus we see, that the emotion of devotion readily degenerates into simple love.

XI. Derision is pleasure arising from our conceiving the presence of a quality, which we despise, in an object which we hate.

Explanation — In so far as we despise a thing which we hate, we deny existence thereof (III. lii. note), and to that extent rejoice (III. xx.). But since we assume that man hates that which he derides, it follows that the pleasure in question is not without alloy (cf. III. xlvii. note).

XII. Hope is an inconstant pleasure, arising from the idea of something past or future, whereof we to a certain extent doubt the issue.

XIII. Fear is an inconstant pain arising from the idea of something past or future, whereof we to a certain extent doubt the issue (cf. III. xviii. note).

Explanation — From these definitions it follows, that there is no hope unmingled with fear, and no fear unmingled with hope. For he, who depends on hope and doubts concerning the issue of anything, is assumed to conceive something, which excludes the existence of the said thing in the future; therefore he, to this extent, feels pain (cf. III. xix.); consequently, while dependent on hope, he fears for the issue. Contrariwise he, who fears, in other words doubts, concerning the issue of something which he hates, also conceives something which excludes the existence of the thing in question; to this extent he feels pleasure, and consequently to this extent he hopes that it will turn out as he desires (III. xx.).

XIV. Confidence is pleasure arising from the idea of something past or future, wherefrom all cause of doubt has been removed.

XV. Despair is pain arising from the idea of something past or future, wherefrom all cause of doubt has been removed.

Explanation — Thus confidence springs from hope, and despair from fear, when all cause for doubt as to the issue of an event has been removed: this comes to pass, because man conceives something past or future as present and regards it as such, or else because he conceives other things, which exclude the existence of the causes of his doubt. For, although we can never be absolutely certain of the issue of any particular event (II. xxxi. Coroll.), it may nevertheless happen that we feel no doubt concerning it. For we have shown, that to feel no doubt concerning a thing is not the same as to be quite certain of it (II. xlix. note). Thus it may happen that we are affected by the same emotion of pleasure or pain concerning a thing past or future, as concerning the conception of a thing present; this I have already shown in III. xviii., to which, with its note, I refer the reader.

XVI. Joy is pleasure accompanied by the idea of something past, which has had an issue beyond our hope.

XVII. Disappointment is pain accompanied by the idea of something past, which has had an issue contrary to our hope.

XVIII. Pity is pain accompanied by the idea of evil, which has befallen someone else whom we conceive to be like ourselves (cf. III. xxii. note, and III. xxvii. note).

Explanation — Between pity and sympathy (*misericordia*) there seems to be no difference, unless perhaps that the former term is used in reference to a particular action, and the latter in reference to a disposition.

XIX. Approval is love towards one who has done good to another.

XX. Indignation is hatred towards one who has done evil to another.

Explanation — I am aware that these terms are employed in senses somewhat different from those usually assigned. But my purpose is to explain, not the meaning of words, but the nature of things. I therefore make use of such terms, as may convey my meaning without any violent departure from their ordinary

signification. One statement of my method will suffice. As for the cause of the above — named emotions see III. xxvii. Coroll. i., and III. xxii. note.

XXI. Partiality is thinking too highly of anyone because of the love we bear him.

XXII. Disparagement is thinking too meanly of anyone because we hate him.

Explanation — Thus partiality is an effect of love, and disparagement an effect of hatred: so that partiality may also be defined as love, in so far as it induces a man to think too highly of a beloved object. Contrariwise, disparagement may be defined as hatred, in so far as it induces a man to think too meanly of a hated object. Cf. III. xxvi. note.

XXIII. Envy is hatred, in so far as it induces a man to be pained by another's good fortune, and to rejoice in another's evil fortune.

Explanation — Envy is generally opposed to sympathy, which, by doing some violence to the meaning of the word, may therefore be thus defined:

XXIV. Sympathy (*misericordia*) is love, in so far as it induces a man to feel pleasure at another's good fortune, and pain at another's evil fortune.

Explanation — Concerning envy see the notes to III. xxiv. and xxxii. These emotions also arise from pleasure or pain accompanied by the idea of something external, as cause either in itself or accidentally. I now pass on to other emotions, which are accompanied by the idea of something within as a cause.

XXV. Self — approval is pleasure arising from a man's contemplation of himself and his own power of action.

XXVI. Humility is pain arising from a man's contemplation of his own weakness of body or mind.

Explanation — Self — complacency is opposed to humility, in so far as we thereby mean pleasure arising from a contemplation of our own power of action; but, in so far as we mean thereby pleasure accompanied by the idea of any action which we believe we have performed by the free decision of our mind, it is opposed to repentance, which we may thus define:

XXVII. Repentance is pain accompanied by the idea of some action, which we believe we have performed by the free decision of our mind.

Explanation — The causes of these emotions we have set forth in III. li. note, and in III. liii., liv., lv. and note. Concerning the free decision of the mind see II. xxxv. note. This is perhaps the place to call attention to the fact, that it is nothing wonderful that all those actions, which are commonly called wrong, are followed by pain, and all those, which are called right, are followed by pleasure. We can easily gather from what has been said, that this depends in great measure on education. Parents, by reprobating the former class of actions, and by frequently chiding their children because of them, and also by persuading to and praising the latter class, have brought it about, that the former should be associated with pain and the latter with pleasure. This is confirmed by experience. For custom and religion are not the same among all men, but that which some consider sacred others consider profane, and what some consider honourable others consider disgraceful. According as each man has been educated, he feels repentance for a given action or glories therein.

XXVIII. Pride is thinking too highly of one's self from self — love.

Explanation — Thus pride is different from partiality, for the latter term is used in reference to an external object, but pride is used of a man thinking too highly of himself. However, as partiality is the effect of love, so is pride the effect or property of self — love, which may therefore be thus defined, love of self or self — approval, in so far as it leads a man to think too highly of himself. To this emotion there is no contrary. For no one thinks too meanly of himself because of self — hatred; I say that no one thinks too meanly of himself, in so far as he conceives that he is incapable of doing this or that. For whatsoever a man imagines that he is incapable of doing, he imagines this of necessity, and by that notion he is so disposed, that he really cannot do that which he conceives that he cannot do. For, so long as he conceives that he cannot do it, so long is he not determined to do it, and consequently so long is it impossible for him to do it. However, if we consider such matters as only depend on opinion, we shall find it

conceivable that a man may think too meanly of himself; for it may happen, that a man, sorrowfully regarding his own weakness, should imagine that he is despised by all men, while the rest of the world are thinking of nothing less than of despising him. Again, a man may think too meanly of himself, if he deny of himself in the present something in relation to a future time of which he is uncertain. As, for instance, if he should say that he is unable to form any clear conceptions, or that he can desire and do nothing but what is wicked and base, &c. We may also say, that a man thinks too meanly of himself, when we see him from excessive fear of shame refusing to do things which others, his equals, venture. We can, therefore, set down as a contrary to pride an emotion which I will call self — abasement, for as from self — complacency springs pride, so from humility springs self — abasement, which I will accordingly thus define:

XXIX. Self — abasement is thinking too meanly of one's self by reason of pain.

Explanation — We are nevertheless generally accustomed to oppose pride to humility, but in that case we pay more attention to the effect of either emotion than to its nature. We are wont to call proud the man who boasts too much (III. xxx. note), who talks of nothing but his own virtues and other people's faults, who wishes to be first; and lastly who goes through life with a style and pomp suitable to those far above him in station. On the other hand, we call humble the man who too often blushes, who confesses his faults, who sets forth other men's virtues, and who, lastly, walks with bent head and is negligent of his attire. However, these emotions, humility and self — abasement, are extremely rare. For human nature, considered in itself, strives against them as much as it can (see III. xiii., liv.); hence those, who are believed to be most self — abased and humble, are generally in reality the most ambitious and envious.

XXX. Honour^{II} is pleasure accompanied by the idea of some action of our own, which we believe to be praised by others.

^{II} Gloria.

XXXI. Shame is pain accompanied by the idea of some action of our own, which we believe to be blamed by others.

Explanation — On this subject see the note to III. xxx. But we should here remark the difference which exists between shame and modesty. Shame is the pain following the deed whereof we are ashamed. Modesty is the fear or dread of shame, which restrains a man from committing a base action. Modesty is usually opposed to shamelessness, but the latter is not an emotion, as I will duly show; however, the names of the emotions (as I have remarked already) have regard rather to their exercise than to their nature.

I have now fulfilled the task of explaining the emotions arising from pleasure and pain. I therefore proceed to treat of those which I refer to desire.

XXXII. Regret is the desire or appetite to possess something, kept alive by the remembrance of the said thing, and at the same time constrained by the remembrance of other things which exclude the existence of it.

Explanation — When we remember a thing, we are by that very fact, as I have already said more than once, disposed to contemplate it with the same emotion as if it were something present; but this disposition or endeavour, while we are awake, is generally checked by the images of things which exclude the existence of that which we remember. Thus when we remember something which affected us with a certain pleasure, we by that very fact endeavour to regard it with the same emotion of pleasure as though it were present, but this endeavour is at once checked by the remembrance of things which exclude the existence of the thing in question. Wherefore regret is, strictly speaking, a pain opposed to that of pleasure, which arises from the absence of something we hate (cf. III. xlvii. note). But, as the name regret seems to refer to desire, I set this emotion down, among the emotions springing from desire.

XXXIII. Emulation is the desire of something, engendered in us by our conception that others have the same desire.

Explanation — He who runs away, because he sees others running away, or he who fears, because he sees others in fear; or again, he who, on seeing that another man has burnt his hand, draws towards him his own hand, and moves his body as though his own were burnt; such an one can be said to imitate another's emotion, but not to emulate him; not because the causes of emulation and imitation are different, but because it has become customary to speak of emulation only in him, who imitates that which we deem to be honourable, useful, or pleasant. As to the cause of emulation, cf. III. xxvii. and note. The reason why this emotion is generally coupled with envy may be seen from III. xxxii. and note.

XXXIV. Thankfulness or Gratitude is the desire or zeal springing from love, whereby we endeavour to benefit him, who with similar feelings of love has conferred a benefit on us. Cf. III. xxxix. note and xl.

XXXV. Benevolence is the desire of benefiting one whom we pity. Cf. III. xxvii. note.

XXXVI. Anger is the desire, whereby through hatred we are induced to injure one whom we hate, III. xxxix.

XXXVII. Revenge is the desire whereby we are induced, through mutual hatred, to injure one who, with similar feelings, has injured us. (See III. xl. Coroll. ii and note.)

XXXVIII. Cruelty or savageness is the desire, whereby a man is impelled to injure one whom we love or pity.

Explanation — To cruelty is opposed clemency, which is not a passive state of the mind, but a power whereby man restrains his anger and revenge.

XXXIX. Timidity is the desire to avoid a greater evil, which we dread, by undergoing a lesser evil. Cf. III. xxxix. note.

XL. Daring is the desire, whereby a man is set on to do something dangerous which his equals fear to attempt.

XLI. Cowardice is attributed to one, whose desire is checked by the fear of some danger which his equals dare to encounter.

Explanation — Cowardice is, therefore, nothing else but the fear of some evil, which most men are wont not to fear; hence I do not reckon it among the emotions springing from desire. Nevertheless, I have chosen to explain it here, because, in so far as we look to the desire, it is truly opposed to the emotion of daring.

XLII. Consternation is attributed to one, whose desire of avoiding evil is checked by amazement at the evil which he fears.

Explanation — Consternation is, therefore, a species of cowardice. But, inasmuch as consternation arises from a double fear, it may be more conveniently defined as a fear which keeps a man so bewildered and wavering, that he is not able to remove the evil. I say bewildered, in so far as we understand his desire of removing the evil to be constrained by his amazement. I say wavering, in so far as we understand the said desire to be constrained by the fear of another evil, which equally torments him: whence it comes to pass that he knows not, which he may avert of the two. On this subject, see III. xxxix. note, and III. lii. note. Concerning cowardice and daring, see III. li. note.

XLIII. Courtesy, or deference (*Humanitas seu modestia*), is the desire of acting in a way that should please men, and refraining from that which should displease them.

XLIV. Ambition is the immoderate desire of power.

Explanation — Ambition is the desire, whereby all the emotions (cf. III. xxvii. and xxxi.) are fostered and strengthened; therefore this emotion can with difficulty be overcome. For, so long as a man is bound by any desire, he is at the same time necessarily bound by this. “The best men,” says Cicero, “are especially led by honour. Even philosophers, when they write a book contemning honour, sign their names thereto,” and so on.

XLV. Luxury is excessive desire, or even love of living sumptuously.

XLVI. Intemperance is the excessive desire and love of drinking.

XLVII. Avarice is the excessive desire and love of riches.

XLVIII. Lust is desire and love in the matter of sexual intercourse.

Explanation — Whether this desire be excessive or not, it is still called lust. These last five emotions (as I have shown in III. lvi.) have on contraries. For deference is a species of ambition. Cf. III. xxix. note.

Again, I have already pointed out, that temperance, sobriety, and chastity indicate rather a power than a passivity of the mind. It may, nevertheless, happen, that an avaricious, an ambitious, or a timid man may abstain from excess in eating, drinking, or sexual indulgence, yet avarice, ambition, and fear are not contraries to luxury, drunkenness, and debauchery. For an avaricious man often is glad to gorge himself with food and drink at another man's expense. An ambitious man will restrain himself in nothing, so long as he thinks his indulgences are secret; and if he lives among drunkards and debauchees, he will, from the mere fact of being ambitious, be more prone to those vices. Lastly, a timid man does that which he would not. For though an avaricious man should, for the sake of avoiding death, cast his riches into the sea, he will none the less remain avaricious; so, also, if a lustful man is downcast, because he cannot follow his bent, he does not, on the ground of abstention, cease to be lustful. In fact, these emotions are not so much concerned with the actual feasting, drinking, &c., as with the appetite and love of such. Nothing, therefore, can be opposed to these emotions, but high — mindedness and valour, whereof I will speak presently.

The definitions of jealousy and other waverings of the mind I pass over in silence, first, because they arise from the compounding of the emotions already described; secondly, because many of them have no distinctive names, which shows that it is sufficient for practical purposes to have merely a general knowledge of them. However, it is established from the definitions of the emotions, which we have set forth, that they all spring from desire, pleasure, or pain, or, rather, that there is nothing besides these three; wherefore each is wont to be called by a variety of names in accordance with its various relations and extrinsic tokens. If we now direct our attention to these primitive emotions, and to what has been said concerning the nature of the mind, we shall be able thus to define the emotions, in so far as they are referred to the mind only.

GENERAL DEFINITION OF THE EMOTIONS



EMOTION, WHICH IS called a passivity of the soul, is a confused idea, whereby the mind affirms concerning its body, or any part thereof, a force for existence (*existendi vis*) greater or less than before, and by the presence of which the mind is determined to think of one thing rather than another.

Explanation — I say, first, that emotion or passion of the soul is a confused idea. For we have shown that the mind is only passive, in so far as it has inadequate or confused ideas. (III. iii.) I say, further, whereby the mind affirms concerning its body or any part thereof a force for existence greater than before. For all the ideas of bodies, which we possess, denote rather the actual disposition of our own body (II. xvi. Coroll. ii.) than the nature of an external body. But the idea which constitutes the reality of an emotion must denote or express the disposition of the body, or of some part thereof, because its power of action or force for existence is increased or diminished, helped or hindered. But it must be noted that, when I say a greater or less force for existence than before, I do not mean that the mind compares the present with the past disposition of the body, but that the idea which constitutes the reality of an emotion affirms something of the body, which, in fact, involves more or less of reality than before.

And inasmuch as the essence of mind consists in the fact (II. xi., xiii.), that it affirms the actual existence of its own body, and inasmuch as we understand by perfection the very essence of a thing, it follows that the mind passes to greater or less perfection, when it happens to affirm concerning its own body, or any part thereof, something involving more or less reality than before.

When, therefore, I said above that the power of the mind is increased or diminished, I merely meant that the mind had formed of its own body, or of some part thereof, an idea involving more or less of reality, than it had already affirmed

concerning its own body. For the excellence of ideas, and the actual power of thinking are measured by the excellence of the object. Lastly, I have added by the presence of which the mind is determined to think of one thing rather than another, so that, besides the nature of pleasure and pain, which the first part of the definition explains, I might also express the nature of desire.

PART IV. OF HUMAN BONDAGE, OR THE STRENGTH OF THE EMOTIONS



PREFACE



HUMAN INFIRMITY IN moderating and checking the emotions I name bondage: for, when a man is a prey to his emotions, he is not his own master, but lies at the mercy of fortune: so much so, that he is often compelled, while seeing that which is better for him, to follow that which is worse. Why this is so, and what is good or evil in the emotions, I propose to show in this part of my treatise. But, before I begin, it would be well to make a few prefatory observations on perfection and imperfection, good and evil.

When a man has purposed to make a given thing, and has brought it to perfection, his work will be pronounced perfect, not only by himself, but by everyone who rightly knows, or thinks that he knows, the intention and aim of its author. For instance, suppose anyone sees a work (which I assume to be not yet completed), and knows that the aim of the author of that work is to build a house, he will call the work imperfect; he will, on the other hand, call it perfect, as soon as he sees that it is carried through to the end, which its author had purposed for it. But if a man sees a work, the like whereof he has never seen before, and if he knows not the intention of the artificer, he plainly cannot know, whether that work be perfect or imperfect. Such seems to be the primary meaning of these terms.

But, after men began to form general ideas, to think out types of houses, buildings, towers, &c., and to prefer certain types to others, it came about, that each man called perfect that which he saw agree with the general idea he had formed of the thing in question, and called imperfect that which he saw agree less with his own preconceived type, even though it had evidently been completed in accordance with the idea of its artificer. This seems to be the only reason for calling natural phenomena, which, indeed, are not made with human hands, perfect or imperfect: for men are wont to form general ideas of things natural, no

less than of things artificial, and such ideas they hold as types, believing that Nature (who they think does nothing without an object) has them in view, and has set them as types before herself. Therefore, when they behold something in Nature, which does not wholly conform to the preconceived type which they have formed of the thing in question, they say that Nature has fallen short or has blundered, and has left her work incomplete. Thus we see that men are wont to style natural phenomena perfect or imperfect rather from their own prejudices, than from true knowledge of what they pronounce upon.

Now we showed in the Appendix to Part I., that Nature does not work with an end in view. For the eternal and infinite Being, which we call God or Nature, acts by the same necessity as that whereby it exists. For we have shown, that by the same necessity of its nature, whereby it exists, it likewise works (I. xvi.). The reason or cause why God or Nature exists, and the reason why he acts, are one and the same. Therefore, as he does not exist for the sake of an end, so neither does he act for the sake of an end; of his existence and of his action there is neither origin nor end. Wherefore, a cause which is called final is nothing else but human desire, in so far as it is considered as the origin or cause of anything. For example, when we say that to be inhabited is the final cause of this or that house, we mean nothing more than that a man, conceiving the conveniences of household life, had a desire to build a house. Wherefore, the being inhabited, in so far as it is regarded as a final cause, is nothing else but this particular desire, which is really the efficient cause; it is regarded as the primary cause, because men are generally ignorant of the causes of their desires. They are, as I have often said already, conscious of their own actions and appetites, but ignorant of the causes whereby they are determined to any particular desire. Therefore, the common saying that Nature sometimes falls short, or blunders, and produces things which are imperfect, I set down among the glosses treated of in the Appendix to Part I. Perfection and imperfection, then, are in reality merely modes of thinking, or notions which we form from a comparison among one another of individuals of the same species; hence I said above (II. Def. vi.), that by reality

and perfection I mean the same thing. For we are wont to refer all the individual things in nature to one genus, which is called the highest genus, namely, to the category of Being, whereto absolutely all individuals in nature belong. Thus, in so far as we refer the individuals in nature to this category, and comparing them one with another, find that some possess more of being or reality than others, we, to this extent, say that some are more perfect than others. Again, in so far as we attribute to them anything implying negation — as term, end, infirmity, etc., we, to this extent, call them imperfect, because they do not affect our mind so much as the things which we call perfect, not because they have any intrinsic deficiency, or because Nature has blundered. For nothing lies within the scope of a thing's nature, save that which follows from the necessity of the nature of its efficient cause, and whatsoever follows from the necessity of the nature of its efficient cause necessarily comes to pass.

As for the terms good and bad, they indicate no positive quality in things regarded in themselves, but are merely modes of thinking, or notions which we form from the comparison of things one with another. Thus one and the same thing can be at the same time good, bad, and indifferent. For instance, music is good for him that is melancholy, bad for him that mourns; for him that is deaf, it is neither good nor bad.

Nevertheless, though this be so, the terms should still be retained. For, inasmuch as we desire to form an idea of man as a type of human nature which we may hold in view, it will be useful for us to retain the terms in question, in the sense I have indicated.

In what follows, then, I shall mean by, “good” that, which we certainly know to be a means of approaching more nearly to the type of human nature, which we have set before ourselves; by “bad,” that which we certainly know to be a hindrance to us in approaching the said type. Again, we shall that men are more perfect, or more imperfect, in proportion as they approach more or less nearly to the said type. For it must be specially remarked that, when I say that a man passes from a lesser to a greater perfection, or vice versâ, I do not mean that he is

changed from one essence or reality to another; for instance, a horse would be as completely destroyed by being changed into a man, as by being changed into an insect. What I mean is, that we conceive the thing's power of action, in so far as this is understood by its nature, to be increased or diminished. Lastly, by perfection in general I shall, as I have said, mean reality — in other words, each thing's essence, in so far as it exists, and operates in a particular manner, and without paying any regard to its duration. For no given thing can be said to be more perfect, because it has passed a longer time in existence. The duration of things cannot be determined by their essence, for the essence of things involves no fixed and definite period of existence; but everything, whether it be more perfect or less perfect, will always be able to persist in existence with the same force wherewith it began to exist; wherefore, in this respect, all things are equal.

DEFINITIONS.



I. BY GOOD I mean that which we certainly know to be useful to us.

II. By evil I mean that which we certainly know to be a hindrance to us in the attainment of any good.

(Concerning these terms see the foregoing preface towards the end.)

III. Particular things I call contingent in so far as, while regarding their essence only, we find nothing therein, which necessarily asserts their existence or excludes it.

IV. Particular things I call possible in so far as, while regarding the causes whereby they must be produced, we know not, whether such causes be determined for producing them.

(In I. xxxiii. note. i., I drew no distinction between possible and contingent, because there was in that place no need to distinguish them accurately.)

V. By conflicting emotions I mean those which draw a man in different directions, though they are of the same kind, such as luxury and avarice, which are both species of love, and are contraries, not by nature, but by accident.

VI. What I mean by emotion felt towards a thing, future, present, and past, I explained in III. xviii., notes. i. and ii., which see.

(But I should here also remark, that we can only distinctly conceive distance of space or time up to a certain definite limit; that is, all objects distant from us more than two hundred feet, or whose distance from the place where we are exceeds that which we can distinctly conceive, seem to be an equal distance from us, and all in the same plane; so also objects, whose time of existing is conceived as removed from the present by a longer interval than we can distinctly conceive, seem to be all equally distant from the present, and are set down, as it were, to the same moment of time.)

VII. By an end, for the sake of which we do something, I mean a desire.

VIII. By virtue (virtus) and power I mean the same thing; that is (III. vii), virtue, in so far as it is referred to man, is a man's nature or essence, in so far as it has the power of effecting what can only be understood by the laws of that nature.

AXIOM.



THERE IS NO individual thing in nature, than which there is not another more powerful and strong. Whatsoever thing be given, there is something stronger whereby it can be destroyed.

PROPOSITIONS.



PROP. I. No positive quality possessed by a false idea is removed by the presence of what is true, in virtue of its being true.

Proof. — Falsity consists solely in the privation of knowledge which inadequate ideas involve (II. xxxv.), nor have they any positive quality on account of which they are called false (II. xxxiii.); contrariwise, in so far as they are referred to God, they are true (II. xxxii.). Wherefore, if the positive quality possessed by a false idea were removed by the presence of what is true, in virtue of its being true, a true idea would then be removed by itself, which (IV. iii.) is absurd. Therefore, no positive quality possessed by a false idea, &c. Q.E.D.

Note. — This proposition is more clearly understood from II. xvi. Coroll. ii. For imagination is an idea, which indicates rather the present disposition of the human body than the nature of the external body; not indeed distinctly, but confusedly; whence it comes to pass, that the mind is said to err. For instance, when we look at the sun, we conceive that it is distant from us about two hundred feet; in this judgment we err, so long as we are in ignorance of its true distance; when its true distance is known, the error is removed, but not the imagination; or, in other words, the idea of the sun, which only explains the nature of that luminary, in so far as the body is affected thereby: wherefore, though we know the real distance, we shall still nevertheless imagine the sun to be near us. For, as we said in II. xxxv. note, we do not imagine the sun to be so near us, because we are ignorant of its true distance, but because the mind conceives the magnitude of the sun to the extent that the body is affected thereby. Thus, when the rays of the sun falling on the surface of water are reflected into our eyes, we imagine the sun as if it were in the water, though we are aware of its real position; and similarly other imaginations, wherein the mind is deceived, whether they indicate the

natural disposition of the body, or that its power of activity is increased or diminished, are not contrary to the truth, and do not vanish at its presence. It happens indeed that, when we mistakenly fear an evil, the fear vanishes when we hear the true tidings; but the contrary also happens, namely, that we fear an evil which will certainly come, and our fear vanishes when we hear false tidings; thus imaginations do not vanish at the presence of the truth, in virtue of its being true, but because other imaginations, stronger than the first, supervene and exclude the present existence of that which we imagined, as I have shown in II. xvii.

PROP. II. We are only passive, in so far as we are apart of Nature, which cannot be conceived by itself without other parts.

Proof. — We are said to be passive, when something arises in us, whereof we are only a partial cause (III. Def. ii.), that is (III. Def. i.), something which cannot be deduced solely from the laws of our nature. We are passive therefore, in so far as we are a part of Nature, which cannot be conceived by itself without other parts. Q.E.D.

PROP. III. The force whereby a man persists in existing is limited, and is infinitely surpassed by the power of external causes.

Proof. — This is evident from the axiom of this part. For, when man is given, there is something else — say A — more powerful; when A is given, there is something else — say B — more powerful than A, and so on to infinity; thus the power of man is limited by the power of some other thing, and is infinitely surpassed by the power of external causes. Q.E.D.

PROP. IV. It is impossible, that man should not be a part of Nature, or that he should be capable of undergoing no changes, save such as can be understood through his nature only as their adequate cause.

Proof. — The power, whereby each particular thing, and consequently man, preserves his being, is the power of God or of Nature (I. xxiv. Coroll.); not in so far as it is infinite, but in so far as it can be explained by the actual human essence (III. vii.). Thus the power of man, in so far as it is explained through his own actual essence, is a part of the infinite power of God or Nature, in other words, of

the essence thereof (I. xxxiv.). This was our first point. Again, if it were possible, that man should undergo no changes save such as can be understood solely through the nature of man, it would follow that he would not be able to die, but would always necessarily exist; this would be the necessary consequence of a cause whose power was either finite or infinite; namely, either of man's power only, inasmuch as he would be capable of removing from himself all changes which could spring from external causes; or of the infinite power of Nature, whereby all individual things would be so ordered, that man should be incapable of undergoing any changes save such as tended towards his own preservation. But the first alternative is absurd (by the last Prop., the proof of which is universal, and can be applied to all individual things). Therefore, if it be possible, that man should not be capable of undergoing any changes, save such as can be explained solely through his own nature, and consequently that he must always (as we have shown) necessarily exist; such a result must follow from the infinite power of God, and consequently (I. xvi.) from the necessity of the divine nature, in so far as it is regarded as affected by the idea of any given man, the whole order of nature as conceived under the attributes of extension and thought must be deducible. It would therefore follow (I. xxi.) that man is infinite, which (by the first part of this proof) is absurd. It is, therefore, impossible, that man should not undergo any changes save those whereof he is the adequate cause. Q.E.D.

Corollary. — Hence it follows, that man is necessarily always a prey to his passions, that he follows and obeys the general order of nature, and that he accommodates himself thereto, as much as the nature of things demands.

PROP. V. The power and increase of every passion, and its persistence in existing are not defined by the power, whereby we ourselves endeavour to persist in existing, but by the power of an external cause compared with our own.

Proof. — The essence of a passion cannot be explained through our essence alone (III. Deff. i. and ii.), that is (III. vii.), the power of a passion cannot be defined by the power, whereby we ourselves endeavour to persist in existing, but

(as is shown in II. xvi.) must necessarily be defined by the power of an external cause compared with our own. Q.E.D.

PROP. VI. The force of any passion or emotion can overcome the rest of a man's activities or power, so that the emotion becomes obstinately fixed to him.

Proof. — The force and increase of any passion and its persistence in existing are defined by the power of an external cause compared with our own (by the foregoing Prop.); therefore (IV. iii.) it can overcome a man's power, &c. Q.E.D.

PROP. VII. An emotion can only be controlled or destroyed by another emotion contrary thereto, and with more power for controlling emotion.

Proof. — Emotion, in so far as it is referred to the mind, is an idea, whereby the mind affirms of its body a greater or less force of existence than before (cf. the general Definition of the Emotions at the end of Part III.). When, therefore, the mind is assailed by any emotion, the body is at the same time affected with a modification whereby its power of activity is increased or diminished. Now this modification of the body (IV. v.) receives from its cause the force for persistence in its being; which force can only be checked or destroyed by a bodily cause (II. vi.), in virtue of the body being affected with a modification contrary to (III. v.) and stronger than itself (IV. Ax.); wherefore (II. xii.) the mind is affected by the idea of a modification contrary to, and stronger than the former modification, in other words, (by the general definition of the emotions) the mind will be affected by an emotion contrary to and stronger than the former emotion, which will exclude or destroy the existence of the former emotion; thus an emotion cannot be destroyed nor controlled except by a contrary and stronger emotion. Q.E.D.

Corollary. — An emotion, in so far as it is referred to the mind, can only be controlled or destroyed through an idea of a modification of the body contrary to, and stronger than, that which we are undergoing. For the emotion which we undergo can only be checked or destroyed by an emotion contrary to, and stronger than, itself, in other words, (by the general Definition of the Emotions) only by an idea of a modification of the body contrary to, and stronger than, the modification which we undergo.

PROP. VIII. The knowledge of good and evil is nothing else but the emotions of pleasure or pain, in so far as we are conscious thereof.

Proof. — We call a thing good or evil, when it is of service or the reverse in preserving our being (IV. Deff. i. and ii.), that is (III. vii.), when it increases or diminishes, helps or hinders, our power of activity. Thus, in so far as we perceive that a thing affects us with pleasure or pain, we call it good or evil; wherefore the knowledge of good and evil is nothing else but the idea of the pleasure or pain, which necessarily follows from that pleasurable or painful emotion (II. xxii.). But this idea is united to the emotion in the same way as mind is united to body (II. xxi.); that is, there is no real distinction between this idea and the emotion or idea of the modification of the body, save in conception only. Therefore the knowledge of good and evil is nothing else but the emotion, in so far as we are conscious thereof. Q.E.D.

PROP. IX. An emotion, whereof we conceive the cause to be with us at the present time, is stronger than if we did not conceive the cause to be with us.

Proof. — Imagination or conception is the idea, by which the mind regards a thing as present (II. xvii. note), but which indicates the disposition of the mind rather than the nature of the external thing (II. xvi. Coroll. ii.). An emotion is therefore a conception, in so far as it indicates the disposition of the body. But a conception (by II. xvii.) is stronger, so long as we conceive nothing which excludes the present existence of the external object; wherefore an emotion is also stronger or more intense, when we conceive the cause to be with us at the present time, than when we do not conceive the cause to be with us. Q.E.D.

Note. — When I said above in III. xviii. that we are affected by the image of what is past or future with the same emotion as if the thing conceived were present, I expressly stated, that this is only true in so far as we look solely to the image of the thing in question itself; for the thing's nature is unchanged, whether we have conceived it or not; I did not deny that the image becomes weaker, when we regard as present to us other things which exclude the present existence of the

future object: I did not expressly call attention to the fact, because I purposed to treat of the strength of the emotions in this part of my work.

Corollary. — The image of something past or future, that is, of a thing which we regard as in relation to time past or time future, to the exclusion of time present, is, when other conditions are equal, weaker than the image of something present; consequently an emotion felt towards what is past or future is less intense, other conditions being equal, than an emotion felt towards something present.

PROP. X. Towards something future, which we conceive as close at hand, we are affected more intensely, than if we conceive that its time for existence is separated from the present by a longer interval; so too by the remembrance of what we conceive to have not long passed away we are affected more intensely, than if we conceive that it has long passed away.

Proof. — In so far as we conceive a thing as close at hand, or not long passed away, we conceive that which excludes the presence of the object less, than if its period of future existence were more distant from the present, or if it had long passed away (this is obvious) therefore (by the foregoing Prop.) we are, so far, more intensely affected towards it. Q.E.D.

Corollary. — From the remarks made in Def. vi. of this part it follows that, if objects are separated from the present by a longer period than we can define in conception, though their dates of occurrence be widely separated one from the other, they all affect us equally faintly.

PROP. XI. An emotion towards that which we conceive as necessary is, when other conditions are equal, more intense than an emotion towards that which possible, or contingent, or non — necessary.

Proof. — In so far as we conceive a thing to be necessary, we, to that extent, affirm its existence; on the other hand we deny a thing's existence, in so far as we conceive it not to be necessary (I. xxxiii. note. i.); wherefore (IV. ix.) an emotion towards that which is necessary is, other conditions being equal, more intense than an emotion that which is non — necessary. Q.E.D.

PROP. XII. An emotion towards a thing, which we know not to exist at the present time, and which we conceive as possible, is more intense, other conditions being equal, than an emotion towards a thing contingent.

Proof. — In so far as we conceive a thing as contingent, we are affected by the conception of some further thing, which would assert the existence of the former (IV. Def. iii.); but, on the other hand, we (by hypothesis) conceive certain things, which exclude its present existence. But, in so far as we conceive a thing to be possible in the future, we there by conceive things which assert its existence (IV. iv.), that is (III. xviii.), things which promote hope or fear: wherefore an emotion towards something possible is more vehement. Q.E.D.

Corollary. — An emotion towards a thing, which we know not to exist in the present, and which we conceive as contingent, is far fainter, than if we conceive the thing to be present with us.

Proof. — Emotion towards a thing, which we conceive to exist, is more intense than it would be, if we conceived the thing as future (IV. ix. Coroll.), and is much more vehement, than if the future time be conceived as far distant from the present (IV. x.). Therefore an emotion towards a thing, whose period of existence we conceive to be far distant from the present, is far fainter, than if we conceive the thing as present; it is, nevertheless, more intense, than if we conceived the thing as contingent, wherefore an emotion towards a thing, which we regard as contingent, will be far fainter, than if we conceived the thing to be present with us. Q.E.D.

PROP. XIII. Emotion towards a thing contingent, which we know not to exist in the present, is, other conditions being equal, fainter than an emotion towards a thing past.

Proof. — In so far as we conceive a thing as contingent, we are not affected by the image of any other thing, which asserts the existence of the said thing (IV. Def. iii.), but, on the other hand (by hypothesis), we conceive certain things excluding its present existence. But, in so far as we conceive it in relation to time past, we are assumed to conceive something, which recalls the thing to memory,

or excites the image thereof (II. xviii. and note), which is so far the same as regarding it as present (II. xvii. Coroll.). Therefore (IV. ix.) an emotion towards a thing contingent, which we know does not exist in the present, is fainter, other conditions being equal, than an emotion towards a thing past. Q.E.D.

PROP. XIV. A true knowledge of good and evil cannot check any emotion by virtue of being true, but only in so far as it is considered as an emotion.

Proof. — An emotion is an idea, whereby the mind affirms of its body a greater or less force of existing than before (by the general Definition of the Emotions); therefore it has no positive quality, which can be destroyed by the presence of what is true; consequently the knowledge of good and evil cannot, by virtue of being true, restrain any emotion. But, in so far as such knowledge is an emotion (IV. viii.) if it have more strength for restraining emotion, it will to that extent be able to restrain the given emotion. Q.E.D.

PROP. XV. Desire arising from the knowledge of good and bad can be quenched or checked by many of the other desires arising from the emotions whereby we are assailed.

Proof. — From the true knowledge of good and evil, in so far as it is an emotion, necessarily arises desire (Def. of the Emotions, i.), the strength of which is proportioned to the strength of the emotion wherefrom it arises (III. xxxvii.). But, inasmuch as this desire arises (by hypothesis) from the fact of our truly understanding anything, it follows that it is also present with us, in so far as we are active (III. i.), and must therefore be understood through our essence only (III. Def. ii.); consequently (III. vii.) its force and increase can be defined solely by human power. Again, the desires arising from the emotions whereby we are assailed are stronger, in proportion as the said emotions are more vehement; wherefore their force and increase must be defined solely by the power of external causes, which, when compared with our own power, indefinitely surpass it (IV. iii.); hence the desires arising from like emotions may be more vehement, than the desire which arises from a true knowledge of good and evil, and may, consequently, control or quench it. Q.E.D.

PROP. XVI. Desire arising from the knowledge of good and evil, in so far as such knowledge regards what is future, may be more easily controlled or quenched, than the desire for what is agreeable at the present moment.

Proof. — Emotion towards a thing, which we conceive as future, is fainter than emotion towards a thing that is present (IV. ix. Coroll.). But desire, which arises from the true knowledge of good and evil, though it be concerned with things which are good at the moment, can be quenched or controlled by any headstrong desire (by the last Prop., the proof whereof is of universal application). Wherefore desire arising from such knowledge, when concerned with the future, can be more easily controlled or quenched, &c. Q.E.D.

PROP. XVII. Desire arising from the true knowledge of good and evil, in so far as such knowledge is concerned with what is contingent, can be controlled far more easily still, than desire for things that are present.

Proof. — This Prop. is proved in the same way as the last Prop. from IV. xii. Coroll.

Note. — I think I have now shown the reason, why men are moved by opinion more readily than by true reason, why it is that the true knowledge of good and evil stirs up conflicts in the soul, and often yields to every kind of passion. This state of things gave rise to the exclamation of the poet:^{[12](#)} — — “The better path I gaze at and approve, The worse — I follow.”

^{[12](#)} Ov. Met. vii.20, “Video meliora proboque, Deteriora sequor.”

Ecclesiastes seems to have had the same thought in his mind, when he says, “He who increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow.” I have not written the above with the object of drawing the conclusion, that ignorance is more excellent than knowledge, or that a wise man is on a par with a fool in controlling his emotions, but because it is necessary to know the power and the infirmity of our nature, before we can determine what reason can do in restraining the emotions, and what

is beyond her power. I have said, that in the present part I shall merely treat of human infirmity. The power of reason over the emotions I have settled to treat separately.

PROP. XVIII. Desire arising from pleasure is, other conditions being equal, stronger than desire arising from pain.

Proof. — Desire is the essence of a man (Def. of the Emotions, i.), that is, the endeavour whereby a man endeavours to persist in his own being. Wherefore desire arising from pleasure is, by the fact of pleasure being felt, increased or helped; on the contrary, desire arising from pain is, by the fact of pain being felt, diminished or hindered; hence the force of desire arising from pleasure must be defined by human power together with the power of an external cause, whereas desire arising from pain must be defined by human power only. Thus the former is the stronger of the two. Q.E.D.

Note. — In these few remarks I have explained the causes of human infirmity and inconstancy, and shown why men do not abide by the precepts of reason. It now remains for me to show what course is marked out for us by reason, which of the emotions are in harmony with the rules of human reason, and which of them are contrary thereto. But, before I begin to prove my Propositions in detailed geometrical fashion, it is advisable to sketch them briefly in advance, so that everyone may more readily grasp my meaning.

As reason makes no demands contrary to nature, it demands, that every man should love himself, should seek that which is useful to him — I mean, that which is really useful to him, should desire everything which really brings man to greater perfection, and should, each for himself, endeavour as far as he can to preserve his own being. This is as necessarily true, as that a whole is greater than its part. (Cf. III. iv.)

Again, as virtue is nothing else but action in accordance with the laws of one's own nature (IV. Def. viii.), and as no one endeavours to preserve his own being, except in accordance with the laws of his own nature, it follows, first, that the foundation of virtue is the endeavour to preserve one's own being, and that

happiness consists in man's power of preserving his own being; secondly, that virtue is to be desired for its own sake, and that there is nothing more excellent or more useful to us, for the sake of which we should desire it; thirdly and lastly, that suicides are weak — minded, and are overcome by external causes repugnant to their nature. Further, it follows from Postulate iv., Part II., that we can never arrive at doing without all external things for the preservation of our being or living, so as to have no relations with things which are outside ourselves. Again, if we consider our mind, we see that our intellect would be more imperfect, if mind were alone, and could understand nothing besides itself. There are, then, many things outside ourselves, which are useful to us, and are, therefore, to be desired. Of such none can be discerned more excellent, than those which are in entire agreement with our nature. For if, for example, two individuals of entirely the same nature are united, they form a combination twice as powerful as either of them singly.

Therefore, to man there is nothing more useful than man — nothing, I repeat, more excellent for preserving their being can be wished for by men, than that all should so in all points agree, that the minds and bodies of all should form, as it were, one single mind and one single body, and that all should, with one consent, as far as they are able, endeavour to preserve their being, and all with one consent seek what is useful to them all. Hence, men who are governed by reason — that is, who seek what is useful to them in accordance with reason, desire for themselves nothing, which they do not also desire for the rest of mankind, and, consequently, are just, faithful, and honourable in their conduct.

Such are the dictates of reason, which I purposed thus briefly to indicate, before beginning to prove them in greater detail. I have taken this course, in order, if possible, to gain the attention of those who believe, that the principle that every man is bound to seek what is useful for himself is the foundation of impiety, rather than of piety and virtue.

Therefore, after briefly showing that the contrary is the case, I go on to prove it by the same method, as that whereby I have hitherto proceeded.

PROP. XIX. Every man, by the laws of his nature, necessarily desires or shrinks from that which he deems to be good or bad.

Proof. — The knowledge of good and evil is (IV. viii.) the emotion of pleasure or pain, in so far as we are conscious thereof; therefore, every man necessarily desires what he thinks good, and shrinks from what he thinks bad. Now this appetite is nothing else but man's nature or essence (Cf. the Definition of Appetite, III. ix. note, and Def. of the Emotions, i.). Therefore, every man, solely by the laws of his nature, desires the one, and shrinks from the other, &c. Q.E.D.

PROP. XX. The more every man endeavours, and is able to seek what is useful to him — in other words, to preserve his own being — the more is he endowed with virtue; on the contrary, in proportion as a man neglects to seek what is useful to him, that is, to preserve his own being, he is wanting in power.

Proof. — Virtue is human power, which is defined solely by man's essence (IV. Def. viii.), that is, which is defined solely by the endeavour made by man to persist in his own being. Wherefore, the more a man endeavours, and is able to preserve his own being, the more is he endowed with virtue, and, consequently (III. iv. and vi.), in so far as a man neglects to preserve his own being, he is wanting in power. Q.E.D.

Note. — No one, therefore, neglects seeking his own good, or preserving his own being, unless he be overcome by causes external and foreign to his nature. No one, I say, from the necessity of his own nature, or otherwise than under compulsion from external causes, shrinks from food, or kills himself: which latter may be done in a variety of ways. A man, for instance, kills himself under the compulsion of another man, who twists round his right hand, wherewith he happened to have taken up a sword, and forces him to turn the blade against his own heart; or, again, he may be compelled, like Seneca, by a tyrant's command, to open his own veins — that is, to escape a greater evil by incurring, a lesser; or, lastly, latent external causes may so disorder his imagination, and so affect his body, that it may assume a nature contrary to its former one, and whereof the idea cannot exist in the mind (III. x.) But that a man, from the necessity of his own

nature, should endeavour to become non — existent, is as impossible as that something should be made out of nothing, as everyone will see for himself, after a little reflection.

PROP. XXI. No one can desire to be blessed, to act rightly, and to live rightly, without at the same time wishing to be, act, and to live — in other words, to actually exist.

Proof. — The proof of this proposition, or rather the proposition itself, is self — evident, and is also plain from the definition of desire. For the desire of living, acting, &c., blessedly or rightly, is (Def. of the Emotions, i.) the essence of man — that is (III. vii.), the endeavour made by everyone to preserve his own being. Therefore, no one can desire, &c. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXII. No virtue can be conceived as prior to this endeavour to preserve one's own being.

Proof. — The effort for self — preservation is the essence of a thing (III. vii.); therefore, if any virtue could be conceived as prior thereto, the essence of a thing would have to be conceived as prior to itself, which is obviously absurd. Therefore no virtue, &c. Q.E.D.

Corollary. — The effort for self — preservation is the first and only foundation of virtue. For prior to this principle nothing can be conceived, and without it no virtue can be conceived.

PROP. XXIII. Man, in so far as he is determined to a particular action because he has inadequate ideas, cannot be absolutely said to act in obedience to virtue; he can only be so described, in so far as he is determined for the action because he understands.

Proof. — In so far as a man is determined to an action through having inadequate ideas, he is passive (III. i.), that is (III. Deff. i., and iii.), he does something, which cannot be perceived solely through his essence, that is (by IV. Def. viii.), which does not follow from his virtue. But, in so far as he is determined for an action because he understands, he is active; that is, he does

something, which is perceived through his essence alone, or which adequately follows from his virtue. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXIV. To act absolutely in obedience to virtue is in us the same thing as to act, to live, or to preserve one's being (these three terms are identical in meaning) in accordance with the dictates of reason on the basis of seeking what is useful to one's self.

Proof. — To act absolutely in obedience to virtue is nothing else but to act according to the laws of one's own nature. But we only act, in so far as we understand (III. iii.): therefore to act in obedience to virtue is in us nothing else but to act, to live, or to preserve one's being in obedience to reason, and that on the basis of seeking what is useful for us (IV. xxii. Coroll.). Q.E.D.

PROP. XXV. No one wishes to preserve his being for the sake of anything else.

Proof. — The endeavour, wherewith everything endeavours to persist in its being, is defined solely by the essence of the thing itself (III. vii.); from this alone, and not from the essence of anything else, it necessarily follows (III. vi.) that everyone endeavours to preserve his being. Moreover, this proposition is plain from IV. xxii. Coroll., for if a man should endeavour to preserve his being for the sake of anything else, the last — named thing would obviously be the basis of virtue, which, by the foregoing corollary, is absurd. Therefore no one, &c. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXVI. Whatsoever we endeavour in obedience to reason is nothing further than to understand; neither does the mind, in so far as it makes use of reason, judge anything to be useful to it, save such things as are conducive to understanding.

Proof. — The effort for self — preservation is nothing else but the essence of the thing in question (III. vii.), which, in so far as it exists such as it is, is conceived to have force for continuing in existence (III. vi.) and doing such things as necessarily follow from its given nature (see the Def. of Appetite, III. ix. note). But the essence of reason is nought else but our mind, in so far as it clearly and distinctly understands (see the definition in II. xl. note. ii.); therefore (II. xl.)

whatsoever we endeavour in obedience to reason is nothing else but to understand. Again, since this effort of the mind wherewith the mind endeavours, in so far as it reasons, to preserve its own being is nothing else but understanding; this effort at understanding is (IV. xxii. Coroll.) the first and single basis of virtue, nor shall we endeavour to understand things for the sake of any ulterior object (IV. xxv.); on the other hand, the mind, in so far as it reasons, will not be able to conceive any good for itself, save such things as are conducive to understanding.

PROP. XXVII. We know nothing to be certainly good or evil, save such things as really conduce to understanding, or such as are able to hinder us from understanding.

Proof. — The mind, in so far as it reasons, desires nothing beyond understanding, and judges nothing to be useful to itself, save such things as conduce to understanding (by the foregoing Prop.). But the mind (II. xli., xliii. and note) cannot possess certainty concerning anything, except in so far as it has adequate ideas, or (what by II. xl. note, is the same thing) in so far as it reasons. Therefore we know nothing to be good or evil save such things as really conduce, &c. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXVIII. The mind's highest good is the knowledge of God, and the mind's highest virtue is to know God.

Proof. — The mind is not capable of understanding anything higher than God, that is (I. Def. vi.), than a Being absolutely infinite, and without which (I. xv.) nothing can either be or be conceived; therefore (IV. xxvi. and xxvii.), the mind's highest utility or (IV. Def. i.) good is the knowledge of God. Again, the mind is active, only in so far as it understands, and only to the same extent can it be said absolutely to act virtuously. The mind's absolute virtue is therefore to understand. Now, as we have already shown, the highest that the mind can understand is God; therefore the highest virtue of the mind is to understand or to know God. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXIX. No individual thing, which is entirely different from our own nature, can help or check our power of activity, and absolutely nothing can do us good or harm, unless it has something in common with our nature.

Proof. — The power of every individual thing, and consequently the power of man, whereby he exists and operates, can only be determined by an individual thing (I. xxviii.), whose nature (II. vi.) must be understood through the same nature as that, through which human nature is conceived. Therefore our power of activity, however it be conceived, can be determined and consequently helped or hindered by the power of any other individual thing, which has something in common with us, but not by the power of anything, of which the nature is entirely different from our own; and since we call good or evil that which is the cause of pleasure or pain (IV. viii.), that is (III. xi. note), which increases or diminishes, helps or hinders, our power of activity; therefore, that which is entirely different from our nature can neither be to us good nor bad. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXX. A thing cannot be bad for us through the quality which it has in common with our nature, but it is bad for us in so far as it is contrary to our nature.

Proof. — We call a thing bad when it is the cause of pain (IV. viii.), that is (by the Def., which see in III. xi. note), when it diminishes or checks our power of action. Therefore, if anything were bad for us through that quality which it has in common with our nature, it would be able itself to diminish or check that which it has in common with our nature, which (III. iv.) is absurd. Wherefore nothing can be bad for us through that quality which it has in common with us, but, on the other hand, in so far as it is bad for us, that is (as we have just shown), in so far as it can diminish or check our power of action, it is contrary to our nature. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXXI. In so far as a thing is in harmony with our nature, it is necessarily good.

Proof. — In so far as a thing is in harmony with our nature, it cannot be bad for it. It will therefore necessarily be either good or indifferent. If it be assumed that it be neither good nor bad, nothing will follow from its nature (IV. Def. i.), which tends to the preservation of our nature, that is (by the hypothesis), which tends to the preservation of the thing itself; but this (III. vi.) is absurd; therefore, in so far as a thing is in harmony with our nature, it is necessarily good. Q.E.D.

Corollary. — Hence it follows, that, in proportion as a thing is in harmony with our nature, so is it more useful or better for us, and vice versâ, in proportion as a thing is more useful for us, so is it more in harmony with our nature. For, in so far as it is not in harmony with our nature, it will necessarily be different therefrom or contrary thereto. If different, it can neither be good nor bad (IV. xxix.); if contrary, it will be contrary to that which is in harmony with our nature, that is, contrary to what is good — in short, bad. Nothing, therefore, can be good, except in so far as it is in harmony with our nature; and hence a thing is useful, in proportion as it is in harmony with our nature, and vice versâ. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXXII. In so far as men are a prey to passion, they cannot, in that respect, be said to be naturally in harmony.

Proof. — Things, which are said to be in harmony naturally, are understood to agree in power (III. vii.), not in want of power or negation, and consequently not in passion (III. iii. note); wherefore men, in so far as they are a prey to their passions, cannot be said to be naturally in harmony. Q.E.D.

Note. — This is also self — evident; for, if we say that white and black only agree in the fact that neither is red, we absolutely affirm that they do not agree in any respect. So, if we say that a man and a stone only agree in the fact that both are finite — wanting in power, not existing by the necessity of their own nature, or, lastly, indefinitely surpassed by the power of external causes — we should certainly affirm that a man and a stone are in no respect alike; therefore, things which agree only in negation, or in qualities which neither possess, really agree in no respect.

PROP. XXXIII. Men can differ in nature, in so far as they are assailed by those emotions, which are passions, or passive states; and to this extent one and the same man is variable and inconstant.

Proof. — The nature or essence of the emotions cannot be explained solely through our essence or nature (III. Deff. i., ii.), but it must be defined by the power, that is (III. vii.), by the nature of external causes in comparison with our own; hence it follows, that there are as many kinds of each emotion as there are

external objects whereby we are affected (III. lvi.), and that men may be differently affected by one and the same object (III. li.), and to this extent differ in nature; lastly, that one and the same man may be differently affected towards the same object, and may therefore be variable and inconstant. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXXIV. In so far as men are assailed by emotions which are passions, they can be contrary one to another.

Proof. — A man, for instance Peter, can be the cause of Paul's feeling pain, because he (Peter) possesses something similar to that which Paul hates (III. xvi.), or because Peter has sole possession of a thing which Paul also loves (III. xxxii. and note), or for other causes (of which the chief are enumerated in III. lv. note); it may therefore happen that Paul should hate Peter (Def. of Emotions, vii.), consequently it may easily happen also, that Peter should hate Paul in return, and that each should endeavour to do the other an injury, (III. xxxix.), that is (IV. xxx.), that they should be contrary one to another. But the emotion of pain is always a passion or passive state (III. lix.); hence men, in so far as they are assailed by emotions which are passions, can be contrary one to another. Q.E.D.

Note. — I said that Paul may hate Peter, because he conceives that Peter possesses something which he (Paul) also loves; from this it seems, at first sight, to follow, that these two men, through both loving the same thing, and, consequently, through agreement of their respective natures, stand in one another's way; if this were so, Props. xxx. and xxxi. of this part would be untrue. But if we give the matter our unbiased attention, we shall see that the discrepancy vanishes. For the two men are not in one another's way in virtue of the agreement of their natures, that is, through both loving the same thing, but in virtue of one differing from the other. For, in so far as each loves the same thing, the love of each is fostered thereby (III. xxxi.), that is (Def. of the Emotions, vi.) the pleasure of each is fostered thereby. Wherefore it is far from being the case, that they are at variance through both loving the same thing, and through the agreement in their natures. The cause for their opposition lies, as I have said, solely in the fact that they are assumed to differ. For we assume that Peter has the idea of the loved

object as already in his possession, while Paul has the idea of the loved object as lost. Hence the one man will be affected with pleasure, the other will be affected with pain, and thus they will be at variance one with another. We can easily show in like manner, that all other causes of hatred depend solely on differences, and not on the agreement between men's natures.

PROP. XXXV. In so far only as men live in obedience to reason, do they always necessarily agree in nature.

Proof. — In so far as men are assailed by emotions that are passions, they can be different in nature (IV. xxxiii.), and at variance one with another. But men are only said to be active, in so far as they act in obedience to reason (III. iii.); therefore, what so ever follows from human nature in so far as it is defined by reason must (III. Def. ii.) be understood solely through human nature as its proximate cause. But, since every man by the laws of his nature desires that which he deems good, and endeavours to remove that which he deems bad (IV. xix.); and further, since that which we, in accordance with reason, deem good or bad, necessarily is good or bad (II. xli.); it follows that men, in so far as they live in obedience to reason, necessarily do only such things as are necessarily good for human nature, and consequently for each individual man (IV. xxxi. Coroll.); in other words, such things as are in harmony with each man's nature. Therefore, men in so far as they live in obedience to reason, necessarily live always in harmony one with another. Q.E.D.

Corollary I. — There is no individual thing in nature, which is more useful to man, than a man who lives in obedience to reason. For that thing is to man most useful, which is most in harmony with his nature (IV. xxxi. Coroll.); that is, obviously, man. But man acts absolutely according to the laws of his nature, when he lives in obedience to reason (III. Def. ii.), and to this extent only is always necessarily in harmony with the nature of another man (by the last Prop.); wherefore among individual things nothing is more useful to man, than a man who lives in obedience to reason. Q.E.D.

Corollary II. — As every man seeks most that which is useful to him, so are men most useful one to another. For the more a man seeks what is useful to him and endeavours to preserve himself, the more is he endowed with virtue (IV. xx.), or, what is the same thing (IV. Def. viii.), the more is he endowed with power to act according to the laws of his own nature, that is to live in obedience to reason. But men are most in natural harmony, when they live in obedience to reason (by the last Prop.); therefore (by the foregoing Coroll.) men will be most useful one to another, when each seeks most that which is useful to him. Q.E.D.

Note. — What we have just shown is attested by experience so conspicuously, that it is in the mouth of nearly everyone: “Man is to man a God.” Yet it rarely happens that men live in obedience to reason, for things are so ordered among them, that they are generally envious and troublesome one to another. Nevertheless they are scarcely able to lead a solitary life, so that the definition of man as a social animal has met with general assent; in fact, men do derive from social life much more convenience than injury. Let satirists then laugh their fill at human affairs, let theologians rail, and let misanthropes praise to their utmost the life of untutored rusticity, let them heap contempt on men and praises on beasts; when all is said, they will find that men can provide for their wants much more easily by mutual help, and that only by uniting their forces can they escape from the dangers that on every side beset them: not to say how much more excellent and worthy of our knowledge it is, to study the actions of men than the actions of beasts. But I will treat of this more at length elsewhere.

PROP. XXXVI. The highest good of those who follow virtue is common to all, and therefore all can equally rejoice therein.

Proof. — To act virtuously is to act in obedience with reason (IV. xxiv.), and whatsoever we endeavour to do in obedience to reason is to understand (IV. xxvi.); therefore (IV. xxviii.) the highest good for those who follow after virtue is to know God; that is (II. xlvii. and note) a good which is common to all and can be possessed by all men equally, in so far as they are of the same nature. Q.E.D.

Note. — Someone may ask how it would be, if the highest good of those who follow after virtue were not common to all? Would it not then follow, as above (IV. xxxiv.), that men living in obedience to reason, that is (IV. xxxv.), men in so far as they agree in nature, would be at variance one with another? To such an inquiry, I make answer, that it follows not accidentally but from the very nature of reason, that man's highest good is common to all, inasmuch as it is deduced from the very essence of man, in so far as defined by reason; and that a man could neither be, nor be conceived without the power of taking pleasure in this highest good. For it belongs to the essence of the human mind (II. xlvii.), to have an adequate knowledge of the eternal and infinite essence of God.

PROP. XXXVII. The good which every man, who follows after virtue, desires for himself he will also desire for other men, and so much the more, in proportion as he has a greater knowledge of God.

Proof. — Men, in so far as they live in obedience to reason, are most useful to their fellow men (IV. xxxv; Coroll. i.); therefore (IV. xix.), we shall in obedience to reason necessarily endeavour to bring about that men should live in obedience to reason. But the good which every man, in so far as he is guided by reason, or, in other words, follows after virtue, desires for himself, is to understand (IV. xxvi.); wherefore the good, which each follower of virtue seeks for himself, he will desire also for others. Again, desire, in so far as it is referred to the mind, is the very essence of the mind (Def. of the Emotions, i.); now the essence of the mind consists in knowledge (II. xi.), which involves the knowledge of God (II. xlvii.), and without it (I. xv.), can neither be, nor be conceived; therefore, in proportion as the mind's essence involves a greater knowledge of God, so also will be greater the desire of the follower of virtue, that other men should possess that which he seeks as good for himself. Q.E.D.

Another Proof. — The good, which a man desires for himself and loves, he will love more constantly, if he sees that others love it also (III. xxxi.); he will therefore endeavour that others should love it also; and as the good in question is common to all, and therefore all can rejoice therein, he will endeavour, for the

same reason, to bring about that all should rejoice therein, and this he will do the more (III. xxxvii.), in proportion as his own enjoyment of the good is greater.

Note I. — He who, guided by emotion only, endeavours to cause others to love what he loves himself, and to make the rest of the world live according to his own fancy, acts solely by impulse, and is, therefore, hateful, especially, to those who take delight in something different, and accordingly study and, by similar impulse, endeavour, to make men live in accordance with what pleases themselves. Again, as the highest good sought by men under the guidance of emotion is often such, that it can only be possessed by a single individual, it follows that those who love it are not consistent in their intentions, but, while they delight to sing its praises, fear to be believed. But he, who endeavours to lead men by reason, does not act by impulse but courteously and kindly, and his intention is always consistent. Again, whatsoever we desire and do, whereof we are the cause in so far as we possess the idea of God, or know God, I set down to Religion. The desire of well — doing, which is engendered by a life according to reason, I call piety. Further, the desire, whereby a man living according to reason is bound to associate others with himself in friendship, I call honour¹³; by honourable I mean that which is praised by men living according to reason, and by base I mean that which is repugnant to the gaining of friendship. I have also shown in addition what are the foundations of a state; and the difference between true virtue and infirmity may be readily gathered from what I have said; namely, that true virtue is nothing else but living in accordance with reason; while infirmity is nothing else but man's allowing himself to be led by things which are external to himself, and to be by them determined to act in a manner demanded by the general disposition of things rather than by his own nature considered solely in itself.

¹³ — Honestas

Such are the matters which I engaged to prove in Prop. xviii. of this Part, whereby it is plain that the law against the slaughtering of animals is founded rather on vain superstition and womanish pity than on sound reason. The rational quest of what is useful to us further teaches us the necessity of associating ourselves with our fellow men, but not with beasts, or things, whose nature is different from our own; we have the same rights in respect to them as they have in respect to us. Nay, as everyone's right is defined by his virtue, or power, men have far greater rights over beasts than beasts have over men. Still I do not deny that beasts feel: what I deny is, that we may not consult our own advantage and use them as we please, treating them in the way which best suits us; for their nature is not like ours, and their emotions are naturally different from human emotions (III. lvii. note). It remains for me to explain what I mean by just and unjust, sin and merit. On these points see the following note.

Note II. — In the Appendix to Part I. I undertook to explain praise and blame, merit and sin, justice and injustice.

Concerning praise and blame I have spoken in III. xxix. note: the time has now come to treat of the remaining terms. But I must first say a few words concerning man in the state of nature and in society.

Every man exists by sovereign natural right, and, consequently, by sovereign natural right performs those actions which follow from the necessity of his own nature; therefore by sovereign natural right every man judges what is good and what is bad, takes care of his own advantage according to his own disposition (IV. xix. and IV. xx.), avenges the wrongs done to him (III. xl. Coroll. ii.), and endeavours to preserve that which he loves and to destroy that which he hates (III. xxviii.). Now, if men lived under the guidance of reason, everyone would remain in possession of this his right, without any injury being done to his neighbour (IV. xxxv. Coroll. i.). But seeing that they are a prey to their emotions, which far surpass human power or virtue (IV. vi.), they are often drawn in different directions, and being at variance one with another (IV. xxxiii. xxxiv.), stand in need of mutual help (IV. xxxv. note). Wherefore, in order that men may live

together in harmony, and may aid one another, it is necessary that they should forego their natural right, and, for the sake of security, refrain from all actions which can injure their fellow — men. The way in which this end can be obtained, so that men who are necessarily a prey to their emotions (IV. iv. Coroll.), inconstant, and diverse, should be able to render each other mutually secure, and feel mutual trust, is evident from IV. vii. and III. xxxix. It is there shown, that an emotion can only be restrained by an emotion stronger than, and contrary to itself, and that men avoid inflicting injury through fear of incurring a greater injury themselves.

On this law society can be established, so long as it keeps in its own hand the right, possessed by everyone, of avenging injury, and pronouncing on good and evil; and provided it also possesses the power to lay down a general rule of conduct, and to pass laws sanctioned, not by reason, which is powerless in restraining emotion, but by threats (IV. xvii. note). Such a society established with laws and the power of preserving itself is called a State, while those who live under its protection are called citizens. We may readily understand that there is in the state of nature nothing, which by universal consent is pronounced good or bad; for in the state of nature everyone thinks solely of his own advantage, and according to his disposition, with reference only to his individual advantage, decides what is good or bad, being bound by no law to anyone besides himself.

In the state of nature, therefore, sin is inconceivable; it can only exist in a state, where good and evil are pronounced on by common consent, and where everyone is bound to obey the State authority. Sin, then, is nothing else but disobedience, which is therefore punished by the right of the State only. Obedience, on the other hand, is set down as merit, inasmuch as a man is thought worthy of merit, if he takes delight in the advantages which a State provides.

Again, in the state of nature, no one is by common consent master of anything, nor is there anything in nature, which can be said to belong to one man rather than another: all things are common to all. Hence, in the state of nature, we can conceive no wish to render to every man his own, or to deprive a man of that

which belongs to him; in other words, there is nothing in the state of nature answering to justice and injustice. Such ideas are only possible in a social state, when it is decreed by common consent what belongs to one man and what to another.

From all these considerations it is evident, that justice and injustice, sin and merit, are extrinsic ideas, and not attributes which display the nature of the mind. But I have said enough.

PROP. XXXVIII. Whatsoever disposes the human body, so as to render it capable of being affected in an increased number of ways, or of affecting external bodies in an increased number of ways, is useful to man; and is so, in proportion as the body is thereby rendered more capable of being affected or affecting other bodies in an increased number of ways; contrariwise, whatsoever renders the body less capable in this respect is hurtful to man.

Proof. — Whatsoever thus increases the capabilities of the body increases also the mind's capability of perception (II. xiv.); therefore, whatsoever thus disposes the body and thus renders it capable, is necessarily good or useful (IV. xxvi. xxvii.); and is so in proportion to the extent to which it can render the body capable; contrariwise (II. xiv., IV. xxvi. xxvii.), it is hurtful, if it renders the body in this respect less capable. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXXIX. Whatsoever brings about the preservation of the proportion of motion and rest, which the parts of the human body mutually possess, is good; contrariwise, whatsoever causes a change in such proportion is bad.

Proof. — The human body needs many other bodies for its preservation (II. Post. iv.). But that which constitutes the specific reality (forma) of a human body is, that its parts communicate their several motions one to another in a certain fixed proportion (Def. before Lemma iv. after II. xiii.). Therefore, whatsoever brings about the preservation of the proportion between motion and rest, which the parts of the human body mutually possess, preserves the specific reality of the human body, and consequently renders the human body capable of being affected in many ways and of affecting external bodies in many ways; consequently it is

good (by the last Prop.). Again, whatsoever brings about a change in the aforesaid proportion causes the human body to assume another specific character, in other words (see Preface to this Part towards the end, though the point is indeed self — evident), to be destroyed, and consequently totally incapable of being affected in an increased numbers of ways; therefore it is bad. Q.E.D.

Note. — The extent to which such causes can injure or be of service to the mind will be explained in the Fifth Part. But I would here remark that I consider that a body undergoes death, when the proportion of motion and rest which obtained mutually among its several parts is changed. For I do not venture to deny that a human body, while keeping the circulation of the blood and other properties, wherein the life of a body is thought to consist, may none the less be changed into another nature totally different from its own. There is no reason, which compels me to maintain that a body does not die, unless it becomes a corpse; nay, experience would seem to point to the opposite conclusion. It sometimes happens, that a man undergoes such changes, that I should hardly call him the same. As I have heard tell of a certain Spanish poet, who had been seized with sickness, and though he recovered therefrom yet remained so oblivious of his past life, that he would not believe the plays and tragedies he had written to be his own: indeed, he might have been taken for a grown — up child, if he had also forgotten his native tongue. If this instance seems incredible, what shall we say of infants? A man of ripe age deems their nature so unlike his own, that he can only be persuaded that he too has been an infant by the analogy of other men. However, I prefer to leave such questions undiscussed, lest I should give ground to the superstitious for raising new issues.

PROP. XL. Whatsoever conduces to man's social life, or causes men to live together in harmony, is useful, whereas whatsoever brings discord into a State is bad.

Proof. — For whatsoever causes men to live together in harmony also causes them to live according to reason (IV. xxxv.), and is therefore (IV. xxvi. xxvii.) good, and (for the same reason) whatsoever brings about discord is bad. Q.E.D.

PROP. XLI. Pleasure in itself is not bad but good: contrariwise, pain in itself is bad.

Proof. — Pleasure (III. xi. and note) is emotion, whereby the body's power of activity is increased or helped; pain is emotion, whereby the body's power of activity is diminished or checked; therefore (IV. xxxviii.) pleasure in itself is good, &c. Q.E.D.

PROP. XLII. Mirth cannot be excessive, but is always good; contrariwise, Melancholy is always bad.

Proof. — Mirth (see its Def. in III. xi. note) is pleasure, which, in so far as it is referred to the body, consists in all parts of the body being affected equally: that is (III. xi.), the body's power of activity is increased or aided in such a manner, that the several parts maintain their former proportion of motion and rest; therefore Mirth is always good (IV. xxxix.), and cannot be excessive. But Melancholy (see its Def. in the same note to III. xi.) is pain, which, in so far as it is referred to the body, consists in the absolute decrease or hindrance of the body's power of activity; therefore (IV. xxxviii.) it is always bad. Q.E.D.

PROP. XLIII. Stimulation may be excessive and bad; on the other hand, grief may be good, in so far as stimulation or pleasure is bad.

Proof. — Localized pleasure or stimulation (*titillatio*) is pleasure, which, in so far as it is referred to the body, consists in one or some of its parts being affected more than the rest (see its Definition, III. xi. note); the power of this emotion may be sufficient to overcome other actions of the body (IV. vi.), and may remain obstinately fixed therein, thus rendering it incapable of being affected in a variety of other ways: therefore (IV. xxxviii.) it may be bad. Again, grief, which is pain, cannot as such be good (IV. xli.). But, as its force and increase is defined by the power of an external cause compared with our own (IV. v.), we can conceive infinite degrees and modes of strength in this emotion (IV. iii.); we can, therefore, conceive it as capable of restraining stimulation, and preventing its becoming excessive, and hindering the body's capabilities; thus, to this extent, it will be good. Q.E.D.

PROP. XLIV. Love and desire may be excessive.

Proof. — Love is pleasure, accompanied by the idea of an external cause (Def. of Emotions, vi.); therefore stimulation, accompanied by the idea of an external cause is love (III. xi. note); hence love maybe excessive. Again, the strength of desire varies in proportion to the emotion from which it arises (III. xxxvii.). Now emotion may overcome all the rest of men's actions (IV. vi.); so, therefore, can desire, which arises from the same emotion, overcome all other desires, and become excessive, as we showed in the last proposition concerning stimulation.

Note. — Mirth, which I have stated to be good, can be conceived more easily than it can be observed. For the emotions, whereby we are daily assailed, are generally referred to some part of the body which is affected more than the rest; hence the emotions are generally excessive, and so fix the mind in the contemplation of one object, that it is unable to think of others; and although men, as a rule, are a prey to many emotions — and very few are found who are always assailed by one and the same — yet there are cases, where one and the same emotion remains obstinately fixed. We sometimes see men so absorbed in one object, that, although it be not present, they think they have it before them; when this is the case with a man who is not asleep, we say he is delirious or mad; nor are those persons who are inflamed with love, and who dream all night and all day about nothing but their mistress, or some woman, considered as less mad, for they are made objects of ridicule. But when a miser thinks of nothing but gain or money, or when an ambitious man thinks of nothing but glory, they are not reckoned to be mad, because they are generally harmful, and are thought worthy of being hated. But, in reality, Avarice, Ambition, Lust, &c., are species of madness, though they may not be reckoned among diseases.

PROP. XLV. Hatred can never be good.

Proof. — When we hate a man, we endeavour to destroy him (III. xxxix.), that is (IV. xxxvii.), we endeavour to do something that is bad. Therefore, &c. Q.E.D.

N.B. Here, and in what follows, I mean by hatred only hatred towards men.

Corollary I. — Envy, derision, contempt, anger, revenge, and other emotions attributable to hatred, or arising therefrom, are bad; this is evident from III. xxxix. and IV. xxxvii.

Corollary II. — Whatsoever we desire from motives of hatred is base, and in a State unjust. This also is evident from III. xxxix., and from the definitions of baseness and injustice in IV. xxxvii. note.

Note. — Between derision (which I have in Coroll. I. stated to be bad) and laughter I recognize a great difference. For laughter, as also jocularly, is merely pleasure; therefore, so long as it be not excessive, it is in itself good (IV. xli.). Assuredly nothing forbids man to enjoy himself, save grim and gloomy superstition. For why is it more lawful to satiate one's hunger and thirst than to drive away one's melancholy? I reason, and have convinced myself as follows: No deity, nor anyone else, save the envious, takes pleasure in my infirmity and discomfort, nor sets down to my virtue the tears, sobs, fear, and the like, which are signs of infirmity of spirit; on the contrary, the greater the pleasure wherewith we are affected, the greater the perfection whereto we pass; in other words, the more must we necessarily partake of the divine nature. Therefore, to make use of what comes in our way, and to enjoy it as much as possible (not to the point of satiety, for that would not be enjoyment) is the part of a wise man. I say it is the part of a wise man to refresh and recreate himself with moderate and pleasant food and drink, and also with perfumes, with the soft beauty of growing plants, with dress, with music, with many sports, with theatres, and the like, such as every man may make use of without injury to his neighbour. For the human body is composed of very numerous parts, of diverse nature, which continually stand in need of fresh and varied nourishment, so that the whole body may be equally capable of performing all the actions, which follow from the necessity of its own nature; and, consequently, so that the mind may also be equally capable of understanding many things simultaneously. This way of life, then, agrees best with our principles, and also with general practice; therefore, if there be any question of another plan, the plan we have mentioned is the best, and in every

way to be commended. There is no need for me to set forth the matter more clearly or in more detail.

PROP. XLVI. He, who lives under the guidance of reason, endeavours, as far as possible, to render back love, or kindness, for other men's hatred, anger, contempt, &c., towards him.

Proof. — All emotions of hatred are bad (IV. xlv. Coroll. i.); therefore he who lives under the guidance of reason will endeavour, as far as possible, to avoid being assailed by such emotions (IV. xix.); consequently, he will also endeavour to prevent others being so assailed (IV. xxxvii.). But hatred is increased by being reciprocated, and can be quenched by love (III. xliii.), so that hatred may pass into love (III. xlv.); therefore he who lives under the guidance of reason will endeavour to repay hatred with love, that is, with kindness. Q.E.D.

Note. — He who chooses to avenge wrongs with hatred is assuredly wretched. But he, who strives to conquer hatred with love, fights his battle in joy and confidence; he withstands many as easily as one, and has very little need of fortune's aid. Those whom he vanquishes yield joyfully, not through failure, but through increase in their powers; all these consequences follow so plainly from the mere definitions of love and understanding, that I have no need to prove them in detail.

PROP. XLVII. Emotions of hope and fear cannot be in themselves good.

Proof. — Emotions of hope and fear cannot exist without pain. For fear is pain (Def. of the Emotions, xiii.), and hope (Def. of the Emotions, Explanation xii. and xiii.) cannot exist without fear; therefore (IV. xli.) these emotions cannot be good in themselves, but only in so far as they can restrain excessive pleasure (IV. xliii.). Q.E.D.

Note. — We may add, that these emotions show defective knowledge and an absence of power in the mind; for the same reason confidence, despair, joy, and disappointment are signs of a want of mental power. For although confidence and joy are pleasurable emotions, they nevertheless imply a preceding pain, namely, hope and fear. Wherefore the more we endeavour to be guided by reason, the less

do we depend on hope; we endeavour to free ourselves from fear, and, as far as we can, to dominate fortune, directing our actions by the sure counsels of wisdom.

PROP. XLVIII. The emotions of over — esteem and disparagement are always bad.

Proof. — These emotions (see Def. of the Emotions, xxi. xxii.) are repugnant to reason; and are therefore (IV. xxvi. xxvii.) bad. Q.E.D.

PROP. XLIX. Over — esteem is apt to render its object proud.

Proof. — If we see that any one rates us too highly, for love's sake, we are apt to become elated (III. xli.), or to be pleurably affected (Def. of the Emotions, xxx.); the good which we hear of ourselves we readily believe (III. xxv.); and therefore, for love's sake, rate ourselves too highly; in other words, we are apt to become proud. Q.E.D.

PROP. L. Pity, in a man who lives under the guidance of reason, is in itself bad and useless.

Proof. — Pity (Def. of the Emotions, xviii.) is a pain, and therefore (IV. xli.) is in itself bad. The good effect which follows, namely, our endeavour to free the object of our pity from misery, is an action which we desire to do solely at the dictation of reason (IV. xxxvii.); only at the dictation of reason are we able to perform any action, which we know for certain to be good (IV. xxvii.); thus, in a man who lives under the guidance of reason, pity in itself is useless and bad. Q.E.D.

Note. — He who rightly realizes, that all things follow from the necessity of the divine nature, and come to pass in accordance with the eternal laws and rules of nature, will not find anything worthy of hatred, derision, or contempt, nor will he bestow pity on anything, but to the utmost extent of human virtue he will endeavour to do well, as the saying is, and to rejoice. We may add, that he, who is easily touched with compassion, and is moved by another's sorrow or tears, often does something which he afterwards regrets; partly because we can never be sure that an action caused by emotion is good, partly because we are easily deceived

by false tears. I am in this place expressly speaking of a man living under the guidance of reason. He who is moved to help others neither by reason nor by compassion, is rightly styled inhuman, for (III. xxvii.) he seems unlike a man.

PROP. LI. Approval is not repugnant to reason, but can agree therewith and arise therefrom.

Proof. — Approval is love towards one who has done good to another (Def. of the Emotions, xix.); therefore it may be referred to the mind, in so far as the latter is active (III. lix.), that is (III. iii.), in so far as it understands; therefore, it is in agreement with reason, &c. Q.E.D.

Another Proof. — He, who lives under the guidance of reason, desires for others the good which he seeks for himself (IV. xxxvii.); wherefore from seeing someone doing good to his fellow his own endeavour to do good is aided; in other words, he will feel pleasure (III. xi. note) accompanied by the idea of the benefactor. Therefore he approves of him. Q.E.D.

Note. — Indignation as we defined it (Def. of the Emotions, xx.) is necessarily evil (IV. xlv.); we may, however, remark that, when the sovereign power for the sake of preserving peace punishes a citizen who has injured another, it should not be said to be indignant with the criminal, for it is not incited by hatred to ruin him, it is led by a sense of duty to punish him.

PROP. LII. Self — approval may arise from reason, and that which arises from reason is the highest possible.

Proof. — Self — approval is pleasure arising from a man's contemplation of himself and his own power of action (Def. of the Emotions, xxv.). But a man's true power of action or virtue is reason herself (III. iii.), as the said man clearly and distinctly contemplates her (II. xl. xliii.); therefore self — approval arises from reason. Again, when a man is contemplating himself, he only perceived clearly and distinctly or adequately, such things as follow from his power of action (III. Def. ii.), that is (III. iii.), from his power of understanding; therefore in such contemplation alone does the highest possible self — approval arise. Q.E.D.

Note. — Self — approval is in reality the highest object for which we can hope. For (as we showed in IV. xxv.) no one endeavours to preserve his being for the sake of any ulterior object, and, as this approval is more and more fostered and strengthened by praise (III. liii. Coroll.), and on the contrary (III. lv. Coroll.) is more and more disturbed by blame, fame becomes the most powerful of incitements to action, and life under disgrace is almost unendurable.

PROP. LIII. Humility is not a virtue, or does not arise from reason.

Proof. — Humility is pain arising from a man's contemplation of his own infirmities (Def. of the Emotions, xxvi.). But, in so far as a man knows himself by true reason, he is assumed to understand his essence, that is, his power (III. vii.). Wherefore, if a man in self — contemplation perceives any infirmity in himself, it is not by virtue of his understanding himself, but (III. lv.) by virtue of his power of activity being checked. But, if we assume that a man perceives his own infirmity by virtue of understanding something stronger than himself, by the knowledge of which he determines his own power of activity, this is the same as saying that we conceive that a man understands himself distinctly (IV. xxvi.), because¹⁴ his power of activity is aided. Wherefore humility, or the pain which arises from a man's contemplation of his own infirmity, does not arise from the contemplation or reason, and is not a virtue but a passion. Q.E.D.

¹⁴ Land reads: "Quod ipsius agendi potentia juvatur" — which I have translated above. He suggests as alternative readings to 'quod', 'quo' (= whereby) and 'quodque' (= and that).

PROP. LIV. Repentance is not a virtue, or does not arise from reason; but he who repents of an action is doubly wretched or infirm.

Proof. — The first part of this proposition is proved like the foregoing one. The second part is proved from the mere definition of the emotion in question (Def. of the Emotions, xxvii.). For the man allows himself to be overcome, first, by evil desires; secondly, by pain.

Note. — As men seldom live under the guidance of reason, these two emotions, namely, Humility and Repentance, as also Hope and Fear, bring more good than harm; hence, as we must sin, we had better sin in that direction. For, if all men who are a prey to emotion were all equally proud, they would shrink from nothing, and would fear nothing; how then could they be joined and linked together in bonds of union? The crowd plays the tyrant, when it is not in fear; hence we need not wonder that the prophets, who consulted the good, not of a few, but of all, so strenuously commended Humility, Repentance, and Reverence. Indeed those who are a prey to these emotions may be led much more easily than others to live under the guidance of reason, that is, to become free and to enjoy the life of the blessed.

PROP. LV. Extreme pride or dejection indicates extreme ignorance of self.

Proof. — This is evident from Def. of the Emotions, xxviii. and xxix.

PROP. LVI. Extreme pride or dejection indicates extreme infirmity of spirit.

Proof. — The first foundation of virtue is self — preservation (IV. xxii. Coroll.) under the guidance of reason (IV. xxiv.). He, therefore, who is ignorant of himself, is ignorant of the foundation of all virtues, and consequently of all virtues. Again, to act virtuously is merely to act under the guidance of reason (IV. xxiv.): now he, that acts under the guidance of reason, must necessarily know that he so acts (II. xliii.). Therefore he who is in extreme ignorance of himself, and consequently of all virtues, acts least in obedience to virtue; in other words (IV. Def. viii.), is most infirm of spirit. Thus extreme pride or dejection indicates extreme infirmity of spirit. Q.E.D.

Corollary. — Hence it most clearly follows, that the proud and the dejected specially fall a prey to the emotions.

Note. — Yet dejection can be more easily corrected than pride; for the latter being a pleasurable emotion, and the former a painful emotion, the pleasurable is stronger than the painful (IV. xviii.).

PROP. LVII. The proud man delights in the company of flatterers and parasites, but hates the company of the high — minded.

Proof. — Pride is pleasure arising from a man's over estimation of himself (Def. of the Emotions, xxviii. and vi.); this estimation the proud man will endeavour to foster by all the means in his power (III. xiii. note); he will therefore delight in the company of flatterers and parasites (whose character is too well known to need definition here), and will avoid the company of high — minded men, who value him according to his deserts. Q.E.D.

Note. — It would be too long a task to enumerate here all the evil results of pride, inasmuch as the proud are a prey to all the emotions, though to none of them less than to love and pity. I cannot, however, pass over in silence the fact, that a man may be called proud from his underestimation of other people; and, therefore, pride in this sense may be defined as pleasure arising from the false opinion, whereby a man may consider himself superior to his fellows. The dejection, which is the opposite quality to this sort of pride, may be defined as pain arising from the false opinion, whereby a man may think himself inferior to his fellows. Such being the case, we can easily see that a proud man is necessarily envious (III. xli. note), and only takes pleasure in the company, who fool his weak mind to the top of his bent, and make him insane instead of merely foolish.

Though dejection is the emotion contrary to pride, yet is the dejected man very near akin to the proud man. For, inasmuch as his pain arises from a comparison between his own infirmity and other men's power or virtue, it will be removed, or, in other words, he will feel pleasure, if his imagination be occupied in contemplating other men's faults; whence arises the proverb, "The unhappy are comforted by finding fellow — sufferers." Contrariwise, he will be the more pained in proportion as he thinks himself inferior to others; hence none are so prone to envy as the dejected, they are specially keen in observing men's actions, with a view to fault — finding rather than correction, in order to reserve their praises for dejection, and to glory therein, though all the time with a dejected air. These effects follow as necessarily from the said emotion, as it follows from the nature of a triangle, that the three angles are equal to two right angles. I have already said that I call these and similar emotions bad, solely in respect to what is

useful to man. The laws of nature have regard to nature's general order, whereof man is but a part. I mention this, in passing, lest any should think that I have wished to set forth the faults and irrational deeds of men rather than the nature and properties of things. For, as I said in the preface to the third Part, I regard human emotions and their properties as on the same footing with other natural phenomena. Assuredly human emotions indicate the power and ingenuity, of nature, if not of human nature, quite as fully as other things which we admire, and which we delight to contemplate. But I pass on to note those qualities in the emotions, which bring advantage to man, or inflict injury upon him.

PROP. LVIII. Honour (gloria) is not repugnant to reason, but may arise therefrom.

Proof. — This is evident from Def. of the Emotions, xxx., and also from the definition of an honourable man (IV. xxxvii. note. i.).

Note — Empty honour, as it is styled, is self — approval, fostered only by the good opinion of the populace; when this good opinion ceases there ceases also the self — approval, in other words, the highest object of each man's love (IV. lii. note); consequently, he whose honour is rooted in popular approval must, day by day, anxiously strive, act, and scheme in order to retain his reputation. For the populace is variable and inconstant, so that, if a reputation be not kept up, it quickly withers away. Everyone wishes to catch popular applause for himself, and readily represses the fame of others. The object of the strife being estimated as the greatest of all goods, each combatant is seized with a fierce desire to put down his rivals in every possible way, till he who at last comes out victorious is more proud of having done harm to others than of having done good to himself. This sort of honour, then, is really empty, being nothing.

The points to note concerning shame may easily be inferred from what was said on the subject of mercy and repentance. I will only add that shame, like compassion, though not a virtue, is yet good, in so far as it shows, that the feeler of shame is really imbued with the desire to live honourably; in the same way as suffering is good, as showing that the injured part is not mortified. Therefore,

though a man who feels shame is sorrowful, he is yet more perfect than he, who is shameless, and has no desire to live honourably.

Such are the points which I undertook to remark upon concerning the emotions of pleasure and pain; as for the desires, they are good or bad according as they spring from good or evil emotions. But all, in so far as they are engendered in us by emotions wherein the mind is passive, are blind (as is evident from what was said in IV. xliv. note), and would be useless, if men could easily, be induced to live by the guidance of reason only, as I will now briefly, show.

PROP. LIX. To all the actions, whereto we are determined by emotion wherein the mind is passive; we can be determined without emotion by reason.

Proof. — To act rationally, is nothing else (III. iii. and Def. ii.) but to perform those actions, which follow from the necessity, of our nature considered in itself alone. But pain is bad, in so far as it diminishes or checks the power of action (IV. xli.); wherefore we cannot by pain be determined to any action, which we should be unable to perform under the guidance of reason. Again, pleasure is bad only in so far as it hinders a man's capability for action (IV. xli. xliii.); therefore to this extent we could not be determined by it to any action, which we could not perform under the guidance of reason. Lastly, pleasure, in so far as it is good, is in harmony with reason (for it consists in the fact that a man's capability for action is increased or aided); nor is the mind passive therein, except in so far as a man's power of action is not increased to the extent of affording him an adequate conception of himself and his actions (III. iii., and note).

Wherefore, if a man who is pleasurable affected be brought to such a state of perfection, that he gains an adequate conception of himself and his own actions, he will be equally, nay more, capable of those actions, to which he is determined by emotion wherein the mind is passive. But all emotions are attributable to pleasure, to pain, or to desire (Def. of the Emotions, iv. explanation); and desire (Def. of the Emotions, i.) is nothing else but the attempt to act; therefore, to all actions, &c. Q.E.D.

Another Proof. — A given action is called bad, in so far as it arises from one being affected by hatred or any evil emotion. But no action, considered in itself alone, is either good or bad (as we pointed out in the preface to Pt. IV.), one and the same action being sometimes good, sometimes bad; wherefore to the action which is sometimes bad, or arises from some evil emotion, we may be led by reason (IV. xix.). Q.E.D.

Note. — An example will put this point in a clearer light. The action of striking, in so far as it is considered physically, and in so far as we merely look to the fact that a man raises his arm, clenches his fist, and moves his whole arm violently downwards, is a virtue or excellence which is conceived as proper to the structure of the human body. If, then, a man, moved by anger or hatred, is led to clench his fist or to move his arm, this result takes place (as we showed in Pt. II.), because one and the same action can be associated with various mental images of things; therefore we may be determined to the performance of one and the same action by confused ideas, or by clear and distinct ideas. Hence it is evident that every desire which springs from emotion, wherein the mind is passive, would become useless, if men could be guided by reason. Let us now see why desire which arises from emotion, wherein the mind is passive, is called by us blind.

PROP. LX. Desire arising from a pleasure or pain, that is not attributable to the whole body, but only to one or certain parts thereof, is without utility in respect to a man as a whole.

Proof. — Let it be assumed, for instance, that A, a part of a body, is so strengthened by some external cause, that it prevails over the remaining parts (IV. vi.). This part will not endeavour to do away with its own powers, in order that the other parts of the body may perform its office; for this it would be necessary for it to have a force or power of doing away with its own powers, which (III. vi.) is absurd. The said part, and, consequently, the mind also, will endeavour to preserve its condition. Wherefore desire arising from a pleasure of the kind aforesaid has no utility in reference to a man as a whole. If it be assumed, on the other hand, that the part, A, be checked so that the remaining parts prevail, it may

be proved in the same manner that desire arising from pain has no utility in respect to a man as a whole. Q.E.D.

Note. — As pleasure is generally (IV. xliv. note) attributed to one part of the body, we generally desire to preserve our being with out taking into consideration our health as a whole: to which it may be added, that the desires which have most hold over us (IV. ix.) take account of the present and not of the future.

PROP. LXI. Desire which springs from reason cannot be excessive.

Proof. — Desire (Def. of the Emotions, i.) considered absolutely is the actual essence of man, in so far as it is conceived as in any way determined to a particular activity by some given modification of itself. Hence desire, which arises from reason, that is (III. iii.), which is engendered in us in so far as we act, is the actual essence or nature of man, in so far as it is conceived as determined to such activities as are adequately conceived through man's essence only (III. Def. ii.). Now, if such desire could be excessive, human nature considered in itself alone would be able to exceed itself, or would be able to do more than it can, a manifest contradiction. Therefore, such desire cannot be excessive. Q.E.D.

PROP. LXII. In so far as the mind conceives a thing under the dictates of reason, it is affected equally, whether the idea be of a thing future, past, or present.

Proof. — Whatsoever the mind conceives under the guidance of reason, it conceives under the form of eternity or necessity (II. xliv. Coroll. ii.), and is therefore affected with the same certitude (II. xliii. and note). Wherefore, whether the thing be present, past, or future, the mind conceives it under the same necessity and is affected with the same certitude; and whether the idea be of something present, past, or future, it will in all cases be equally true (II. xli.); that is, it will always possess the same properties of an adequate idea (II. Def. iv.); therefore, in so far as the mind conceives things under the dictates of reason, it is affected in the same manner, whether the idea be of a thing future, past, or present. Q.E.D.

Note. — If we could possess an adequate knowledge of the duration of things, and could determine by reason their periods of existence, we should contemplate things future with the same emotion as things present; and the mind would desire as though it were present the good which it conceived as future; consequently it would necessarily neglect a lesser good in the present for the sake of a greater good in the future, and would in no wise desire that which is good in the present but a source of evil in the future, as we shall presently show. However, we can have but a very inadequate knowledge of the duration of things (II. xxxi.); and the periods of their existence (II. xliv. note.) we can only determine by imagination, which is not so powerfully affected by the future as by the present. Hence such true knowledge of good and evil as we possess is merely abstract or general, and the judgment which we pass on the order of things and the connection of causes, with a view to determining what is good or bad for us in the present, is rather imaginary than real. Therefore it is nothing wonderful, if the desire arising from such knowledge of good and evil, in so far as it looks on into the future, be more readily checked than the desire of things which are agreeable at the present time. (Cf. IV. xvi.)

PROP. LXIII. He who is led by fear, and does good in order to escape evil, is not led by reason.

Proof. — All the emotions which are attributable to the mind as active, or in other words to reason, are emotions of pleasure and desire (III. lix.); therefore, he who is led by fear, and does good in order to escape evil, is not led by reason.

Note. — Superstitious persons, who know better how to rail at vice than how to teach virtue, and who strive not to guide men by reason, but so to restrain them that they would rather escape evil than love virtue, have no other aim but to make others as wretched as themselves; wherefore it is nothing wonderful, if they be generally troublesome and odious to their fellow — men.

Corollary. — Under desire which springs from reason, we seek good directly, and shun evil indirectly.

Proof. — Desire which springs from reason can only spring from a pleasurable emotion, wherein the mind is not passive (III. lix.), in other words, from a pleasure which cannot be excessive (IV. lxi.), and not from pain; wherefore this desire springs from the knowledge of good, not of evil (IV. viii.); hence under the guidance of reason we seek good directly and only by implication shun evil. Q.E.D.

Note. — This Corollary may be illustrated by the example of a sick and a healthy man. The sick man through fear of death eats what he naturally shrinks from, but the healthy man takes pleasure in his food, and thus gets a better enjoyment out of life, than if he were in fear of death, and desired directly to avoid it. So a judge, who condemns a criminal to death, not from hatred or anger but from love of the public well — being, is guided solely by reason.

PROP. LXIV. The knowledge of evil is an inadequate knowledge.

Proof. — The knowledge of evil (IV. viii.) is pain, in so far as we are conscious thereof. Now pain is the transition to a lesser perfection (Def. of the Emotions, iii.) and therefore cannot be understood through man's nature (III. vi., and vii.); therefore it is a passive state (III. Def. ii.) which (III. iii.) depends on inadequate ideas; consequently the knowledge thereof (II. xxix.), namely, the knowledge of evil, is inadequate. Q.E.D.

Corollary. — Hence it follows that, if the human mind possessed only adequate ideas, it would form no conception of evil.

PROP. LXV. Under the guidance of reason we should pursue the greater of two goods and the lesser of two evils.

Proof. — A good which prevents our enjoyment of a greater good is in reality an evil; for we apply the terms good and bad to things, in so far as we compare them one with another (see preface to this Part); therefore, evil is in reality a lesser good; hence under the guidance of reason we seek or pursue only the greater good and the lesser evil. Q.E.D.

Corollary. — We may, under the guidance of reason, pursue the lesser evil as though it were the greater good, and we may shun the lesser good, which would

be the cause of the greater evil. For the evil, which is here called the lesser, is really good, and the lesser good is really evil, wherefore we may seek the former and shun the latter. Q.E.D.

PROP. LXVI. We may, under the guidance of reason, seek a greater good in the future in preference to a lesser good in the present, and we may seek a lesser evil in the present in preference to a greater evil in the future.^{[15](#)}

^{[15](#)} “Maltim praesens minus prae majori futuro.” (Van Vloten). Bruder reads: “Malum praesens minus, quod causa est faturi alicujus mali.” The last word of the latter is an obvious misprint, and is corrected by the Dutch translator into “majoris boni.” (Pollock, p. 268, note.)

Proof. — If the mind could have an adequate knowledge of things future, it would be affected towards what is future in the same way as towards what is present (IV. lxii.); wherefore, looking merely to reason, as in this proposition we are assumed to do, there is no difference, whether the greater good or evil be assumed as present, or assumed as future; hence (IV. lxv.) we may seek a greater good in the future in preference to a lesser good in the present, &c. Q.E.D.

Corollary. — We may, under the guidance of reason, seek a lesser evil in the present, because it is the cause of a greater good in the future, and we may shun a lesser good in the present, because it is the cause of a greater evil in the future. This Corollary is related to the foregoing Proposition as the Corollary to IV. lxv. is related to the said IV. lxv.

Note. — If these statements be compared with what we have pointed out concerning the strength of the emotions in this Part up to Prop. xviii., we shall readily see the difference between a man, who is led solely by emotion or opinion, and a man, who is led by reason. The former, whether will or no, performs actions whereof he is utterly ignorant; the latter is his own master and only performs such actions, as he knows are of primary importance in life, and therefore chiefly desires; wherefore I call the former a slave, and the latter a free

man, concerning whose disposition and manner of life it will be well to make a few observations.

PROP. LXVII. A free man thinks of death least of all things; and his wisdom is a meditation not of death but of life.

Proof. — A free man is one who lives under the guidance of reason, who is not led by fear (IV. lxiii.), but who directly desires that which is good (IV. lxiii. Coroll.), in other words (IV. xxiv.), who strives to act, to live, and to preserve his being on the basis of seeking his own true advantage; wherefore such an one thinks of nothing less than of death, but his wisdom is a meditation of life. Q.E.D.

PROP. LXVIII. If men were born free, they would, so long as they remained free, form no conception of good and evil.

Proof. — I call free him who is led solely by reason; he, therefore, who is born free, and who remains free, has only adequate ideas; therefore (IV. lxiv. Coroll.) he has no conception of evil, or consequently (good and evil being correlative) of good. Q.E.D.

Note. — It is evident, from IV. iv., that the hypothesis of this Proposition is false and inconceivable, except in so far as we look solely to the nature of man, or rather to God; not in so far as the latter is infinite, but only in so far as he is the cause of man's existence.

This, and other matters which we have already proved, seem to have been signified by Moses in the history of the first man. For in that narrative no other power of God is conceived, save that whereby he created man, that is the power wherewith he provided solely for man's advantage; it is stated that God forbade man, being free, to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, and that, as soon as man should have eaten of it, he would straightway fear death rather than desire to live. Further, it is written that when man had found a wife, who was in entire harmony with his nature, he knew that there could be nothing in nature which could be more useful to him; but that after he believed the beasts to be like himself, he straightway began to imitate their emotions (III. xxvii.), and to lose his freedom; this freedom was afterwards recovered by the patriarchs, led by the

spirit of Christ; that is, by the idea of God, whereon alone it depends, that man may be free, and desire for others the good which he desires for himself, as we have shown above (IV. xxxvii.).

PROP. LXIX. The virtue of a free man is seen to be as great, when it declines dangers, as when it overcomes them.

Proof. — Emotion can only be checked or removed by an emotion contrary to itself, and possessing more power in restraining emotion (IV. vii.). But blind daring and fear are emotions, which can be conceived as equally great (IV. v. and iii.): hence, no less virtue or firmness is required in checking daring than in checking fear (III. lix. note); in other words (Def. of the Emotions, xl. and xli.), the free man shows as much virtue, when he declines dangers, as when he strives to overcome them. Q.E.D.

Corollary. — The free man is as courageous in timely retreat as in combat; or, a free man shows equal courage or presence of mind, whether he elect to give battle or to retreat.

Note. — What courage (*animositas*) is, and what I mean thereby, I explained in III. lix. note. By danger I mean everything, which can give rise to any evil, such as pain, hatred, discord, &c.

PROP. LXX. The free man, who lives among the ignorant, strives, as far as he can, to avoid receiving favours from them.

Proof. — Everyone judges what is good according to his disposition (III. xxxix. note); wherefore an ignorant man, who has conferred a benefit on another, puts his own estimate upon it, and, if it appears to be estimated less highly by the receiver, will feel pain (III. xlii.). But the free man only desires to join other men to him in friendship (IV. xxxvii.), not repaying their benefits with others reckoned as of like value, but guiding himself and others by the free decision of reason, and doing only such things as he knows to be of primary importance. Therefore the free man, lest he should become hateful to the ignorant, or follow their desires rather than reason, will endeavour, as far as he can, to avoid receiving their favours.

Note. — I say, as far as he can. For though men be ignorant, yet are they men, and in cases of necessity could afford us human aid, the most excellent of all things: therefore it is often necessary to accept favours from them, and consequently to repay such favours in kind; we must, therefore, exercise caution in declining favours, lest we should have the appearance of despising those who bestow them, or of being, from avaricious motives, unwilling to requite them, and so give ground for offence by the very fact of striving to avoid it. Thus, in declining favours, we must look to the requirements of utility and courtesy.

PROP. LXXI. Only free men are thoroughly grateful one to another.

Proof. — Only free men are thoroughly useful one to another, and associated among themselves by the closest necessity of friendship (IV. xxxv., and Coroll. i.), only such men endeavour, with mutual zeal of love, to confer benefits on each other (IV. xxxvii.), and, therefore, only they are thoroughly grateful one to another. Q.E.D.

Note. — The goodwill, which men who are led by blind desire have for one another, is generally a bargaining or enticement, rather than pure goodwill. Moreover, ingratitude is not an emotion. Yet it is base, inasmuch as it generally shows, that a man is affected by excessive hatred, anger, pride, avarice, &c. He who, by reason of his folly, knows not how to return benefits, is not ungrateful, much less he who is not gained over by the gifts of a courtesan to serve her lust, or by a thief to conceal his thefts, or by any similar persons. Contrariwise, such an one shows a constant mind, inasmuch as he cannot by any gifts be corrupted, to his own or the general hurt.

PROP. LXXII. The free man never acts fraudulently, but always in good faith.

Proof. — If it be asked: What should a man's conduct be in a case where he could by breaking faith free himself from the danger of present death? Would not his plan of self — preservation completely persuade him to deceive? This may be answered by pointing out that, if reason persuaded him to act thus, it would persuade all men to act in a similar manner, in which case reason would persuade

men not to agree in good faith to unite their forces, or to have laws in common, that is, not to have any general laws, which is absurd.

PROP. LXXIII. The man, who is guided by reason, is more free in a State, where he lives under a general system of law, than in solitude, where he is independent.

Proof. — The man, who is guided by reason, does not obey through fear (IV. lxiii.): but, in so far as he endeavours to preserve his being according to the dictates of reason, that is (IV. lxvi. note), in so far as he endeavours to live in freedom, he desires to order his life according to the general good (IV. xxxvii.), and, consequently (as we showed in IV. xxxvii. note. ii.), to live according to the laws of his country. Therefore the free man, in order to enjoy greater freedom, desires to possess the general rights of citizenship. Q.E.D.

Note. — These and similar observations, which we have made on man's true freedom, may be referred to strength, that is, to courage and nobility of character (III. lix. note). I do not think it worth while to prove separately all the properties of strength; much less need I show, that he that is strong hates no man, is angry with no man, envies no man, is indignant with no man, despises no man, and least of all things is proud. These propositions, and all that relate to the true way of life and religion, are easily proved from IV. xxxvii. and IV. xlvi.; namely, that hatred should be overcome with love, and that every man should desire for others the good which he seeks for himself. We may also repeat what we drew attention to in the note to IV. I., and in other places; namely, that the strong man has ever first in his thoughts, that all things follow from the necessity of the divine nature; so that whatsoever he deems to be hurtful and evil, and whatsoever, accordingly, seems to him impious, horrible, unjust, and base, assumes that appearance owing to his own disordered, fragmentary, and confused view of the universe. Wherefore he strives before all things to conceive things as they really are, and to remove the hindrances to true knowledge, such as are hatred, anger, envy, derision, pride, and similar emotions, which I have mentioned above. Thus he endeavours, as we said before, as far as in him lies, to do good, and to go on his way rejoicing. How far

human virtue is capable of attaining to such a condition, and what its powers may be, I will prove in the following Part.

APPENDIX.



WHAT HAVE SAID in this Part concerning the right way of life has not been arranged, so as to admit of being seen at one view, but has been set forth piece — meal, according as I thought each Proposition could most readily be deduced from what preceded it. I propose, therefore, to rearrange my remarks and to bring them under leading heads.

I. All our endeavours or desires so follow from the necessity of our nature, that they can be understood either through it alone, as their proximate cause, or by virtue of our being a part of nature, which cannot be adequately conceived through itself without other individuals.

II. Desires, which follow from our nature in such a manner, that they can be understood through it alone, are those which are referred to the mind, in so far as the latter is conceived to consist of adequate ideas: the remaining desires are only referred to the mind, in so far as it conceives things inadequately, and their force and increase are generally defined not by the power of man, but by the power of things external to us: wherefore the former are rightly called actions, the latter passions, for the former always indicate our power, the latter, on the other hand, show our infirmity and fragmentary knowledge.

III. Our actions, that is, those desires which are defined by man's power or reason, are always good. The rest may be either good or bad.

IV. Thus in life it is before all things useful to perfect the understanding, or reason, as far as we can, and in this alone man's highest happiness or blessedness consists, indeed blessedness is nothing else but the contentment of spirit, which arises from the intuitive knowledge of God: now, to perfect the understanding is nothing else but to understand God, God's attributes, and the actions which follow from the necessity of his nature. Wherefore of a man, who is led by reason, the

ultimate aim or highest desire, whereby he seeks to govern all his fellows, is that whereby he is brought to the adequate conception of himself and of all things within the scope of his intelligence.

V. Therefore, without intelligence there is not rational life: and things are only good, in so far as they aid man in his enjoyment of the intellectual life, which is defined by intelligence. Contrariwise, whatsoever things hinder man's perfecting of his reason, and capability to enjoy the rational life, are alone called evil.

VI. As all things whereof man is the efficient cause are necessarily good, no evil can befall man except through external causes; namely, by virtue of man being a part of universal nature, whose laws human nature is compelled to obey, and to conform to in almost infinite ways.

VII. It is impossible, that man should not be a part of nature, or that he should not follow her general order; but if he be thrown among individuals whose nature is in harmony with his own, his power of action will thereby be aided and fostered, whereas, if he be thrown among such as are but very little in harmony with his nature, he will hardly be able to accommodate himself to them without undergoing a great change himself.

VIII. Whatsoever in nature we deem to be evil, or to be capable of injuring our faculty for existing and enjoying the rational life, we may endeavour to remove in whatever way seems safest to us; on the other hand, whatsoever we deem to be good or useful for preserving our being, and enabling us to enjoy the rational life, we may appropriate to our use and employ as we think best. Everyone without exception may, by sovereign right of nature, do whatsoever he thinks will advance his own interest.

IX. Nothing can be in more harmony with the nature of any given thing than other individuals of the same species; therefore (cf. vii.) for man in the preservation of his being and the enjoyment of the rational life there is nothing more useful than his fellow — man who is led by reason. Further, as we know not anything among individual things which is more excellent than a man led by reason, no man can better display the power of his skill and disposition, than in so

training men, that they come at last to live under the dominion of their own reason.

X. In so far as men are influenced by envy or any kind of hatred, one towards another, they are at variance, and are therefore to be feared in proportion, as they are more powerful than their fellows.

XI. Yet minds are not conquered by force, but by love and high — mindedness.

XII. It is before all things useful to men to associate their ways of life, to bind themselves together with such bonds as they think most fitted to gather them all into unity, and generally to do whatsoever serves to strengthen friendship.

XIII. But for this there is need of skill and watchfulness. For men are diverse (seeing that those who live under the guidance of reason are few), yet are they generally envious and more prone to revenge than to sympathy. No small force of character is therefore required to take everyone as he is, and to restrain one's self from imitating the emotions of others. But those who carp at mankind, and are more skilled in railing at vice than in instilling virtue, and who break rather than strengthen men's dispositions, are hurtful both to themselves and others. Thus many from too great impatience of spirit, or from misguided religious zeal, have preferred to live among brutes rather than among men; as boys or youths, who cannot peaceably endure the chidings of their parents, will enlist as soldiers and choose the hardships of war and the despotic discipline in preference to the comforts of home and the admonitions of their father: suffering any burden to be put upon them, so long as they may spite their parents.

XIV. Therefore, although men are generally governed in everything by their own lusts, yet their association in common brings many more advantages than drawbacks. Wherefore it is better to bear patiently the wrongs they may do us, and to strive to promote whatsoever serves to bring about harmony and friendship.

XV. Those things, which beget harmony, are such as are attributable to justice, equity, and honourable living. For men brook ill not only what is unjust or iniquitous, but also what is reckoned disgraceful, or that a man should slight the

received customs of their society. For winning love those qualities are especially necessary which have regard to religion and piety (cf. IV. xxxvii. notes. i. ii.; xlv. note; and lxxiii. note).

XVI. Further, harmony is often the result of fear: but such harmony is insecure. Further, fear arises from infirmity of spirit, and moreover belongs not to the exercise of reason: the same is true of compassion, though this latter seems to bear a certain resemblance to piety.

XVII. Men are also gained over by liberality, especially such as have not the means to buy what is necessary to sustain life. However, to give aid to every poor man is far beyond the power and the advantage of any private person. For the riches of any private person are wholly inadequate to meet such a call. Again, an individual man's resources of character are too limited for him to be able to make all men his friends. Hence providing for the poor is a duty, which falls on the State as a whole, and has regard only to the general advantage.

XVIII. In accepting favours, and in returning gratitude our duty must be wholly different (cf. IV. lxx. note; lxxi. note).

XIX. Again, meretricious love, that is, the lust of generation arising from bodily beauty, and generally every sort of love, which owns anything save freedom of soul as its cause, readily passes into hate; unless indeed, what is worse, it is a species of madness; and then it promotes discord rather than harmony (cf. III. xxxi. Coroll.).

XX. As concerning marriage, it is certain that this is in harmony with reason, if the desire for physical union be not engendered solely by bodily beauty, but also by the desire to beget children and to train them up wisely; and moreover, if the love of both, to wit, of the man and of the woman, is not caused by bodily beauty only, but also by freedom of soul.

XXI. Furthermore, flattery begets harmony; but only by means of the vile offence of slavishness or treachery. None are more readily taken with flattery than the proud, who wish to be first, but are not.

XXII. There is in abasement a spurious appearance of piety and religion. Although abasement is the opposite to pride, yet is he that abases himself most akin to the proud (IV. lvii. note).

XXIII. Shame also brings about harmony, but only in such matters as cannot be hid. Further, as shame is a species of pain, it does not concern the exercise of reason.

XXIV. The remaining emotions of pain towards men are directly opposed to justice, equity, honour, piety, and religion; and, although indignation seems to bear a certain resemblance to equity, yet is life but lawless, where every man may pass judgment on another's deeds, and vindicate his own or other men's rights.

XXV. Correctness of conduct (*modestia*), that is, the desire of pleasing men which is determined by reason, is attributable to piety (as we said in IV. xxxvii. note. i.). But, if it spring from emotion, it is ambition, or the desire whereby, men, under the false cloak of piety, generally stir up discords and seditions. For he who desires to aid his fellows either in word or in deed, so that they may together enjoy the highest good, he, I say, will before all things strive to win them over with love: not to draw them into admiration, so that a system may be called after his name, nor to give any cause for envy. Further, in his conversation he will shrink from talking of men's faults, and will be careful to speak but sparingly of human infirmity: but he will dwell at length on human virtue or power, and the way whereby it may be perfected. Thus will men be stirred not by fear, nor by aversion, but only by the emotion of joy, to endeavour, so far as in them lies, to live in obedience to reason.

XXVI. Besides men, we know of no particular thing in nature in whose mind we may rejoice, and whom we can associate with ourselves in friendship or any sort of fellowship; therefore, whatsoever there be in nature besides man, a regard for our advantage does not call on us to preserve, but to preserve or destroy according to its various capabilities, and to adapt to our use as best we may.

XXVII. The advantage which we derive from things external to us, besides the experience and knowledge which we acquire from observing them, and from

recombining their elements in different forms, is principally the preservation of the body; from this point of view, those things are most useful which can so feed and nourish the body, that all its parts may rightly fulfil their functions. For, in proportion as the body is capable of being affected in a greater variety of ways, and of affecting external bodies in a great number of ways, so much the more is the mind capable of thinking (IV. xxxviii., xxxix.). But there seem to be very few things of this kind in nature; wherefore for the due nourishment of the body we must use many foods of diverse nature. For the human body is composed of very many parts of different nature, which stand in continual need of varied nourishment, so that the whole body may be equally capable of doing everything that can follow from its own nature, and consequently that the mind also may be equally capable of forming many perceptions.

XXVIII. Now for providing these nourishments the strength of each individual would hardly suffice, if men did not lend one another mutual aid. But money has furnished us with a token for everything: hence it is with the notion of money, that the mind of the multitude is chiefly engrossed: nay, it can hardly conceive any kind of pleasure, which is not accompanied with the idea of money as cause.

XXIX. This result is the fault only of those, who seek money, not from poverty or to supply their necessary wants, but because they have learned the arts of gain, wherewith they bring themselves to great splendour. Certainly they nourish their bodies, according to custom, but scantily, believing that they lose as much of their wealth as they spend on the preservation of their body. But they who know the true use of money, and who fix the measure of wealth solely with regard to their actual needs, live content with little.

XXX. As, therefore, those things are good which assist the various parts of the body, and enable them to perform their functions; and as pleasure consists in an increase of, or aid to, man's power, in so far as he is composed of mind and body; it follows that all those things which bring pleasure are good. But seeing that things do not work with the object of giving us pleasure, and that their power of action is not tempered to suit our advantage, and, lastly, that pleasure is generally

referred to one part of the body more than to the other parts; therefore most emotions of pleasure (unless reason and watchfulness be at hand), and consequently the desires arising therefrom, may become excessive. Moreover we may add that emotion leads us to pay most regard to what is agreeable in the present, nor can we estimate what is future with emotions equally vivid. (IV. xlv. note, and lx. note.)

XXXI. Superstition, on the other hand, seems to account as good all that brings pain, and as bad all that brings pleasure. However, as we said above (IV. xlv. note), none but the envious take delight in my infirmity and trouble. For the greater the pleasure whereby we are affected, the greater is the perfection whereto we pass, and consequently the more do we partake of the divine nature: no pleasure can ever be evil, which is regulated by a true regard for our advantage. But contrariwise he, who is led by fear and does good only to avoid evil, is not guided by reason.

XXXII. But human power is extremely limited, and is infinitely surpassed by the power of external causes; we have not, therefore, an absolute power of shaping to our use those things which are without us. Nevertheless, we shall bear with an equal mind all that happens to us in contravention to the claims of our own advantage, so long as we are conscious, that we have done our duty, and that the power which we possess is not sufficient to enable us to protect ourselves completely; remembering that we are a part of universal nature, and that we follow her order. If we have a clear and distinct understanding of this, that part of our nature which is defined by intelligence, in other words the better part of ourselves, will assuredly acquiesce in what befalls us, and in such acquiescence will endeavour to persist. For, in so far as we are intelligent beings, we cannot desire anything save that which is necessary, nor yield absolute acquiescence to anything, save to that which is true: wherefore, in so far as we have a right understanding of these things, the endeavour of the better part of ourselves is in harmony with the order of nature as a whole.

**PART V. OF THE POWER OF THE UNDERSTANDING, OR OF
HUMAN FREEDOM**



PREFACE



AT LENGTH I pass to the remaining portion of my Ethics, which is concerned with the way leading to freedom. I shall therefore treat therein of the power of the reason, showing how far the reason can control the emotions, and what is the nature of Mental Freedom or Blessedness; we shall then be able to see, how much more powerful the wise man is than the ignorant. It is no part of my design to point out the method and means whereby the understanding may be perfected, nor to show the skill whereby the body may be so tended, as to be capable of the due performance of its functions. The latter question lies in the province of Medicine, the former in the province of Logic. Here, therefore, I repeat, I shall treat only of the power of the mind, or of reason; and I shall mainly show the extent and nature of its dominion over the emotions, for their control and moderation. That we do not possess absolute dominion over them, I have already shown. Yet the Stoics have thought, that the emotions depended absolutely on our will, and that we could absolutely govern them. But these philosophers were compelled, by the protest of experience, not from their own principles, to confess, that no slight practice and zeal is needed to control and moderate them: and this someone endeavoured to illustrate by the example (if I remember rightly) of two dogs, the one a house — dog and the other a hunting — dog. For by long training it could be brought about, that the house — dog should become accustomed to hunt, and the hunting — dog to cease from running after hares. To this opinion Descartes not a little inclines. For he maintained, that the soul or mind is specially united to a particular part of the brain, namely, to that part called the pineal gland, by the aid of which the mind is enabled to feel all the movements which are set going in the body, and also external objects, and which the mind by a simple act of volition can put in motion in various ways. He asserted, that this gland is so suspended in

the midst of the brain, that it could be moved by the slightest motion of the animal spirits: further, that this gland is suspended in the midst of the brain in as many different manners, as the animal spirits can impinge thereon; and, again, that as many different marks are impressed on the said gland, as there are different external objects which impel the animal spirits towards it; whence it follows, that if the will of the soul suspends the gland in a position, wherein it has already been suspended once before by the animal spirits driven in one way or another, the gland in its turn reacts on the said spirits, driving and determining them to the condition wherein they were, when repulsed before by a similar position of the gland. He further asserted, that every act of mental volition is united in nature to a certain given motion of the gland. For instance, whenever anyone desires to look at a remote object, the act of volition causes the pupil of the eye to dilate, whereas, if the person in question had only thought of the dilatation of the pupil, the mere wish to dilate it would not have brought about the result, inasmuch as the motion of the gland, which serves to impel the animal spirits towards the optic nerve in a way which would dilate or contract the pupil, is not associated in nature with the wish to dilate or contract the pupil, but with the wish to look at remote or very near objects. Lastly, he maintained that, although every motion of the aforesaid gland seems to have been united by nature to one particular thought out of the whole number of our thoughts from the very beginning of our life, yet it can nevertheless become through habituation associated with other thoughts; this he endeavours to prove in the *Passions de l'âme*, I.50. He thence concludes, that there is no soul so weak, that it cannot, under proper direction, acquire absolute power over its passions. For passions as defined by him are "perceptions, or feelings, or disturbances of the soul, which are referred to the soul as species, and which (mark the expression) are produced, preserved, and strengthened through some movement of the spirits." (*Passions de l'âme*, I.27). But, seeing that we can join any motion of the gland, or consequently of the spirits, to any volition, the determination of the will depends entirely on our own powers; if, therefore, we determine our will with sure and firm decisions in the direction to which we wish

our actions to tend, and associate the motions of the passions which we wish to acquire with the said decisions, we shall acquire an absolute dominion over our passions. Such is the doctrine of this illustrious philosopher (in so far as I gather it from his own words); it is one which, had it been less ingenious, I could hardly believe to have proceeded from so great a man. Indeed, I am lost in wonder, that a philosopher, who had stoutly asserted, that he would draw no conclusions which do not follow from self — evident premisses, and would affirm nothing which he did not clearly and distinctly perceive, and who had so often taken to task the scholastics for wishing to explain obscurities through occult qualities, could maintain a hypothesis, beside which occult qualities are commonplace. What does he understand, I ask, by the union of the mind and the body? What clear and distinct conception has he got of thought in most intimate union with a certain particle of extended matter? Truly I should like him to explain this union through its proximate cause. But he had so distinct a conception of mind being distinct from body, that he could not assign any particular cause of the union between the two, or of the mind itself, but was obliged to have recourse to the cause of the whole universe, that is to God. Further, I should much like to know, what degree of motion the mind can impart to this pineal gland, and with what force can it hold it suspended? For I am in ignorance, whether this gland can be agitated more slowly or more quickly by the mind than by the animal spirits, and whether the motions of the passions, which we have closely united with firm decisions, cannot be again disjoined therefrom by physical causes; in which case it would follow that, although the mind firmly intended to face a given danger, and had united to this decision the motions of boldness, yet at the sight of the danger the gland might become suspended in a way, which would preclude the mind thinking of anything except running away. In truth, as there is no common standard of volition and motion, so is there no comparison possible between the powers of the mind and the power or strength of the body; consequently the strength of one cannot in any wise be determined by the strength of the other. We may also add, that there is no gland discoverable in the midst of the brain, so placed that it can

thus easily be set in motion in so many ways, and also that all the nerves are not prolonged so far as the cavities of the brain. Lastly, I omit all the assertions which he makes concerning the will and its freedom, inasmuch as I have abundantly proved that his premisses are false. Therefore, since the power of the mind, as I have shown above, is defined by the understanding only, we shall determine solely by the knowledge of the mind the remedies against the emotions, which I believe all have had experience of, but do not accurately observe or distinctly see, and from the same basis we shall deduce all those conclusions, which have regard to the mind's blessedness.

AXIOMS.



I. IF TWO contrary actions be started in the same subject, a change must necessarily take place, either in both, or in one of the two, and continue until they cease to be contrary.

II. The power of an effect is defined by the power of its cause, in so far as its essence is explained or defined by the essence of its cause.

(This axiom is evident from III. vii.)

PROPOSITIONS.



PROP. I. *EVEN* as thoughts and the ideas of things are arranged and associated in the mind, so are the modifications of body or the images of things precisely in the same way arranged and associated in the body.

Proof. — The order and connection of ideas is the same (II. vii.) as the order and connection of things, and vice versâ the order and connection of things is the same (II. vi. Coroll. and vii.) as the order and connection of ideas. Wherefore, even as the order and connection of ideas in the mind takes place according to the order and association of modifications of the body (II. xviii.), so vice versâ (III. ii.) the order and connection of modifications of the body takes place in accordance with the manner, in which thoughts and the ideas of things are arranged and associated in the mind. Q.E.D.

PROP. II. If we remove a disturbance of the spirit, or emotion, from the thought of an external cause, and unite it to other thoughts, then will the love or hatred towards that external cause, and also the vacillations of spirit which arise from these emotions, be destroyed.

Proof. — That, which constitutes the reality of love or hatred, is pleasure or pain, accompanied by the idea of an external cause (Def. of the Emotions, vi. vii.); wherefore, when this cause is removed, the reality of love or hatred is removed with it; therefore these emotions and those which arise therefrom are destroyed. Q.E.D.

PROP. III. An emotion, which is a passion, ceases to be a passion, as soon as we form a clear and distinct idea thereof.

Proof. — An emotion, which is a passion, is a confused idea (by the general Def. of the Emotions). If, therefore, we form a clear and distinct idea of a given emotion, that idea will only be distinguished from the emotion, in so far as it is

referred to the mind only, by reason (II. xxi., and note); therefore (III. iii.), the emotion will cease to be a passion. Q.E.D.

Corollary — An emotion therefore becomes more under our control, and the mind is less passive in respect to it, in proportion as it is more known to us.

PROP. IV. There is no modification of the body, whereof we cannot form some clear and distinct conception.

Proof. — Properties which are common to all things can only be conceived adequately (II. xxxviii.); therefore (II. xii. and Lemma ii. after II. xiii.) there is no modification of the body, whereof we cannot form some clear and distinct conception. Q.E.D.

Corollary. — Hence it follows that there is no emotion, whereof we cannot form some clear and distinct conception. For an emotion is the idea of a modification of the body (by the general Def. of the Emotions), and must therefore (by the preceding Prop.) involve some clear and distinct conception.

Note. — Seeing that there is nothing which is not followed by an effect (I. xxxvi.), and that we clearly and distinctly understand whatever follows from an idea, which in us is adequate (II. xl.), it follows that everyone has the power of clearly and distinctly understanding himself and his emotions, if not absolutely, at any rate in part, and consequently of bringing it about, that he should become less subject to them. To attain this result, therefore, we must chiefly direct our efforts to acquiring, as far as possible, a clear and distinct knowledge of every emotion, in order that the mind may thus, through emotion, be determined to think of those things which it clearly and distinctly perceives, and wherein it fully acquiesces: and thus that the emotion itself may be separated from the thought of an external cause, and may be associated with true thoughts; whence it will come to pass, not only that love, hatred, &c. will be destroyed (V. ii.), but also that the appetites or desires, which are wont to arise from such emotion, will become incapable of being excessive (IV. lxi.). For it must be especially remarked, that the appetite through which a man is said to be active, and that through which he is said to be passive is one and the same. For instance, we have shown that human nature is so

constituted, that everyone desires his fellow — men to live after his own fashion (III. xxxi. note); in a man, who is not guided by reason, this appetite is a passion which is called ambition, and does not greatly differ from pride; whereas in a man, who lives by the dictates of reason, it is an activity or virtue which is called piety (IV. xxxvii. note. i. and second proof). In like manner all appetites or desires are only passions, in so far as they spring from inadequate ideas; the same results are accredited to virtue, when they are aroused or generated by adequate ideas. For all desires, whereby we are determined to any given action, may arise as much from adequate as from inadequate ideas (IV. lix.). Than this remedy for the emotions (to return to the point from which I started), which consists in a true knowledge thereof, nothing more excellent, being within our power, can be devised. For the mind has no other power save that of thinking and of forming adequate ideas, as we have shown above (III. iii.).

PROP. V. An emotion towards a thing, which we conceive simply, and not as necessary, or as contingent, or as possible, is, other conditions being equal, greater than any other emotion.

Proof. — An emotion towards a thing, which we conceive to be free, is greater than one towards what we conceive to be necessary (III. xlix.), and, consequently, still greater than one towards what we conceive as possible, or contingent (IV. xi.). But to conceive a thing as free can be nothing else than to conceive it simply, while we are in ignorance of the causes whereby it has been determined to action (II. xxxv. note); therefore, an emotion towards a thing which we conceive simply is, other conditions being equal, greater than one, which we feel towards what is necessary, possible, or contingent, and, consequently, it is the greatest of all. Q.E.D.

PROP. VI. The mind has greater power over the emotions and is less subject thereto, in so far as it understands all things as necessary.

Proof. — The mind understands all things to be necessary (I. xxix.) and to be determined to existence and operation by an infinite chain of causes; therefore (by the foregoing Proposition), it thus far brings it about, that it is less subject to the

emotions arising therefrom, and (III. xlviii.) feels less emotion towards the things themselves. Q.E.D.

Note. — The more this knowledge, that things are necessary, is applied to particular things, which we conceive more distinctly and vividly, the greater is the power of the mind over the emotions, as experience also testifies. For we see, that the pain arising from the loss of any good is mitigated, as soon as the man who has lost it perceives, that it could not by any means have been preserved. So also we see that no one pities an infant, because it cannot speak, walk, or reason, or lastly, because it passes so many years, as it were, in unconsciousness. Whereas, if most people were born full — grown and only one here and there as an infant, everyone would pity the infants; because infancy would not then be looked on as a state natural and necessary, but as a fault or delinquency in Nature; and we may note several other instances of the same sort.

PROP. VII. Emotions which are aroused or spring from reason, if we take account of time, are stronger than those, which are attributable to particular objects that we regard as absent.

Proof. — We do not regard a thing as absent, by reason of the emotion wherewith we conceive it, but by reason of the body, being affected by another emotion excluding the existence of the said thing (II. xvii.). Wherefore, the emotion, which is referred to the thing which we regard as absent, is not of a nature to overcome the rest of a man's activities and power (IV. vi.), but is, on the contrary, of a nature to be in some sort controlled by the emotions, which exclude the existence of its external cause (IV. ix.). But an emotion which springs from reason is necessarily referred to the common properties of things (see the def. of reason in II. xl. note. ii.), which we always regard as present (for there can be nothing to exclude their present existence), and which we always conceive in the same manner (II. xxxviii.). Wherefore an emotion of this kind always remains the same; and consequently (V. Ax. i.) emotions, which are contrary thereto and are not kept going by their external causes, will be obliged to adapt themselves to it

more and more, until they are no longer contrary to it; to this extent the emotion which springs from reason is more powerful. Q.E.D.

PROP. VIII. An emotion is stronger in proportion to the number of simultaneous concurrent causes whereby it is aroused.

Proof. — Many simultaneous causes are more powerful than a few (III. vii.): therefore (IV. v.), in proportion to the increased number of simultaneous causes whereby it is aroused, an emotion becomes stronger. Q.E.D.

Note — This proposition is also evident from V. Ax. ii.

PROP. IX. An emotion, which is attributable to many and diverse causes which the mind regards as simultaneous with the emotion itself, is less hurtful, and we are less subject thereto and less affected towards each of its causes, than if it were a different and equally powerful emotion attributable to fewer causes or to a single cause.

Proof. — An emotion is only bad or hurtful, in so far as it hinders the mind from being able to think (IV. xxvi. xxvii.); therefore, an emotion, whereby the mind is determined to the contemplation of several things at once, is less hurtful than another equally powerful emotion, which so engrosses the mind in the single contemplation of a few objects or of one, that it is unable to think of anything else; this was our first point. Again, as the mind's essence, in other words, its power (III. vii.), consists solely in thought (II. xi.), the mind is less passive in respect to an emotion, which causes it to think of several things at once, than in regard to an equally strong emotion, which keeps it engrossed in the contemplation of a few or of a single object: this was our second point. Lastly, this emotion (III. xlviii.), in so far as it is attributable to several causes, is less powerful in regard to each of them. Q.E.D.

PROP. X. So long as we are not assailed by emotions contrary to our nature, we have the power of arranging and associating the modifications of our body according to the intellectual order.

Proof. — The emotions, which are contrary to our nature, that is (IV. xxx.), which are bad, are bad in so far as they impede the mind from understanding (IV.

xxvii.). So long, therefore, as we are not assailed by emotions contrary to our nature, the mind's power, whereby it endeavours to understand things (IV. xxvi.), is not impeded, and therefore it is able to form clear and distinct ideas and to deduce them one from another (II. xl. note. ii. and II. xlvii. note); consequently we have in such cases the power of arranging and associating the modifications of the body according to the intellectual order. Q.E.D.

Note. — By this power of rightly arranging and associating the bodily modifications we can guard ourselves from being easily affected by evil emotions. For (V. vii.) a greater force is needed for controlling the emotions, when they are arranged and associated according to the intellectual order, than when they, are uncertain and unsettled. The best we can do, therefore, so long as we do not possess a perfect knowledge of our emotions, is to frame a system of right conduct, or fixed practical precepts, to commit it to memory, and to apply it forthwith¹⁶ to the particular circumstances which now and again meet us in life, so that our imagination may become fully imbued therewith, and that it may be always ready to our hand. For instance, we have laid down among the rules of life (IV. xlvii. and note), that hatred should be overcome with love or high — mindedness, and not requited with hatred in return. Now, that this precept of reason may be always ready to our hand in time of need, we should often think over and reflect upon the wrongs generally committed by men, and in what manner and way they may be best warded off by high — mindedness: we shall thus associate the idea of wrong with the idea of this precept, which accordingly will always be ready for use when a wrong is done to us (II. xviii.). If we keep also in readiness the notion of our true advantage, and of the good which follows from mutual friendships, and common fellowships; further, if we remember that complete acquiescence is the result of the right way of life (IV. lii.), and that men, no less than everything else, act by the necessity of their nature: in such case I say the wrong, or the hatred, which commonly arises therefrom, will engross a very small part of our imagination and will be easily overcome; or, if the anger which springs from a grievous wrong be not overcome easily, it will nevertheless be

overcome, though not without a spiritual conflict, far sooner than if we had not thus reflected on the subject beforehand. As is indeed evident from V. vi. vii. viii. We should, in the same way, reflect on courage as a means of overcoming fear; the ordinary dangers of life should frequently be brought to mind and imagined, together with the means whereby through readiness of resource and strength of mind we can avoid and overcome them. But we must note, that in arranging our thoughts and conceptions we should always bear in mind that which is good in every individual thing (IV. lxiii. Coroll. and III. lix.), in order that we may always be determined to action by an emotion of pleasure. For instance, if a man sees that he is too keen in the pursuit of honour, let him think over its right use, the end for which it should be pursued, and the means whereby he may attain it. Let him not think of its misuse, and its emptiness, and the fickleness of mankind, and the like, whereof no man thinks except through a morbidness of disposition; with thoughts like these do the most ambitious most torment themselves, when they despair of gaining the distinctions they hanker after, and in thus giving vent to their anger would fain appear wise. Wherefore it is certain that those, who cry out the loudest against the misuse of honour and the vanity of the world, are those who most greedily covet it. This is not peculiar to the ambitious, but is common to all who are ill — used by fortune, and who are infirm in spirit. For a poor man also, who is miserly, will talk incessantly of the misuse of wealth and of the vices of the rich; whereby he merely torments himself, and shows the world that he is intolerant, not only of his own poverty, but also of other people's riches. So, again, those who have been ill received by a woman they love think of nothing but the inconstancy, treachery, and other stock faults of the fair sex; all of which they consign to oblivion, directly they are again taken into favour by their sweetheart. Thus he who would govern his emotions and appetite solely by the love of freedom strives, as far as he can, to gain a knowledge of the virtues and their causes, and to fill his spirit with the joy which arises from the true knowledge of them: he will in no wise desire to dwell on men's faults, or to carp at his fellows, or to revel in a false show of freedom. Whosoever will diligently

observe and practise these precepts (which indeed are not difficult) will verily, in a short space of time, be able, for the most part, to direct his actions according to the commandments of reason.

¹⁶ Continuo. Rendered “constantly” by Mr. Pollock on the ground that the classical meaning of the word does not suit the context.

PROP. XI. In proportion as a mental image is referred to more objects, so is it more frequent, or more often vivid, and occupies the mind more.

Proof. — In proportion as a mental image or an emotion is referred to more objects, so are there more causes whereby it can be aroused and fostered, all of which (by hypothesis) the mind contemplates simultaneously in association with the given emotion; therefore the emotion is more frequent, or is more often in full vigour, and (V. viii.) occupies the mind more. Q.E.D.

PROP. XII. The mental images of things are more easily associated with the images referred to things which we clearly and distinctly understand, than with others.

Proof. — Things, which we clearly and distinctly understand, are either the common properties of things or deductions therefrom (see definition of Reason, II. xl. note ii.), and are consequently (by the last Prop.) more often aroused in us. Wherefore it may more readily happen, that we should contemplate other things in conjunction with these than in conjunction with something else, and consequently (II. xviii.) that the images of the said things should be more often associated with the images of these than with the images of something else. Q.E.D.

PROP. XIII. A mental image is more often vivid, in proportion as it is associated with a greater number of other images.

Proof. — In proportion as an image is associated with a greater number of other images, so (II. xviii.) are there more causes whereby it can be aroused.

Q.E.D.

PROP. XIV. The mind can bring it about, that all bodily modifications or images of things may be referred to the idea of God.

Proof. — There is no modification of the body, whereof the mind may not form some clear and distinct conception (V. iv.); wherefore it can bring it about, that they should all be referred to the idea of God (I. xv.). Q.E.D.

PROP. XV. He who clearly and distinctly understands himself and his emotions loves God, and so much the more in proportion as he more understands himself and his emotions.

Proof. — He who clearly and distinctly understands himself and his emotions feels pleasure (III. liii.), and this pleasure is (by the last Prop.) accompanied by the idea of God; therefore (Def. of the Emotions, vi.) such an one loves God, and (for the same reason) so much the more in proportion as he more understands himself and his emotions. Q.E.D.

PROP. XVI. This love towards God must hold the chief place in the mind.

Proof. — For this love is associated with all the modifications of the body (V. xiv.) and is fostered by them all (V. xv.); therefore (V. xi.), it must hold the chief place in the mind. Q.E.D.

PROP. XVII. God is without passions, neither is he affected by any emotion of pleasure or pain.

Proof. — All ideas, in so far as they are referred to God, are true (II. xxxii.), that is (II. Def. iv.) adequate; and therefore (by the general Def. of the Emotions) God is without passions. Again, God cannot pass either to a greater or to a lesser perfection (I. xx. Coroll. ii.); therefore (by Def. of the Emotions, ii. iii.) he is not affected by any emotion of pleasure or pain.

Corollary. — Strictly speaking, God does not love or hate anyone. For God (by the foregoing Prop.) is not affected by any emotion of pleasure or pain, consequently (Def. of the Emotions, vi. vii.) he does not love or hate anyone.

PROP. XVIII. No one can hate God.

Proof. — The idea of God which is in us is adequate and perfect (II. xlvi. xlvii.); wherefore, in so far as we contemplate God, we are active (III. iii.); consequently (III. lix.) there can be no pain accompanied by the idea of God, in other words (Def. of the Emotions, vii.), no one can hate God. Q.E.D.

Corollary. — Love towards God cannot be turned into hate.

Note. — It may be objected that, as we understand God as the cause of all things, we by that very fact regard God as the cause of pain. But I make answer, that, in so far as we understand the causes of pain, it to that extent (V. iii.) ceases to be a passion, that is, it ceases to be pain (III. lix.); therefore, in so far as we understand God to be the cause of pain, we to that extent feel pleasure.

PROP. XIX. He, who loves God, cannot endeavour that God should love him in return.

Proof. — For, if a man should so endeavour, he would desire (V. xvii. Coroll.) that God, whom he loves, should not be God, and consequently he would desire to feel pain (III. xix.); which is absurd (III. xxviii.). Therefore, he who loves God, &c. Q.E.D.

PROP. XX. This love towards God cannot be stained by the emotion of envy or jealousy: contrariwise, it is the more fostered, in proportion as we conceive a greater number of men to be joined to God by the same bond of love.

Proof. — This love towards God is the highest good which we can seek for under the guidance of reason (IV. xxviii.), it is common to all men (IV. xxxvi.), and we desire that all should rejoice therein (IV. xxxvii.); therefore (Def. of the Emotions, xxiii.), it cannot be stained by the emotion envy, nor by the emotion of jealousy (V. xviii. see definition of Jealousy, III. xxxv. note); but, contrariwise, it must needs be the more fostered, in proportion as we conceive a greater number of men to rejoice therein. Q.E.D.

Note. — We can in the same way show, that there is no emotion directly contrary to this love, whereby this love can be destroyed; therefore we may conclude, that this love towards God is the most constant of all the emotions, and that, in so far as it is referred to the body, it cannot be destroyed, unless the body

be destroyed also. As to its nature, in so far as it is referred to the mind only, we shall presently inquire.

I have now gone through all the remedies against the emotions, or all that the mind, considered in itself alone, can do against them. Whence it appears that the mind's power over the emotions consists: ——

I. In the actual knowledge of the emotions (V. iv. note).

II. In the fact that it separates the emotions from the thought of an external cause, which we conceive confusedly (V. ii. and V. iv. note).

III. In the fact, that, in respect to time, the emotions referred to things, which we distinctly understand, surpass those referred to what we conceive in a confused and fragmentary manner (V. vii.).

IV. In the number of causes whereby those modifications¹⁷ are fostered, which have regard to the common properties of things or to God (V. ix. xi.).

¹⁷ Affectiones. Camerer reads affectus —— emotions.

V. Lastly, in the order wherein the mind can arrange and associate, one with another, its own emotions (V. x. note and xii. xiii. xiv.).

But, in order that this power of the mind over the emotions may be better understood, it should be specially observed that the emotions are called by us strong, when we compare the emotion of one man with the emotion of another, and see that one man is more troubled than another by the same emotion; or when we are comparing the various emotions of the same man one with another, and find that he is more affected or stirred by one emotion than by another. For the strength of every emotion is defined by a comparison of our own power with the power of an external cause. Now the power of the mind is defined by knowledge only, and its infirmity or passion is defined by the privation of knowledge only: it therefore follows, that that mind is most passive, whose greatest part is made up of inadequate ideas, so that it may be characterized more readily by its passive

states than by its activities: on the other hand, that mind is most active, whose greatest part is made up of adequate ideas, so that, although it may contain as many inadequate ideas as the former mind, it may yet be more easily characterized by ideas attributable to human virtue, than by ideas which tell of human infirmity. Again, it must be observed, that spiritual unhealthiness and misfortunes can generally be traced to excessive love for something which is subject to many variations, and which we can never become masters of. For no one is solicitous or anxious about anything, unless he loves it; neither do wrongs, suspicions, enmities, &c. arise, except in regard to things whereof no one can be really master.

We may thus readily conceive the power which clear and distinct knowledge, and especially that third kind of knowledge (II. xlvii. note), founded on the actual knowledge of God, possesses over the emotions: if it does not absolutely destroy them, in so far as they are passions (V. iii. and iv. note); at any rate, it causes them to occupy a very small part of the mind (V. xiv.). Further, it begets a love towards a thing immutable and eternal (V. xv.), whereof we may really enter into possession (II. xlv.); neither can it be defiled with those faults which are inherent in ordinary love; but it may grow from strength to strength, and may engross the greater part of the mind, and deeply penetrate it.

And now I have finished with all that concerns this present life: for, as I said in the beginning of this note, I have briefly described all the remedies against the emotions. And this everyone may readily have seen for himself, if he has attended to what is advanced in the present note, and also to the definitions of the mind and its emotions, and, lastly, to Propositions i. and iii. of Part III. It is now, therefore, time to pass on to those matters, which appertain to the duration of the mind, without relation to the body.

PROP. XXI. The mind can only imagine anything, or remember what is past, while the body endures.

Proof. — The mind does not express the actual existence of its body, nor does it imagine the modifications of the body as actual, except while the body endures

(II. viii. Coroll.); and, consequently (II. xxvi.), it does not imagine any body as actually existing, except while its own body endures. Thus it cannot imagine anything (for definition of Imagination, see II. xvii. note), or remember things past, except while the body endures (see definition of Memory, II. xviii. note). Q.E.D.

PROP. XXII. Nevertheless in God there is necessarily an idea, which expresses the essence of this or that human body under the form of eternity.

Proof. — God is the cause, not only of the existence of this or that human body, but also of its essence (I. xxv.). This essence, therefore, must necessarily be conceived through the very essence of God (I. Ax. iv.), and be thus conceived by a certain eternal necessity (I. xvi.); and this conception must necessarily exist in God (II. iii.). Q.E.D.

PROP. XXIII. The human mind cannot be absolutely destroyed with the body, but there remains of it something which is eternal.

Proof. — There is necessarily in God a concept or idea, which expresses the essence of the human body (last Prop.), which, therefore, is necessarily something appertaining to the essence of the human mind (II. xiii.). But we have not assigned to the human mind any duration, definable by time, except in so far as it expresses the actual existence of the body, which is explained through duration, and may be defined by time — that is (II. viii. Coroll.), we do not assign to it duration, except while the body endures. Yet, as there is something, notwithstanding, which is conceived by a certain eternal necessity through the very essence of God (last Prop.); this something, which appertains to the essence of the mind, will necessarily be eternal. Q.E.D.

Note. — This idea, which expresses the essence of the body under the form of eternity, is, as we have said, a certain mode of thinking, which belongs to the essence of the mind, and is necessarily eternal. Yet it is not possible that we should remember that we existed before our body, for our body can bear no trace of such existence, neither can eternity be defined in terms of time, or have any relation to time. But, notwithstanding, we feel and know that we are eternal. For

the mind feels those things that it conceives by understanding, no less than those things that it remembers. For the eyes of the mind, whereby it sees and observes things, are none other than proofs. Thus, although we do not remember that we existed before the body, yet we feel that our mind, in so far as it involves the essence of the body, under the form of eternity, is eternal, and that thus its existence cannot be defined in terms of time, or explained through duration. Thus our mind can only be said to endure, and its existence can only be defined by a fixed time, in so far as it involves the actual existence of the body. Thus far only has it the power of determining the existence of things by time, and conceiving them under the category of duration.

PROP. XXIV. The more we understand particular things, the more do we understand God.

Proof. — This is evident from I. xxv. Coroll.

PROP. XXV. The highest endeavour of the mind, and the highest virtue is to understand things by the third kind of knowledge.

Proof. — The third kind of knowledge proceeds from an adequate idea of certain attributes of God to an adequate knowledge of the essence of things (see its definition II. xl. note. ii.); and, in proportion as we understand things more in this way, we better understand God (by the last Prop.); therefore (IV. xxviii.) the highest virtue of the mind, that is (IV. Def. viii.) the power, or nature, or (III. vii.) highest endeavour of the mind, is to understand things by the third kind of knowledge. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXVI. In proportion as the mind is more capable of understanding things by the third kind of knowledge, it desires more to understand things by that kind.

Proof — This is evident. For, in so far as we conceive the mind to be capable of conceiving things by this kind of knowledge, we, to that extent, conceive it as determined thus to conceive things; and consequently (Def. of the Emotions, i.), the mind desires so to do, in proportion as it is more capable thereof. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXVII. From this third kind of knowledge arises the highest possible mental acquiescence.

Proof. — The highest virtue of the mind is to know God (IV. xxviii.), or to understand things by the third kind of knowledge (V. xxv.), and this virtue is greater in proportion as the mind knows things more by the said kind of knowledge (V. xxiv.): consequently, he who knows things by this kind of knowledge passes to the summit of human perfection, and is therefore (Def. of the Emotions, ii.) affected by the highest pleasure, such pleasure being accompanied by the idea of himself and his own virtue; thus (Def. of the Emotions, xxv.), from this kind of knowledge arises the highest possible acquiescence. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXVIII. The endeavour or desire to know things by the third kind of knowledge cannot arise from the first, but from the second kind of knowledge.

Proof. — This proposition is self — evident. For whatsoever we understand clearly and distinctly, we understand either through itself, or through that which is conceived through itself; that is, ideas which are clear and distinct in us, or which are referred to the third kind of knowledge (II. xl. note. ii.) cannot follow from ideas that are fragmentary and confused, and are referred to knowledge of the first kind, but must follow from adequate ideas, or ideas of the second and third kind of knowledge; therefore (Def. of the Emotions, i.), the desire of knowing things by the third kind of knowledge cannot arise from the first, but from the second kind. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXIX. Whatsoever the mind understands under the form of eternity, it does not understand by virtue of conceiving the present actual existence of the body, but by virtue of conceiving the essence of the body under the form of eternity.

Proof. — In so far as the mind conceives the present existence of its body, it to that extent conceives duration which can be determined by time, and to that extent only has it the power of conceiving things in relation to time (V. xxi. II. xxvi.). But eternity cannot be explained in terms of duration (I. Def. viii. and explanation). Therefore to this extent the mind has not the power of conceiving

things under the form of eternity, but it possesses such power, because it is of the nature of reason to conceive things under the form of eternity (II. xlv. Coroll. ii.), and also because it is of the nature of the mind to conceive the essence of the body under the form of eternity (V. xxiii.), for besides these two there is nothing which belongs to the essence of mind (II. xiii.). Therefore this power of conceiving things under the form of eternity only belongs to the mind in virtue of the mind's conceiving the essence of the body under the form of eternity. Q.E.D.

Note. — Things are conceived by us as actual in two ways; either as existing in relation to a given time and place, or as contained in God and following from the necessity of the divine nature. Whatsoever we conceive in this second way as true or real, we conceive under the form of eternity, and their ideas involve the eternal and infinite essence of God, as we showed in II. xlv. and note, which see.

PROP. XXX. Our mind, in so far as it knows itself and the body under the form of eternity, has to that extent necessarily a knowledge of God, and knows that it is in God, and is conceived through God.

Proof. — Eternity is the very essence of God, in so far as this involves necessary existence (I. Def. viii.). Therefore to conceive things under the form of eternity, is to conceive things in so far as they are conceived through the essence of God as real entities, or in so far as they involve existence through the essence of God; wherefore our mind, in so far as it conceives itself and the body under the form of eternity, has to that extent necessarily a knowledge of God, and knows, &c. Q.E.D.

PROP. XXXI. The third kind of knowledge depends on the mind, as its formal cause, in so far as the mind itself is eternal.

Proof. — The mind does not conceive anything under the form of eternity, except in so far as it conceives its own body under the form of eternity (V. xxix.); that is, except in so far as it is eternal (V. xxi. xxiii.); therefore (by the last Prop.), in so far as it is eternal, it possesses the knowledge of God, which knowledge is necessarily adequate (II. xlvi.); hence the mind, in so far as it is eternal, is capable of knowing everything which can follow from this given knowledge of God (II.

xl.), in other words, of knowing things by the third kind of knowledge (see Def. in II. xl. note. ii.), whereof accordingly the mind (III. Def. i.), in so far as it is eternal, is the adequate or formal cause of such knowledge. Q.E.D.

Note. — In proportion, therefore, as a man is more potent in this kind of knowledge, he will be more completely conscious of himself and of God; in other words, he will be more perfect and blessed, as will appear more clearly in the sequel. But we must here observe that, although we are already certain that the mind is eternal, in so far as it conceives things under the form of eternity, yet, in order that what we wish to show may be more readily explained and better understood, we will consider the mind itself, as though it had just begun to exist and to understand things under the form of eternity, as indeed we have done hitherto; this we may do without any danger of error, so long as we are careful not to draw any conclusion, unless our premisses are plain.

PROP. XXXII. Whatsoever we understand by the third kind of knowledge, we take delight in, and our delight is accompanied by the idea of God as cause.

Proof. — From this kind of knowledge arises the highest possible mental acquiescence, that is (Def of the Emotions, xxv.), pleasure, and this acquiescence is accompanied by the idea of the mind itself (V. xxvii.), and consequently (V. xxx.) the idea also of God as cause. Q.E.D.

Corollary. — From the third kind of knowledge necessarily arises the intellectual love of God. From this kind of knowledge arises pleasure accompanied by the idea of God as cause, that is (Def. of the Emotions, vi.), the love of God; not in so far as we imagine him as present (V. xxix.), but in so far as we understand him to be eternal; this is what I call the intellectual love of God.

PROP. XXXIII. The intellectual love of God, which arises from the third kind of knowledge, is eternal.

Proof. — The third kind of knowledge is eternal (V. xxxi. I. Ax. iii.); therefore (by the same Axiom) the love which arises therefrom is also necessarily eternal. Q.E.D.

Note. — Although this love towards God has (by the foregoing Prop.) no beginning, it yet possesses all the perfections of love, just as though it had arisen as we feigned in the Coroll. of the last Prop. Nor is there here any difference, except that the mind possesses as eternal those same perfections which we feigned to accrue to it, and they are accompanied by the idea of God as eternal cause. If pleasure consists in the transition to a greater perfection, assuredly blessedness must consist in the mind being endowed with perfection itself.

PROP. XXXIV. The mind is, only while the body endures, subject to those emotions which are attributable to passions.

Proof. — Imagination is the idea wherewith the mind contemplates a thing as present (II. xvii. note); yet this idea indicates rather the present disposition of the human body than the nature of the external thing (II. xvi. Coroll. ii.). Therefore emotion (see general Def. of Emotions) is imagination, in so far as it indicates the present disposition of the body; therefore (V. xxi.) the mind is, only while the body endures, subject to emotions which are attributable to passions. Q.E.D.

Corollary. — Hence it follows that no love save intellectual love is eternal.

Note. — If we look to men's general opinion, we shall see that they are indeed conscious of the eternity of their mind, but that they confuse eternity with duration, and ascribe it to the imagination or the memory which they believe to remain after death.

PROP. XXXV. God loves himself with an infinite intellectual love.

Proof. — God is absolutely infinite (I. Def. vi.), that is (II. Def. vi.), the nature of God rejoices in infinite perfection; and such rejoicing is (II. iii.) accompanied by the idea of himself, that is (I. xi. and Def. i.), the idea of his own cause: now this is what we have (in V. xxxii. Coroll.) described as intellectual love.

PROP. XXXVI. The intellectual love of the mind towards God is that very love of God whereby God loves himself, not in so far as he is infinite, but in so far as he can be explained through the essence of the human mind regarded under the form of eternity; in other words, the intellectual love of the mind towards God is part of the infinite love wherewith God loves himself.

Proof. — This love of the mind must be referred to the activities of the mind (V. xxxii. Coroll. and III. iii.); it is itself, indeed, an activity whereby the mind regards itself accompanied by the idea of God as cause (V. xxxii. and Coroll.); that is (I. xxv. Coroll. and II. xi. Coroll.), an activity whereby God, in so far as he can be explained through the human mind, regards himself accompanied by the idea of himself; therefore (by the last Prop.), this love of the mind is part of the infinite love wherewith God loves himself. Q.E.D.

Corollary. — Hence it follows that God, in so far as he loves himself, loves man, and, consequently, that the love of God towards men, and the intellectual love of the mind towards God are identical.

Note. — From what has been said we clearly understand, wherein our salvation, or blessedness, or freedom, consists: namely, in the constant and eternal love towards God, or in God's love towards men. This love or blessedness is, in the Bible, called Glory, and not undeservedly. For whether this love be referred to God or to the mind, it may rightly be called acquiescence of spirit, which (Def. of the Emotions, xxv. xxx.) is not really distinguished from glory. In so far as it is referred to God, it is (V. xxxv.) pleasure, if we may still use that term, accompanied by the idea of itself, and, in so far as it is referred to the mind, it is the same (V. xxvii.).

Again, since the essence of our mind consists solely in knowledge, whereof the beginning and the foundation is God (I. xv., and II. xlvii. note), it becomes clear to us, in what manner and way our mind, as to its essence and existence, follows from the divine nature and constantly depends on God. I have thought it worth while here to call attention to this, in order to show by this example how the knowledge of particular things, which I have called intuitive or of the third kind (II. xl. note. ii.), is potent, and more powerful than the universal knowledge, which I have styled knowledge of the second kind. For, although in Part I. I showed in general terms, that all things (and consequently, also, the human mind) depend as to their essence and existence on God, yet that demonstration, though legitimate and placed beyond the chances of doubt, does not affect our mind so

much, as when the same conclusion is derived from the actual essence of some particular thing, which we say depends on God.

PROP. XXXVII. There is nothing in nature, which is contrary to this intellectual love, or which can take it away.

Proof. — This intellectual love follows necessarily from the nature of the mind, in so far as the latter is regarded through the nature of God as an eternal truth (V. xxxiii. and xxix.). If, therefore, there should be anything which would be contrary to this love, that thing would be contrary to that which is true; consequently, that, which should be able to take away this love, would cause that which is true to be false; an obvious absurdity. Therefore there is nothing in nature which, &c. Q.E.D.

Note. — The Axiom of Part IV. has reference to particular things, in so far as they are regarded in relation to a given time and place: of this, I think, no one can doubt.

PROP. XXXVIII. In proportion as the mind understands more things by the second and third kind of knowledge, it is less subject to those emotions which are evil, and stands in less fear of death.

Proof. — The mind's essence consists in knowledge (II. xi.); therefore, in proportion as the mind understands more things by the second and third kinds of knowledge, the greater will be the part of it that endures (V. xxix. and xxiii.), and, consequently (by the last Prop.), the greater will be the part that is not touched by the emotions, which are contrary to our nature, or in other words, evil (IV. xxx.). Thus, in proportion as the mind understands more things by the second and third kinds of knowledge, the greater will be the part of it, that remains unimpaired, and, consequently, less subject to emotions, &c. Q.E.D.

Note. — Hence we understand that point which I touched on in IV. xxxix. note, and which I promised to explain in this Part; namely, that death becomes less hurtful, in proportion as the mind's clear and distinct knowledge is greater, and, consequently, in proportion as the mind loves God more. Again, since from the third kind of knowledge arises the highest possible acquiescence (V. xxvii.), it

follows that the human mind can attain to being of such a nature, that the part thereof which we have shown to perish with the body (V. xxi.) should be of little importance when compared with the part which endures. But I will soon treat of the subject at greater length.

PROP. XXXIX. He, who possesses a body capable of the greatest number of activities, possesses a mind whereof the greatest part is eternal.

Proof. — He, who possesses a body capable of the greatest number of activities, is least agitated by those emotions which are evil (IV. xxxviii.) — that is (IV. xxx.), by those emotions which are contrary to our nature; therefore (V. x.), he possesses the power of arranging and associating the modifications of the body according to the intellectual order, and, consequently, of bringing it about, that all the modifications of the body should be referred to the idea of God; whence it will come to pass that (V. xv.) he will be affected with love towards God, which (V. xvi.) must occupy or constitute the chief part of the mind; therefore (V. xxxiii.), such a man will possess a mind whereof the chief part is eternal. Q.E.D.

Note. — Since human bodies are capable of the greatest number of activities, there is no doubt but that they may be of such a nature, that they may be referred to minds possessing a great knowledge of themselves and of God, and whereof the greatest or chief part is eternal, and, therefore, that they should scarcely fear death. But, in order that this may be understood more clearly, we must here call to mind, that we live in a state of perpetual variation, and, according as we are changed for the better or the worse, we are called happy or unhappy.

For he, who, from being an infant or a child, becomes a corpse, is called unhappy; whereas it is set down to happiness, if we have been able to live through the whole period of life with a sound mind in a sound body. And, in reality, he, who, as in the case of an infant or a child, has a body capable of very few activities, and depending, for the most part, on external causes, has a mind which, considered in itself alone, is scarcely conscious of itself, or of God, or of things; whereas, he, who has a body capable of very many activities, has a mind which, considered in itself alone, is highly conscious of itself, of God, and of things. In

this life, therefore, we primarily endeavour to bring it about, that the body of a child, in so far as its nature allows and conduces thereto, may be changed into something else capable of very many activities, and referable to a mind which is highly conscious of itself, of God, and of things; and we desire so to change it, that what is referred to its imagination and memory may become insignificant, in comparison with its intellect, as I have already said in the note to the last Proposition.

PROP. XL. In proportion as each thing possesses more of perfection, so is it more active, and less passive; and, vice versâ, in proportion as it is more active, so is it more perfect.

Proof. — In proportion as each thing is more perfect, it possesses more of reality (II. Def. vi.), and, consequently (III. iii. and note), it is to that extent more active and less passive. This demonstration may be reversed, and thus prove that, in proportion as a thing is more active, so is it more perfect. Q.E.D.

Corollary. — Hence it follows that the part of the mind which endures, be it great or small, is more perfect than the rest. For the eternal part of the mind (V. xxiii. xxix.) is the understanding, through which alone we are said to act (III. iii.); the part which we have shown to perish is the imagination (V. xxi.), through which only we are said to be passive (III. iii. and general Def. of the Emotions); therefore, the former, be it great or small, is more perfect than the latter. Q.E.D.

Note. — Such are the doctrines which I had purposed to set forth concerning the mind, in so far as it is regarded without relation to the body; whence, as also from I. xxi. and other places, it is plain that our mind, in so far as it understands, is an eternal mode of thinking, which is determined by another eternal mode of thinking, and this other by a third, and so on to infinity; so that all taken together at once constitute the eternal and infinite intellect of God.

PROP. XLI. Even if we did not know that our mind is eternal, we should still consider as of primary importance piety and religion, and generally all things which, in Part IV., we showed to be attributable to courage and high — mindedness.

Proof. — The first and only foundation of virtue, or the rule of right living is (IV. xxii. Coroll. and xxiv.) seeking one's own true interest. Now, while we determined what reason prescribes as useful, we took no account of the mind's eternity, which has only become known to us in this Fifth Part. Although we were ignorant at that time that the mind is eternal, we nevertheless stated that the qualities attributable to courage and high — mindedness are of primary importance. Therefore, even if we were still ignorant of this doctrine, we should yet put the aforesaid precepts of reason in the first place. Q.E.D.

Note. — The general belief of the multitude seems to be different. Most people seem to believe that they are free, in so far as they may obey their lusts, and that they cede their rights, in so far as they are bound to live according to the commandments of the divine law. They therefore believe that piety, religion, and, generally, all things attributable to firmness of mind, are burdens, which, after death, they hope to lay aside, and to receive the reward for their bondage, that is, for their piety and religion; it is not only by this hope, but also, and chiefly, by the fear of being horribly punished after death, that they are induced to live according to the divine commandments, so far as their feeble and infirm spirit will carry them.

If men had not this hope and this fear, but believed that the mind perishes with the body, and that no hope of prolonged life remains for the wretches who are broken down with the burden of piety, they would return to their own inclinations, controlling everything in accordance with their lusts, and desiring to obey fortune rather than themselves. Such a course appears to me not less absurd than if a man, because he does not believe that he can by wholesome food sustain his body for ever, should wish to cram himself with poisons and deadly fare; or if, because he sees that the mind is not eternal or immortal, he should prefer to be out of his mind altogether, and to live without the use of reason; these ideas are so absurd as to be scarcely worth refuting.

PROP. XLII. Blessedness is not the reward of virtue, but virtue itself; neither do we rejoice therein, because we control our lusts, but, contrariwise, because we

rejoice therein, we are able to control our lusts.

Proof. — Blessedness consists in love towards God (V. xxxvi and note), which love springs from the third kind of knowledge (V. xxxii. Coroll.); therefore this love (III. iii. lix.) must be referred to the mind, in so far as the latter is active; therefore (IV. Def. viii.) it is virtue itself. This was our first point. Again, in proportion as the mind rejoices more in this divine love or blessedness, so does it the more understand (V. xxxii.); that is (V. iii. Coroll.), so much the more power has it over the emotions, and (V. xxxviii.) so much the less is it subject to those emotions which are evil; therefore, in proportion as the mind rejoices in this divine love or blessedness, so has it the power of controlling lusts. And, since human power in controlling the emotions consists solely in the understanding, it follows that no one rejoices in blessedness, because he has controlled his lusts, but, contrariwise, his power of controlling his lusts arises from this blessedness itself. Q.E.D.

Note. — I have thus completed all I wished to set forth touching the mind's power over the emotions and the mind's freedom. Whence it appears, how potent is the wise man, and how much he surpasses the ignorant man, who is driven only by his lusts. For the ignorant man is not only distracted in various ways by external causes without ever gaining the true acquiescence of his spirit, but moreover lives, as it were unwitting of himself, and of God, and of things, and as soon as he ceases to suffer, ceases also to be.

Whereas the wise man, in so far as he is regarded as such, is scarcely at all disturbed in spirit, but, being conscious of himself, and of God, and of things, by a certain eternal necessity, never ceases to be, but always possesses true acquiescence of his spirit.

If the way which I have pointed out as leading to this result seems exceedingly hard, it may nevertheless be discovered. Needs must it be hard, since it is so seldom found. How would it be possible, if salvation were ready to our hand, and could without great labour be found, that it should be by almost all men neglected? But all things excellent are as difficult as they are rare.

The Original Latin Text

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PARS PRIMA. DE DEO

DEFINITIONES



I. PER CAUSAM sui intelligo id cuius essentia involvit existentiam sive id cuius natura non potest concipi nisi existens.

II. Ea res dicitur in suo genere finita quæ alia ejusdem naturæ terminari potest. Exempli gratia corpus dicitur finitum quia aliud semper majus concipimus. Sic cogitatio alia cogitatione terminatur. At corpus non terminatur cogitatione nec cogitatio corpore.

III. Per substantiam intelligo id quod in se est et per se concipitur hoc est id cuius conceptus non indiget conceptu alterius rei a quo formari debeat.

IV. Per attributum intelligo id quod intellectus de substantia percipit tanquam ejusdem essentiam constituens.

V. Per modum intelligo substantiæ affectiones sive id quod in alio est, per quod etiam concipitur.

VI. Per Deum intelligo ens absolute infinitum hoc est substantiam constantem infinitis attributis quorum unumquodque æternam et infinitam essentiam exprimit.

EXPLICATIO : Dico absolute infinitum, non autem in suo genere; quicquid enim in suo genere tantum infinitum est, infinita de eo attributa negare possumus; quod autem absolute infinitum est, ad ejus essentiam pertinet quicquid essentiam exprimit et negationem nullam involvit.

VII. Ea res libera dicitur quæ ex sola suæ naturæ necessitate existit et a se sola ad agendum determinatur. Necessaria autem vel potius coacta quæ ab alio determinatur ad existendum et operandum certa ac determinata ratione.

VIII. Per æternitatem intelligo ipsam existentiam quatenus ex sola rei æternæ definitione necessario sequi concipitur.

EXPLICATIO : Talis enim existentia ut æterna veritas sicut rei essentia concipitur proptereaque per durationem aut tempus explicari non potest tametsi duratio principio et fine carere concipiatur.

AXIOMATA

I. Omnia quæ sunt vel in se vel in alio sunt.

II. Id quod per aliud non potest concipi, per se concipi debet.

III. Ex data causa determinata necessario sequitur effectus et contra si nulla detur determinata causa, impossibile est ut effectus sequatur.

IV. Effectus cognitio a cognitione causæ dependet et eandem involvit.

V. Quæ nihil commune cum se invicem habent, etiam per se invicem intelligi non possunt sive conceptus unius alterius conceptum non involvit.

VI. Idea vera debet cum suo ideato convenire.

VII. Quicquid ut non existens potest concipi, ejus essentia non involvit existentiam.

PROPOSITIO I : Substantia prior est natura suis affectionibus.

DEMONSTRATIO : Patet ex definitione 3 et 5.

PROPOSITIO II : Duæ substantiæ diversa attributa habentes nihil inter se commune habent.

DEMONSTRATIO : Patet etiam ex definitione 3. Unaquæque enim in se debet esse et per se debet concipi sive conceptus unius conceptum alterius non involvit.

PROPOSITIO III : Quæ res nihil commune inter se habent, earum una alterius causa esse non potest.

DEMONSTRATIO : Si nihil commune cum se invicem habent, ergo (per axioma 5) nec per se invicem possunt intelligi adeoque (per axioma 4) una alterius causa esse non potest. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO IV : Duæ aut plures res distinctæ vel inter se distinguuntur ex diversitate attributorum substantiarum vel ex diversitate earundem affectionum.

DEMONSTRATIO : Omnia quæ sunt vel in se vel in alio sunt (per axioma 1) hoc est (per definitiones 3 et 5) extra intellectum nihil datur præter substantias earumque affectiones. Nihil ergo extra intellectum datur per quod plures res

distingui inter se possunt præter substantias sive quod idem est (per definitionem 4) earum attributa earumque affectiones. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO V : In rerum natura non possunt dari duæ aut plures substantiæ ejusdem naturæ sive attributi.

DEMONSTRATIO : Si darentur plures distinctæ, deberent inter se distingui vel ex diversitate attributorum vel ex diversitate affectionum (per propositionem præcedentem). Si tantum ex diversitate attributorum, concedetur ergo non dari nisi unam ejusdem attributi. At si ex diversitate affectionum, cum substantia sit prior natura suis affectionibus (per propositionem 1) depositis ergo affectionibus et in se considerata hoc est (per definitionem 3 et axioma 6) vere considerata, non poterit concipi ab alia distingui hoc est (per propositionem præcedentem) non poterunt dari plures sed tantum una. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO VI : Una substantia non potest produci ab alia substantia.

DEMONSTRATIO : In rerum natura non possunt dari duæ substantiæ ejusdem attributi (per propositionem præcedentem) hoc est (per propositionem 2) quæ aliquid inter se commune habent. Adeoque (per propositionem 3) una alterius causa esse nequit sive ab alia non potest produci. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Hinc sequitur substantiam ab alio produci non posse. Nam in rerum natura nihil datur præter substantias earumque affectiones ut patet ex axioma 1 et definitionibus 3 et 5. Atqui a substantia produci non potest (per præcedentem propositionem). Ergo substantia absolute ab alio produci non potest. Q.E.D.

ALITER : Demonstratur hoc etiam facilius ex absurdo contradictorio. Nam si substantia ab alio posset produci, ejus cognitio a cognitione suæ causæ deberet pendere (per axioma 4) adeoque (per definitionem 3) non esset substantia.

PROPOSITIO VII : Ad naturam substantiæ pertinet existere.

DEMONSTRATIO : Substantia non potest produci ab alio (per corollarium propositionis præcedentis); erit itaque causa sui id est (per definitionem 1) ipsius essentia involvit necessario existentiam sive ad ejus naturam pertinet existere. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO VIII : Omnis substantia est necessario infinita.

DEMONSTRATIO : Substantia unius attributi non nisi unica existit (per propositionem 5) et ad ipsius naturam pertinet existere (per propositionem 7). Erit ergo de ipsius natura vel finita vel infinita existere. At non finita. Nam (per definitionem 2) deberet terminari ab alia ejusdem naturæ quæ etiam necessario deberet existere (per propositionem 7) adeoque darentur duæ substantiæ ejusdem attributi, quod est absurdum (per propositionem 5). Existit ergo infinita. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM I : Cum finitum esse revera sit ex parte negatio et infinitum absoluta affirmatio existentiae alicujus naturæ, sequitur ergo ex sola 7 propositione omnem substantiam debere esse infinitam.

SCHOLIUM II : Non dubito quin omnibus qui de rebus confuse judicant nec res per primas suas causas noscere consueverunt, difficile sit demonstrationem 7 propositionis concipere; nimirum quia non distinguunt inter modificationes substantiarum et ipsas substantias neque sciunt quomodo res producuntur. Unde fit ut principium quod res naturales habere vident, substantiis affingant; qui enim veras rerum causas ignorant, omnia confundunt et sine ulla mentis repugnantia tam arbores quam homines loquentes fingunt et homines tam ex lapidibus quam ex semine formari et quascunque formas in alias quascunque mutari imaginantur. Sic etiam qui naturam divinam cum humana confundunt, facile Deo affectus humanos tribuunt præsertim quamdiu etiam ignorant quomodo affectus in mente producuntur. Si autem homines ad naturam substantiæ attenderent, minime de veritate 7 propositionis dubitarent; imo hæc propositio omnibus axioma esset et inter notiones communes numeraretur. Nam per substantiam intelligerent id quod in se est et per se concipitur hoc est id cujus cognitio non indiget cognitione alterius rei. Per modificationes autem id quod in alio est et quarum conceptus a conceptu rei in qua sunt, formatur : quocirca modificationum non existentium veras ideas possumus habere quandoquidem quamvis non existant actu extra intellectum, earum tamen essentia ita in alio comprehenditur ut per idem concipi possint. Verum substantiarum veritas extra intellectum non est nisi in se ipsis quia per se concipiuntur. Si quis ergo diceret se claram et distinctam hoc est veram

ideam substantiæ habere et nihilominus dubitare num talis substantia existat, idem hercle esset ac si diceret se veram habere ideam et nihilominus dubitare num falsa sit (ut satis attendenti sit manifestum); vel si quis statuatur substantiam creari, simul statuit ideam falsam factam esse veram, quo sane nihil absurdius concipi potest adeoque fatendum necessario est substantiæ existentiam sicut ejus essentiam æternam esse veritatem. Atque hinc alio modo concludere possumus non dari nisi unicam ejusdem naturæ, quod hic ostendere operæ pretium esse duxi. Ut autem hoc ordine faciam notandum est I° veram uniuscujusque rei definitionem nihil involvere neque exprimere præter rei definitæ naturam. Ex quo sequitur hoc II° nempe nullam definitionem certum aliquem numerum individuorum involvere neque exprimere quandoquidem nihil aliud exprimit quam naturam rei definitæ. Exempli gratia definitio trianguli nihil aliud exprimit quam simplicem naturam trianguli; at non certum aliquem triangulorum numerum. III° notandum dari necessario uniuscujusque rei existentis certam aliquam causam propter quam existit. IV° denique notandum hanc causam propter quam aliqua res existit, vel debere contineri in ipsa natura et definitione rei existentis (nimirum quod ad ipsius naturam pertinet existere) vel debere extra ipsam dari. His positis sequitur quod si in natura certus aliquis numerus individuorum existat, debeat necessario dari causa cur illa individua et cur non plura nec pauciora existunt. Si exempli gratia in rerum natura 20 homines existant (quos majoris perspicuitatis causa suppono simul existere nec alios antea in natura exstitisse) non satis erit (ut scilicet rationem reddamus cur 20 homines existant) causam naturæ humanæ in genere ostendere sed insuper necesse erit causam ostendere cur non plures nec pauciores quam 20 existant quandoquidem (per III notam) uniuscujusque debet necessario dari causa cur existat. At hæc causa (per notam II et III) non potest in ipsa natura humana contineri quandoquidem vera hominis definitio numerum vicenarium non involvit adeoque (per notam IV) causa cur hi viginti homines existunt et consequenter cur unusquisque existit, debet necessario extra unumquemque dari et propterea absolute concludendum omne id cujus naturæ plura individua existere possunt, debere necessario ut existant causam externam

habere. Jam quoniam ad naturam substantiæ (per jam ostensa in hoc scholio) pertinet existere, debet ejus definitio necessariam existentiam involvere et consequenter ex sola ejus definitione debet ipsius existentia concludi. At ex ipsius definitione (ut jam ex nota II et III ostendimus) non potest sequi plurium substantiarum existentia; sequitur ergo ex ea necessario unicam tantum ejusdem naturæ existere, ut proponebatur.

PROPOSITIO IX : Quo plus realitatis aut esse unaquæque res habet eo plura attributa ipsi competunt.

DEMONSTRATIO : Patet ex definitione 4.

PROPOSITIO X : Unumquodque unius substantiæ attributum per se concipi debet.

DEMONSTRATIO : Attributum enim est id quod intellectus de substantia percipit tanquam ejus essentiam constituens (per definitionem 4) adeoque (per definitionem 3) per se concipi debet. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Ex his apparet quod quamvis duo attributa realiter distincta concipiantur hoc est unum sine ope alterius, non possumus tamen inde concludere ipsa dua entia sive duas diversas substantias constituere; id enim est de natura substantiæ ut unumquodque ejus attributorum per se concipiatur quandoquidem omnia quæ habet attributa, simul in ipsa semper fuerunt nec unum ab alio produci potuit sed unumquodque realitatem sive esse substantiæ exprimit. Longe ergo abest ut absurdum sit uni substantiæ plura attributa tribuere; quin nihil in natura clarius quam quod unumquodque ens sub aliquo attributo debeat concipi et quo plus realitatis aut esse habeat eo plura attributa quæ et necessitatem sive æternitatem et infinitatem exprimunt, habeat et consequenter nihil etiam clarius quam quod ens absolute infinitum necessario sit definiendum (ut definitione 6 tradidimus) ens quod constat infinitis attributis quorum unumquodque æternam et infinitam certam essentiam exprimit. Si quis autem jam quærit ex quo ergo signo diversitatem substantiarum poterimus dignoscere, legat sequentes propositiones, quæ ostendunt in rerum natura non nisi unicam substantiam existere eamque absolute infinitam esse, quapropter id signum frustra quæreretur.

PROPOSITIO XI : Deus sive substantia constans infinitis attributis quorum unumquodque æternam et infinitam essentiam exprimit, necessario existit.

DEMONSTRATIO : Si negas, concipe si fieri potest, Deum non existere. Ergo (per axioma 7) ejus essentia non involvit existentiam. Atqui hoc (per propositionem 7) est absurdum : ergo Deus necessario existit. Q.E.D.

ALITER : Cujuscunque rei assignari debet causa seu ratio tam cur existit quam cur non existit. Exempli gratia si triangulus existit, ratio seu causa dari debet cur existit; si autem non existit, ratio etiam seu causa dari debet quæ impedit quominus existat sive quæ ejus existentiam tollat. Hæc vero ratio seu causa vel in natura rei contineri debet vel extra ipsam. Exempli gratia rationem cur circulus quadratus non existat, ipsa ejus natura indicat; nimirum quia contradictionem involvit. Cur autem contra substantia existat, ex sola etiam ejus natura sequitur quia scilicet existentiam involvit (vide propositionem 7). At ratio cur circulus vel triangulus existit vel cur non existit, ex eorum natura non sequitur sed ex ordine universæ naturæ corporeæ; ex eo enim sequi debet vel jam triangulum necessario existere vel impossibile esse ut jam existat. Atque hæc per se manifesta sunt. Ex quibus sequitur id necessario existere cujus nulla ratio nec causa datur quæ impedit quominus existat. Si itaque nulla ratio nec causa dari possit quæ impedit quominus Deus existat vel quæ ejus existentiam tollat, omnino concludendum est eundem necessario existere. At si talis ratio seu causa daretur, ea vel in ipsa Dei natura vel extra ipsam dari deberet hoc est in alia substantia alterius naturæ. Nam si ejusdem naturæ esset, eo ipso concederetur dari Deum. At substantia quæ alterius esset naturæ, nihil cum Deo commune habere (per 2 propositionem) adeoque neque ejus existentiam ponere neque tollere posset. Cum igitur ratio seu causa quæ divinam existentiam tollat, extra divinam naturam dari non possit, debebit necessario dari, siquidem non existit, in ipsa ejus natura, quæ propterea contradictionem involveret. Atqui hoc de Ente absolute infinito et summe perfecto affirmare absurdum est; ergo nec in Deo nec extra Deum ulla causa seu ratio datur quæ ejus existentiam tollat ac proinde Deus necessario existit. Q.E.D.

ALITER : Posse non existere impotentia est et contra posse existere potentia est (ut per se notum). Si itaque id quod jam necessario existit, non nisi entia finita sunt, sunt ergo entia finita potentiora Ente absolute infinito atque hoc (ut per se notum) absurdum est; ergo vel nihil existit vel Ens absolute infinitum necessario etiam existit. Atqui nos vel in nobis vel in alio quod necessario existit, existimus (vide axioma 1 et propositionem 7). Ergo Ens absolute infinitum hoc est (per definitionem 6) Deus necessario existit. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : In hac ultima demonstratione Dei existentiam a posteriori ostendere volui ut demonstratio facilius perciperetur; non autem propterea quod ex hoc eodem fundamento Dei existentia a priori non sequatur. Nam cum posse existere potentia sit, sequitur quo plus realitatis alicujus rei naturæ competit eo plus virium a se habere ut existat adeoque Ens absolute infinitum sive Deum infinitam absolute potentiam existendi a se habere, qui propterea absolute existit. Multi tamen forsitan non facile hujus demonstrationis evidentiam videre poterunt quia assueti sunt eas solummodo res contemplari quæ a causis externis fiunt et ex his quæ cito fiunt hoc est quæ facile existunt, eas etiam facile perire vident et contra eas res factu difficiliore judicant hoc est ad existendum non adeo faciles ad quas plura pertinere concipiunt. Verum ut ab his præjudiciis liberentur, non opus habeo hic ostendere qua ratione hoc enunciatum “quod cito fit cito perit” verum sit nec etiam an respectu totius naturæ omnia æque facilia sint an secus. Sed hoc tantum notare sufficit me hic non loqui de rebus quæ a causis externis fiunt sed de solis substantiis, quæ (per propositionem 6) a nulla causa externa produci possunt. Res enim quæ a causis externis fiunt, sive eæ multis partibus constent sive paucis, quicquid perfectionis sive realitatis habent, id omne virtuti causæ externæ debetur adeoque earum existentia ex sola perfectione causæ externæ, non autem suæ oritur. Contra quicquid substantia perfectionis habet, nulli causæ externæ debetur; quare ejus etiam existentia ex sola ejus natura sequi debet, quæ proinde nihil aliud est quam ejus essentia. Perfectio igitur rei existentiam non tollit sed contra ponit; imperfectio autem contra eandem tollit adeoque de nullius rei existentia certiores esse possumus quam de existentia Entis

absolute infiniti seu perfecti hoc est Dei. Nam quandoquidem ejus essentia omnem imperfectionem secludit absolutamque perfectionem involvit, eo ipso omnem causam dubitandi de ipsius existentia tollit summamque de eadem certitudinem dat, quod mediocriter attendenti perspicuum fore credo.

PROPOSITIO XII : Nullum substantiæ attributum potest vere concipi ex quo sequatur substantiam posse dividi.

DEMONSTRATIO : Partes enim in quas substantia sic concepta divideretur, vel naturam substantiæ retinebunt vel non. Si primum, tum (per 8 propositionem) unaquæque pars debet esse infinita et (per propositionem 6) causa sui et (per propositionem 5) constare debet ex diverso attributo adeoque ex una substantia plures constitui poterunt, quod (per propositionem 6) est absurdum. Adde quod partes (per propositionem 2) nihil commune cum suo toto haberent et totum (per definitionem 4 et propositionem 10) absque suis partibus et esse et concipi posset, quod absurdum esse nemo dubitare poterit. Si autem secundum ponatur quod scilicet partes naturam substantiæ non retinebunt, ergo cum tota substantia in æquales partes esset divisa, naturam substantiæ amitteret et esse desineret, quod (per propositionem 7) est absurdum.

PROPOSITIO XIII : Substantia absolute infinita est indivisibilis.

DEMONSTRATIO : Si enim divisibilis esset, partes in quas divideretur vel naturam substantiæ absolute infinitæ retinebunt vel non. Si primum, dabuntur ergo plures substantiæ ejusdem naturæ, quod (per propositionem 5) est absurdum. Si secundum ponatur, ergo (ut supra) poterit substantia absolute infinita desinere esse, quod (per propositionem 11) est etiam absurdum.

COROLLARIUM : Ex his sequitur nullam substantiam et consequenter nullam substantiam corpoream, quatenus substantia est, esse divisibilem.

SCHOLIUM : Quod substantia sit indivisibilis, simplicius ex hoc solo intelligitur quod natura substantiæ non potest concipi nisi infinita et quod per partem substantiæ nihil aliud intelligi potest quam substantia finita, quod (per propositionem 8) manifestam contradictionem implicat.

PROPOSITIO XIV : Præter Deum nulla dari neque concipi potest substantia.

DEMONSTRATIO : Cum Deus sit ens absolute infinitum de quo nullum attributum quod essentiam substantiæ exprimit, negari potest (per definitionem 6) isque necessario existat (per propositionem 11) si aliqua substantia præter Deum daretur, ea explicari deberet per aliquod attributum Dei sicque duæ substantiæ ejusdem attributi existerent, quod (per propositionem 5) est absurdum adeoque nulla substantia extra Deum dari potest et consequenter non etiam concipi. Nam si posset concipi, deberet necessario concipi ut existens; atqui hoc (per primam partem hujus demonstrationis) est absurdum. Ergo extra Deum nulla dari neque concipi potest substantia. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM I : Hinc clarissime sequitur I° Deum esse unicum hoc est (per definitionem 6) in rerum natura non nisi unam substantiam dari eamque absolute infinitam esse, ut in scholio propositionis 10 jam innuimus.

COROLLARIUM II : Sequitur II° rem extensam et rem cogitantem vel Dei attributa esse vel (per axioma 1) affectiones attributorum Dei.

PROPOSITIO XV : Quicquid est, in Deo est et nihil sine Deo esse neque concipi potest.

DEMONSTRATIO : Præter Deum nulla datur neque concipi potest substantia (per 14 propositionem) hoc est (per definitionem 3) res quæ in se est et per se concipitur. Modi autem (per definitionem 5) sine substantia nec esse nec concipi possunt; quare hi in sola divina natura esse et per ipsam solam concipi possunt. Atqui præter substantias et modos nil datur (per axioma 1). Ergo nihil sine Deo esse neque concipi potest. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Sunt qui Deum instar hominis corpore et mente constantem atque passionibus obnoxium fingunt sed quam longe hi a vera Dei cognitione aberrant, satis ex jam demonstratis constat. Sed hos mitto : nam omnes qui naturam divinam aliquo modo contemplati sunt, Deum esse corporeum negant. Quod etiam optime probant ex eo quod per corpus intelligimus quamcunque quantitatem longam, latam et profundam, certa aliqua figura terminatam, quo nihil absurdius de Deo, ente scilicet absolute infinito, dici potest. Attamen interim aliis rationibus quibus hoc idem demonstrare conantur, clare ostendunt se

substantiam ipsam corpoream sive extensam a natura divina omnino remove-
re atque ipsam a Deo creatam statuunt. Ex qua autem divina potentia creari potuerit,
prorsus ignorant; quod clare ostendit illos id quod ipsimet dicunt, non intelligere.
Ego saltem satis clare meo quidem iudicio demonstravi (vide corollarium
propositionis 6 et scholium II propositionis 8) nullam substantiam ab alio produci
vel creari. Porro propositione 14 ostendimus præter Deum nullam dari neque
concipi posse substantiam atque hinc conclusimus substantiam extensam unum ex
infinite Dei attributis esse. Verum ad pleniorum explicationem adversariorum
argumenta refutabo quæ omnia huc redeunt primo quod substantia corporea
quatenus substantia constat ut putant partibus et ideo eandem infinitam posse esse
et consequenter ad Deum pertinere posse negant. Atque hoc multis exemplis
explicant ex quibus unum aut alterum afferam. Si substantia corporea aiunt est
infinita, concipiatur in duas partes dividi; erit unaquæque pars vel finita vel
infinita. Si illud, componitur ergo infinitum ex duabus partibus finitis, quod est
absurdum. Si hoc, datur ergo infinitum duplo majus alio infinito, quod etiam est
absurdum. Porro si quantitas infinita mensuratur partibus pedes æquantibus,
infinite talibus partibus constare debet ut et si partibus mensuretur digitos
æquantibus ac propterea unus numerus infinitus erit duodecies major alio infinito.
Denique si ex uno puncto infinite cujusdam quantitatis concipiatur duas lineas ut
AB, AC, certa ac determinata in initio distantia in infinitum protendi, certum est
distantiam inter B et C continuo augeri et tandem ex determinata
indeterminabilem fore. Cum igitur hæc absurda sequantur ut putant ex eo quod
quantitas infinita supponitur, inde concludunt substantiam corpoream debere esse
finitam et consequenter ad Dei essentiam non pertinere. Secundum argumentum
petitur etiam a summa Dei perfectione. Deus enim inquiunt cum sit ens summe
perfectum, pati non potest : atqui substantia corporea quandoquidem divisibilis
est, pati potest; sequitur ergo ipsam ad Dei essentiam non pertinere. Hæc sunt quæ
apud scriptores invenio argumenta quibus ostendere conantur substantiam
corpoream divina natura indignam esse nec ad eandem posse pertinere.
Verum enim vero si quis recte attendat, me ad hæc jam respondisse comperiet

quandoquidem hæc argumenta in eo tantum fundantur quod substantiam corpoream ex partibus componi supponunt, quod jam (per propositionem 12 cum corollario propositionis 13) absurdum esse ostendi. Deinde si quis rem recte perpendere velit, videbit omnia illa absurda (siquidem omnia absurda sunt, de quo non jam disputo) ex quibus concludere volunt substantiam extensam finitam esse, minime ex eo sequi quod quantitas infinita supponatur sed quod quantitatem infinitam mensurabilem et ex partibus finitis conflari supponunt; quare ex absurdis quæ inde sequuntur, nihil aliud concludere possunt quam quod quantitas infinita non sit mensurabilis et quod ex partibus finitis conflari non possit. Atque hoc idem est quod nos supra (propositione 12 etc.) jam demonstravimus. Quare telum quod in nos intendunt, in se ipsos revera conjiciunt. Si igitur ipsi ex suo hoc absurdo concludere tamen volunt substantiam extensam debere esse finitam, nihil aliud hercle faciunt quam si quis ex eo quod finxit circulum quadrati proprietates habere, concludit circulum non habere centrum ex quo omnes ad circumferentiam ductæ lineæ sunt æquales. Nam substantiam corpoream quæ non nisi infinita, non nisi unica et non nisi indivisibilis potest concipi (vide propositiones 8, 5 et 12) eam ipsi ad concludendum eandem esse finitam, ex partibus finitis conflari et multiplicem esse et divisibilem concipiunt. Sic etiam alii postquam fingunt lineam ex punctis componi, multa sciunt invenire argumenta quibus ostendant lineam non posse in infinitum dividi. Et profecto non minus absurdum est ponere quod substantia corporea ex corporibus sive partibus componatur quam quod corpus ex superficiebus, superficies ex lineis, lineæ denique ex punctis componantur. Atque hoc omnes qui claram rationem infallibilem esse sciunt, fateri debent et imprimis ii qui negant dari vacuum. Nam si substantia corporea ita posset dividi ut ejus partes realiter distinctæ essent, cur ergo una pars non posset annihilari manentibus reliquis ut ante inter se connexis? et cur omnes ita aptari debent ne detur vacuum? Sane rerum quæ realiter ab invicem distinctæ sunt, una sine alia esse et in suo statu manere potest. Cum igitur vacuum in natura non detur (de quo alias) sed omnes partes ita concurrere debent ne detur vacuum, sequitur hinc etiam easdem non posse realiter distingui hoc est substantiam corpoream

quatenus substantia est, non posse dividi. Si quis tamen jam quærat cur nos ex natura ita propensi simus ad dividendam quantitatem? ei respondeo quod quantitas duobus modis a nobis concipitur, abstracte scilicet sive superficialiter prout nempe ipsam imaginamur vel ut substantia, quod a solo intellectu fit. Si itaque ad quantitatem attendimus prout in imaginatione est, quod sæpe et facilius a nobis fit, reperietur finita, divisibilis et partibus conflata; si autem ad ipsam prout in intellectu est, attendimus et eam quatenus substantia est, concipimus, quod difficillime fit, tum ut jam satis demonstravimus, infinita, unica et indivisibilis reperietur. Quod omnibus qui inter imaginationem et intellectum distinguere sciverint, satis manifestum erit, præcipue si ad hoc etiam attendatur quod materia ubique eadem est nec partes in eadem distinguuntur nisi quatenus materiam diversimode affectam esse concipimus, unde ejus partes modaliter tantum distinguuntur, non autem realiter. Exempli gratia aquam quatenus aqua est, dividi concipimus ejusque partes ab invicem separari; at non quatenus substantia est corporea; eatenus enim neque separatur neque dividitur. Porro aqua quatenus aqua generatur et corrumpitur; at quatenus substantia nec generatur nec corrumpitur. Atque his me ad secundum argumentum etiam respondiisse puto quandoquidem id in eo etiam fundatur quod materia quatenus substantia divisibilis sit et partibus confletur. Et quamvis hoc non esset, nescio cur divina natura indigna esset quandoquidem (per propositionem 14) extra Deum nulla substantia dari potest a qua ipsa pateretur. Omnia inquam in Deo sunt et omnia quæ fiunt per solas leges infinitæ Dei naturæ fiunt et ex necessitate ejus essentiæ (ut mox ostendam) sequuntur; quare nulla ratione dici potest Deum ab alio pati aut substantiam extensam divina natura indignam esse tametsi divisibilis supponatur dummodo æterna et infinita concedatur. Sed de his impræsentiarum satis.

PROPOSITIO XVI : Ex necessitate divinæ naturæ infinita infinitis modis (hoc est omnia quæ sub intellectum infinitum cadere possunt) sequi debent.

DEMONSTRATIO : Hæc propositio unicuique manifesta esse debet si modo ad hoc attendat quod ex data cujuscunque rei definitione plures proprietates

intellectus concludit, quæ revera ex eadem (hoc est ipsa rei essentia) necessario sequuntur et eo plures quo plus realitatis rei definitio exprimit hoc est quo plus realitatis rei definitæ essentia involvit. Cum autem natura divina infinita absolute attributa habeat (per definitionem 6) quorum etiam unumquodque infinitam essentiam in suo genere exprimit, ex ejusdem ergo necessitate infinita infinitis modis (hoc est omnia quæ sub intellectum infinitum cadere possunt) necessario sequi debent. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM I : Hinc sequitur Deum omnium rerum quæ sub intellectum infinitum cadere possunt, esse causam efficientem.

COROLLARIUM II : Sequitur II^o Deum causam esse per se, non vero per accidens.

COROLLARIUM III : Sequitur III^o Deum esse absolute causam primam.

PROPOSITIO XVII : Deus ex solis suæ naturæ legibus et a nemine coactus agit.

DEMONSTRATIO : Ex sola divinæ naturæ necessitate vel (quod idem est) ex solis ejusdem naturæ legibus infinita absolute sequi modo propositione 16 ostendimus et propositione 15 demonstravimus nihil sine Deo esse nec concipi posse sed omnia in Deo esse; quare nihil extra ipsum esse potest a quo ad agendum determinetur vel cogatur atque adeo Deus ex solis suæ naturæ legibus et a nemine coactus agit. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM I : Hinc sequitur I^o nullam dari causam quæ Deum extrinsece vel intrinsece præter ipsius naturæ perfectionem incitet ad agendum.

COROLLARIUM II : Sequitur II^o solum Deum esse causam liberam. Deus enim solus ex sola suæ naturæ necessitate existit (per propositionem 11 et corollarium I propositionis 14) et ex sola suæ naturæ necessitate agit (per propositionem præcedentem). Adeoque (per definitionem 7) solus est causa libera. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Alii putant Deum esse causam liberam propterea quod potest ut putant efficere ut ea quæ ex ejus natura sequi diximus hoc est quæ in ejus potestate sunt, non fiant sive ut ab ipso non producantur. Sed hoc idem est ac si

dicerent quod Deus potest efficere ut ex natura trianguli non sequatur ejus tres angulos æquales esse duobus rectis sive ut ex data causa non sequatur effectus, quod est absurdum. Porro infra absque ope hujus propositionis ostendam ad Dei naturam neque intellectum neque voluntatem pertinere. Scio equidem plures esse qui putant se posse demonstrare ad Dei naturam summum intellectum et liberam voluntatem pertinere; nihil enim perfectius cognoscere sese aiunt quod Deo tribuere possunt quam id quod in nobis summa est perfectio. Porro tametsi Deum actu summe intelligentem concipiant, non tamen credunt eum posse omnia quæ actu intelligit, efficere ut existant nam se eo modo Dei potentiam destruere putant. Si omnia inquit quæ in ejus intellectu sunt, creavisset, nihil tum amplius creare potuisset, quod credunt Dei omnipotentia repugnare ideoque maluerunt Deum ad omnia indifferentem statuere nec aliud creantem præter id quod absoluta quadam voluntate decrevit creare. Verum ego me satis clare ostendisse puto (vide propositionem 16) a summa Dei potentia sive infinita natura infinita infinitis modis hoc est omnia necessario effluxisse vel semper eadem necessitate sequi eodem modo ac ex natura trianguli ab æterno et in æternum sequitur ejus tres angulos æquari duobus rectis. Quare Dei omnipotentia actu ab æterno fuit et in æternum in eadem actualitate manebit. Et hoc modo Dei omnipotentia longe meo quidem judicio perfectior statuitur. Imo adversarii Dei omnipotentiam (liceat aperte loqui) negare videntur. Coguntur enim fateri Deum infinita creabilia intelligere quæ tamen nunquam creare poterit. Nam alias si scilicet omnia quæ intelligit crearet, suam juxta ipsos exhauriret omnipotentiam et se imperfectum redderet. Ut igitur Deum perfectum statuam, eo rediguntur ut simul statuere debeant ipsum non posse omnia efficere ad quæ ejus potentia se extendit, quo absurdius aut Dei omnipotentia magis repugnans non video quid fingi possit. Porro ut de intellectu et voluntate quos Deo communiter tribuimus, hic etiam aliquid dicam, si ad æternam Dei essentiam intellectus scilicet et voluntas pertinent, aliud sane per utrumque hoc attributum intelligendum est quam quod vulgo solent homines. Nam intellectus et voluntas qui Dei essentiam constituerent, a nostro intellectu et voluntate toto cælo differre deberent nec in

ulla re præterquam in nomine convenire possent; non aliter scilicet quam inter se conveniunt canis, signum cæleste et canis, animal latrans. Quod sic demonstrabo. Si intellectus ad divinam naturam pertinet, non poterit uti noster intellectus posterior (ut plerisque placet) vel simul natura esse cum rebus intellectis quandoquidem Deus omnibus rebus prior est causalitate (per corollarium I propositionis 16) sed contra veritas et formalis rerum essentia ideo talis est quia talis in Dei intellectu existit objective. Quare Dei intellectus quatenus Dei essentiam constituere concipitur, est revera causa rerum tam earum essentiæ quam earum existentiae, quod ab iis videtur etiam fuisse animadversum qui Dei intellectum, voluntatem et potentiam unum et idem esse asseruerunt. Cum itaque Dei intellectus sit unica rerum causa videlicet (ut ostendimus) tam earum essentiæ quam earum existentiae, debet ipse necessario ab iisdem differre tam ratione essentiæ quam ratione existentiae. Nam causatum differt a sua causa præcise in eo quod a causa habet. Exempli gratia homo est causa existentiae, non vero essentiæ alterius hominis; est enim hæc æterna veritas et ideo secundum essentiam prorsus convenire possunt; in existendo autem differre debent et propterea si unius existentia pereat, non ideo alterius peribit sed si unius essentia destrui posset et fieri falsa, destrueretur etiam alterius essentia. Quapropter res quæ et essentiæ et existentiae alicujus effectus est causa, a tali effectu differre debet tam ratione essentiæ quam ratione existentiae. Atqui Dei intellectus est et essentiæ et existentiae nostri intellectus causa; ergo Dei intellectus quatenus divinam essentiam constituere concipitur, a nostro intellectu tam ratione essentiæ quam ratione existentiae differt nec in ulla re præterquam in nomine cum eo convenire potest, ut volebamus. Circa voluntatem eodem modo proceditur, ut facile unusquisque videre potest.

PROPOSITIO XVIII : Deus est omnium rerum causa immanens, non vero transiens.

DEMONSTRATIO : Omnia quæ sunt, in Deo sunt et per Deum concipi debent (per propositionem 15) adeoque (per corollarium I propositionis 16 hujus) Deus rerum quæ in ipso sunt, est causa, quod est primum. Deinde extra Deum nulla

potest dari substantia (per propositionem 14) hoc est (per definitionem 3) res quæ extra Deum in se sit, quod erat secundum. Deus ergo est omnium rerum causa immanens, non vero transiens. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XIX : Deus sive omnia Dei attributa sunt æterna.

DEMONSTRATIO : Deus enim (per definitionem 6) est substantia quæ (per propositionem 11) necessario existit hoc est (per propositionem 7) ad cuius naturam pertinet existere sive (quod idem est) ex cuius definitione sequitur ipsum existere adeoque (per definitionem 8) est æternus. Deinde per Dei attributa intelligendum est id quod (per definitionem 4) divinæ substantiæ essentiam exprimit hoc est id quod ad substantiam pertinet : id ipsum inquam ipsa attributa involvere debent. Atqui ad naturam substantiæ (ut jam ex propositione 7 demonstravi) pertinet æternitas. Ergo unumquodque attributorum æternitatem involvere debet adeoque omnia sunt æterna. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Hæc propositio quam clarissime etiam patet ex modo quo (propositione 11) Dei existentiam demonstravi; ex ea inquam demonstratione constat Dei existentiam sicut ejus essentiam æternam esse veritatem. Deinde (propositione 19 Principiorum Cartesii) alio etiam modo Dei æternitatem demonstravi nec opus est eum hic repetere.

PROPOSITIO XX : Dei existentia ejusque essentia unum et idem sunt.

DEMONSTRATIO : Deus (per antecedentem propositionem) ejusque omnia attributa sunt æterna hoc est (per definitionem 8) unumquodque ejus attributorum existentiam exprimit. Eadem ergo Dei attributa quæ (per definitionem 4) Dei æternam essentiam explicant, ejus simul æternam existentiam explicant hoc est illud ipsum quod essentiam Dei constituit, constituit simul ipsius existentiam adeoque hæc et ipsius essentia unum et idem sunt. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM I : Hinc sequitur I° Dei existentiam sicut ejus essentiam æternam esse veritatem.

COROLLARIUM II : Sequitur II° Deum sive omnia Dei attributa esse immutabilia. Nam si ratione existentiae mutarentur, deberent etiam (per

propositionem præcedentem) ratione essentiæ mutari hoc est (ut per se notum) ex veris falsa fieri, quod est absurdum.

PROPOSITIO XXI : Omnia quæ ex absoluta natura alicujus attributi Dei sequuntur, semper et infinita existere debuerunt sive per idem attributum æterna et infinita sunt.

DEMONSTRATIO : Concipe si fieri potest (siquidem neges) aliquid in aliquo Dei attributo ex ipsius absoluta natura sequi quod finitum sit et determinatam habeat existentiam sive durationem exempli gratia ideam Dei in cogitatione. At cogitatio quandoquidem Dei attributum supponitur, est necessario (per propositionem 11) sua natura infinita. Verum quatenus ipsa ideam Dei habet, finita supponitur. At (per definitionem 2) finita concipi non potest nisi per ipsam cogitationem determinetur. Sed non per ipsam cogitationem quatenus ideam Dei constituit; eatenus enim finita supponitur esse : ergo per cogitationem quatenus ideam Dei non constituit, quæ tamen (per propositionem 11) necessario existere debet. Datur igitur cogitatio non constituens ideam Dei ac propterea ex ejus natura quatenus est absoluta cogitatio, non sequitur necessario idea Dei (concipitur enim ideam Dei constituens et non constituens). Quod est contra hypothesin. Quare si idea Dei in cogitatione aut aliquid (perinde est quicquid sumatur quandoquidem demonstratio universalis est) in aliquo Dei attributo ex necessitate absolutæ naturæ ipsius attributi sequatur, id debet necessario esse infinitum; quod erat primum.

Deinde id quod ex necessitate naturæ alicujus attributi ita sequitur, non potest determinatam habere existentiam sive durationem. Nam si neges, supponatur res quæ ex necessitate naturæ alicujus attributi sequitur, dari in aliquo Dei attributo exempli gratia ideam Dei in cogitatione eaque supponatur aliquando non exstitisse vel non exstitura. Cum autem cogitatio Dei attributum supponatur, debet et necessario et immutabilis existere (per propositionem 11 et corollarium II propositionis 20). Quare ultra limites durationis ideæ Dei (supponitur enim aliquando non exstitisse aut non exstitura) cogitatio sine idea Dei existere debet; atqui hoc est contra hypothesin; supponitur enim ex data cogitatione necessario

sequi ideam Dei. Ergo idea Dei in cogitatione aut aliquid quod necessario ex absoluta natura alicujus attributi Dei sequitur, non potest determinatam habere durationem sed per idem attributum æternum est, quod erat secundum. Nota hoc idem esse affirmandum de quacunque re quæ in aliquo Dei attributo ex Dei absoluta natura necessario sequitur.

PROPOSITIO XXII : Quicquid ex aliquo Dei attributo quatenus modificatum est tali modificatione quæ et necessario et infinita per idem existit, sequitur, debet quoque et necessario et infinitum existere.

DEMONSTRATIO : Hujus propositionis demonstratio procedit eodem modo ac demonstratio præcedentis.

PROPOSITIO XXIII : Omnis modus qui et necessario et infinitus existit, necessario sequi debuit vel ex absoluta natura alicujus attributi Dei vel ex aliquo attributo modificato modificatione quæ et necessario et infinita existit.

DEMONSTRATIO : Modus enim in alio est per quod concipi debet (per definitionem 5) hoc est (per propositionem 15) in solo Deo est et per solum Deum concipi potest. Si ergo modus concipitur necessario existere et infinitus esse, utrumque hoc debet necessario concludi sive percipi per aliquod Dei attributum quatenus idem concipitur infinitatem et necessitatem existentiae sive (quod per definitionem 8 idem est) æternitatem exprimere hoc est (per definitionem 6 et propositionem 19) quatenus absolute consideratur. Modus ergo qui et necessario et infinitus existit, ex absoluta natura alicujus Dei attributi sequi debuit hocque vel immediate (de quo vide propositionem 21) vel mediante aliqua modificatione quæ ex ejus absoluta natura sequitur hoc est (per propositionem præcedentem) quæ et necessario et infinita existit. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXIV : Rerum a Deo productarum essentia non involvit existentiam.

DEMONSTRATIO : Patet ex definitione 1. Id enim cujus natura (in se scilicet considerata) involvit existentiam, causa est sui et ex sola suæ naturæ necessitate existit.

COROLLARIUM : Hinc sequitur Deum non tantum esse causam ut res incipiant existere sed etiam ut in existendo perseverent sive (ut termino scholastico utar) Deum esse causam essendi rerum. Nam sive res existant sive non existant, quotiescunque ad earum essentiam attendimus, eandem nec existentiam nec durationem involvere comperimus adeoque earum essentia neque suæ existentiae neque suæ durationis potest esse causa sed tantum Deus ad cuius solam naturam pertinet existere (per corollarium I propositionis 14).

PROPOSITIO XXV : Deus non tantum est causa efficiens rerum existentiae sed etiam essentiae.

DEMONSTRATIO : Si negas, ergo rerum essentiae Deus non est causa adeoque (per axioma 4) potest rerum essentia sine Deo concipi : atqui hoc (per propositionem 15) est absurdum. Ergo rerum etiam essentiae Deus est causa. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Hæc propositio clarius sequitur ex propositione 16. Ex ea enim sequitur quod ex data natura divina tam rerum essentia quam existentia debeat necessario concludi et ut verbo dicam eo sensu quo Deus dicitur causa sui, etiam omnium rerum causa dicendus est, quod adhuc clarius ex sequenti corollario constabit.

COROLLARIUM : Res particulares nihil sunt nisi Dei attributorum affectiones sive modi quibus Dei attributa certo et determinato modo exprimuntur. Demonstratio patet ex propositione 15 et definitione 5.

PROPOSITIO XXVI : Res quæ ad aliquid operandum determinata est, a Deo necessario sic fuit determinata et quæ a Deo non est determinata, non potest se ipsam ad operandum determinare.

DEMONSTRATIO : Id per quod res determinatæ ad aliquid operandum dicuntur, necessario quid positivum est (ut per se notum). Adeoque tam ejus essentiae quam existentiae Deus ex necessitate suæ naturæ est causa efficiens (per propositiones 25 et 16) quod erat primum. Ex quo etiam quod secundo proponitur clarissime sequitur. Nam si res quæ a Deo determinata non est, se ipsam

determinare posset, prima pars hujus falsa esset, quod est absurdum, ut ostendimus.

PROPOSITIO XXVII : Res quæ a Deo ad aliquid operandum determinata est, se ipsam indeterminatam reddere non potest.

DEMONSTRATIO : Hæc propositio patet ex axiome tertio.

PROPOSITIO XXVIII : Quodcunque singulare sive quævis res quæ finita est et determinatam habet existentiam, non potest existere nec ad operandum determinari nisi ad existendum et operandum determinetur ab alia causa quæ etiam finita est et determinatam habet existentiam et rursus hæc causa non potest etiam existere neque ad operandum determinari nisi ab alia quæ etiam finita est et determinatam habet existentiam, determinetur ad existendum et operandum et sic in infinitum.

DEMONSTRATIO : Quicquid determinatum est ad existendum et operandum, a Deo sic determinatum est (per propositionem 26 et corollarium propositionis 24). At id quod finitum est et determinatam habet existentiam, ab absoluta natura alicujus Dei attributi produci non potuit; quicquid enim ex absoluta natura alicujus Dei attributi sequitur, id infinitum et æternum est (per propositionem 21). Debuit ergo ex Deo vel aliquo ejus attributo sequi quatenus aliquo modo affectum consideratur; præter enim substantiam et modos nil datur (per axioma 1 et definitionibus 3 et 5) et modi (per corollarium propositionis 25) nihil sunt nisi Dei attributorum affectiones. At ex Deo vel aliquo ejus attributo quatenus affectum est modificatione quæ æterna et infinita est, sequi etiam non potuit (per propositionem 22). Debuit ergo sequi vel ad existendum et operandum determinari a Deo vel aliquo ejus attributo quatenus modificatum est modificatione quæ finita est et determinatam habet existentiam. Quod erat primum. Deinde hæc rursus causa sive hic modus (per eandem rationem qua primam partem hujus jam jam demonstravimus) debuit etiam determinari ab alia quæ etiam finita est et determinatam habet existentiam et rursus hæc ultima (per eandem rationem) ab alia et sic semper (per eandem rationem) in infinitum. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Cum quædam a Deo immediate produci debuerunt videlicet ea quæ ex absoluta ejus natura necessario sequuntur et alia mediantibus his primis quæ tamen sine Deo nec esse nec concipi possunt, hinc sequitur I° quod Deus sit rerum immediate ab ipso productarum causa absolute proxima, non vero in suo genere ut aiunt. Nam Dei effectus sine sua causa nec esse nec concipi possunt (per propositionem 15 et corollarium propositionis 24). Sequitur II° quod Deus non potest proprie dici causa esse remota rerum singularium nisi forte ea de causa ut scilicet has ab iis quas immediate produxit vel potius quæ ex absoluta ejus natura sequuntur, distinguamus. Nam per causam remotam talem intelligimus quæ cum effectu nullo modo conjuncta est. At omnia quæ sunt in Deo sunt et a Deo ita dependent ut sine ipso nec esse nec concipi possint.

PROPOSITIO XXIX : In rerum natura nullum datur contingens sed omnia ex necessitate divinæ naturæ determinata sunt ad certo modo existendum et operandum.

DEMONSTRATIO : Quicquid est in Deo est (per propositionem 15) : Deus autem non potest dici res contingens. Nam (per propositionem 11) necessario, non vero contingenter existit. Modi deinde divinæ naturæ ex eadem etiam necessario, non vero contingenter secuti sunt (per propositionem 16) idque vel quatenus divina natura absolute (per propositionem 21) vel quatenus certo modo ad agendum determinata consideratur (per propositionem 27). Porro horum modorum Deus non tantum est causa quatenus simpliciter existunt (per corollarium propositionis 24) sed etiam (per propositionem 26) quatenus ad aliquid operandum determinati considerantur. Quod si a Deo (per eandem propositionem) determinati non sint, impossibile, non vero contingens est ut se ipsos determinant et contra (per propositionem 27) si a Deo determinati sint, impossibile, non vero contingens est ut se ipsos indeterminatos reddant. Quare omnia ex necessitate divinæ naturæ determinata sunt, non tantum ad existendum sed etiam ad certo modo existendum et operandum nullumque datur contingens. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Antequam ulterius pergam, hic quid nobis per Naturam naturantem et quid per Naturam naturatam intelligendum sit, explicare volo vel potius monere. Nam ex antecedentibus jam constare existimo nempe quod per Naturam naturantem nobis intelligendum est id quod in se est et per se concipitur sive talia substantiæ attributa quæ æternam et infinitam essentiam exprimunt hoc est (per corollarium I propositionis 14 et corollarium II propositionis 17) Deus quatenus ut causa libera consideratur. Per naturatam autem intelligo id omne quod ex necessitate Dei naturæ sive uniuscujusque Dei attributorum sequitur hoc est omnes Dei attributorum modos quatenus considerantur ut res quæ in Deo sunt et quæ sine Deo nec esse nec concipi possunt.

PROPOSITIO XXX : Intellectus actu finitus aut actu infinitus Dei attributa Deique affectiones comprehendere debet et nihil aliud.

DEMONSTRATIO : Idea vera debet convenire cum suo ideato (per axioma 6) hoc est (ut per se notum) id quod in intellectu objective continetur, debet necessario in natura dari. Atqui in natura (per corollarium I propositionis 14) non nisi una substantia datur nempe Deus nec ullæ aliæ affectiones (per propositionem 15) quam quæ in Deo sunt et quæ (per eandem propositionem) sine Deo nec esse nec concipi possunt; ergo intellectus actu finitus aut actu infinitus Dei attributa Deique affectiones comprehendere debet et nihil aliud. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXXI : Intellectus actu sive is finitus sit sive infinitus, ut et voluntas, cupiditas, amor etc. ad Naturam naturatam, non vero ad naturantem referri debent.

DEMONSTRATIO : Per intellectum enim (ut per se notum) non intelligimus absolutam cogitationem sed certum tantum modum cogitandi, qui modus ab aliis scilicet cupiditate, amore, etc. differt adeoque (per definitionem 5) per absolutam cogitationem concipi debet nempe (per propositionem 15 et definitionem 6) per aliquod Dei attributum quod æternam et infinitam cogitationis essentiam exprimit, ita concipi debet ut sine ipso nec esse nec concipi possit ac propterea (per scholium propositionis 29) ad Naturam naturatam, non vero naturantem referri debet ut etiam reliqui modi cogitandi. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Ratio cur hic loquar de intellectu actu non est quia concedo ullum dari intellectum potentia sed quia omnem confusionem vitare cupio, nolui loqui nisi de re nobis quam clarissime percepta, de ipsa scilicet intellectione qua nihil nobis clarius percipitur. Nihil enim intelligere possumus quod ad perfectiorem intellectionis cognitionem non conducat.

PROPOSITIO XXXII : Voluntas non potest vocari causa libera sed tantum necessaria.

DEMONSTRATIO : Voluntas certus tantum cogitandi modus est sicuti intellectus adeoque (per propositionem 28) unaquæque volitio non potest existere neque ad operandum determinari nisi ab alia causa determinetur et hæc rursus ab alia et sic porro in infinitum. Quod si voluntas infinita supponatur, debet etiam ad existendum et operandum determinari a Deo, non quatenus substantia absolute infinita est sed quatenus attributum habet quod infinitam et æternam cogitationis essentiam exprimit (per propositionem 23). Quocunque igitur modo sive finita sive infinita concipiatur, causam requirit a qua ad existendum et operandum determinetur adeoque (per definitionem 7) non potest dici causa libera sed tantum necessaria vel coacta. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM I : Hinc sequitur I^o Deum non operari ex libertate voluntatis.

COROLLARIUM II : Sequitur II^o voluntatem et intellectum ad Dei naturam ita sese habere ut motus et quies et absolute ut omnia naturalia quæ (per propositionem 29) a Deo ad existendum et operandum certo modo determinari debent. Nam voluntas, ut reliqua omnia, causa indiget a qua ad existendum et operandum certo modo determinetur. Et quamvis ex data voluntate sive intellectu infinita sequantur, non tamen propterea Deus magis dici potest ex libertate voluntatis agere quam propter ea quæ ex motu et quiete sequuntur (infinita enim ex his etiam sequuntur) dici potest ex libertate motus et quietis agere. Quare voluntas ad Dei naturam non magis pertinet quam reliqua naturalia sed ad ipsam eodem modo sese habet ut motus et quies et omnia reliqua quæ ostendimus ex

necessitate divinæ naturæ sequi et ab eadem ad existendum et operandum certo modo determinari.

PROPOSITIO XXXIII : Res nullo alio modo neque alio ordine a Deo produci potuerunt quam productæ sunt.

DEMONSTRATIO : Res enim omnes ex data Dei natura necessario sequutæ sunt (per propositionem 16) et ex necessitate naturæ Dei determinatæ sunt ad certo modo existendum et operandum (per propositionem 29). Si itaque res alterius naturæ potuissent esse vel alio modo ad operandum determinari ut naturæ ordo alius esset, ergo Dei etiam natura alia posset esse quam jam est ac proinde (per propositionem 11) illa etiam deberet existere et consequenter duo vel plures possent dari Dii, quod (per corollarium I propositionis 14) est absurdum. Quapropter res nullo alio modo neque alio ordine etc. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM I : Quoniam his luce meridiana clarius ostendi nihil absolute in rebus dari propter quod contingentes dicantur, explicare jam paucis volo quid nobis per contingens erit intelligendum sed prius quid per necessarium et impossibile. Res aliqua necessaria dicitur vel ratione suæ essentiæ vel ratione causæ. Rei enim alicujus existentia vel ex ipsius essentia et definitione vel ex data causa efficiente necessario sequitur. Deinde his etiam de causis res aliqua impossibilis dicitur; nimirum quia vel ipsius essentia seu definitio contradictionem involvit vel quia nulla causa externa datur ad talem rem producendam determinata. At res aliqua nulla alia de causa contingens dicitur nisi respectu defectus nostræ cognitionis. Res enim cujus essentiam contradictionem involvere ignoramus vel de qua probe scimus eandem nullam contradictionem involvere et tamen de ipsius existentia nihil certo affirmare possumus propterea quod ordo causarum nos latet, ea nunquam nec ut necessaria nec ut impossibilis videri nobis potest ideoque eandem vel contingentem vel possibilem vocamus.

SCHOLIUM II : Ex præcedentibus clare sequitur res summa perfectione a Deo fuisse productas quandoquidem ex data perfectissima natura necessario secutæ sunt. Neque hoc Deum ullius arguit imperfectionis; ipsius enim perfectio hoc nos affirmare coegit. Imo ex hujus contrario clare sequeretur (ut modo ostendi) Deum

non esse summe perfectum; nimirum quia si res alio modo fuissent productæ, Deo alia natura esset tribuenda, diversa ab ea quam ex consideratione Entis perfectissimi coacti sumus ei tribuere. Verum non dubito quin multi hanc sententiam ut absurdam explodant nec animum ad eandem perpendendam instituere velint idque nulla alia de causa quam quia Deo aliam libertatem assueti sunt tribuere, longe diversam ab illa quæ a nobis (definitione 7) tradita est videlicet absolutam voluntatem. Verum neque etiam dubito si rem meditari vellentstrarumque demonstrationum seriem recte secum perpendere, quin tandem talem libertatem qualem jam Deo tribuunt, non tantum ut nugatoriam sed ut magnum scientiæ obstaculum plane rejiciant. Nec opus est ut ea quæ in scholio propositionis 17 dicta sunt, hic repetam. Attamen in eorum gratiam adhuc ostendam quod quamvis concedatur voluntatem ad Dei essentiam pertinere, ex ejus perfectione nihilominus sequatur res nullo alio potuisse modo neque ordine a Deo creari; quod facile erit ostendere si prius consideremus id quod ipsimet concedunt videlicet ex solo Dei decreto et voluntate pendere ut unaquæque res id quod est sit. Nam alias Deus omnium rerum causa non esset. Deinde quod omnia decreta ab æterno ab ipso Deo sancita fuerunt. Nam alias imperfectionis et inconstantiae argueretur. At cum in æterno non detur quando, ante nec post, hinc ex sola scilicet Dei perfectione sequitur Deum aliud decernere nunquam posse nec unquam potuisse sive Deum ante sua decreta non fuisse nec sine ipsis esse posse. At dicent quod quamvis supponeretur quod Deus aliam rerum naturam fecisset vel quod ab æterno aliud de natura ejusque ordine decrevisset, nulla inde in Deo sequeretur imperfectio. Verum si hoc dicant, concedent simul Deum posse sua mutare decreta. Nam si Deus de natura ejusque ordine aliud quam decrevit decrevisset hoc est ut aliud de natura voluisset et concepisset, alium necessario quam jam habet intellectum et aliam quam jam habet voluntatem habuisset. Et si Deo alium intellectum aliamque voluntatem tribuere licet absque ulla ejus essentiae ejusque perfectionis mutatione, quid causæ est cur jam non possit sua de rebus creatis decreta mutare et nihilominus æque perfectus manere? Ejus enim intellectus et voluntas circa res creatas et earum ordinem in respectu suæ essentiae

et perfectionis perinde est, quomodocunque concipiatur. Deinde omnes quos vidi philosophi concedunt nullum in Deo dari intellectum potentia sed tantum actu; cum autem et ejus intellectus et ejus voluntas ab ejusdem essentia non distinguantur ut etiam omnes concedunt, sequitur ergo hinc etiam quod si Deus alium intellectum actu habuisset et aliam voluntatem, ejus etiam essentia alia necessario esset ac proinde (ut a principio conclusi) si aliter res quam jam sunt, a Deo productæ essent, Dei intellectus ejusque voluntas hoc est (ut conceditur) ejus essentia alia esse deberet, quod est absurdum.

Cum itaque res nullo alio modo nec ordine a Deo produci potuerint et hoc verum esse ex summa Dei perfectione sequatur, nulla profecto sana ratio persuadere nobis potest ut credamus quod Deus noluerit omnia quæ in suo intellectu sunt, eadem illa perfectione qua ipsa intelligit, creare. At dicent in rebus nullam esse perfectionem neque imperfectionem sed id quod in ipsis est propter quod perfectæ sunt aut imperfectæ et bonæ aut malæ dicuntur, a Dei tantum voluntate pendere atque adeo si Deus voluisset, potuisset efficere ut id quod jam perfectio est, summa esset imperfectio et contra. Verum quid hoc aliud esset quam aperte affirmare quod Deus qui id quod vult necessario intelligit, sua voluntate efficere potest ut res alio modo quam intelligit, intelligat, quod (ut modo ostendi) magnum est absurdum. Quare argumentum in ipsos retorquere possum hoc modo. Omnia a Dei potestate pendent. Ut res itaque aliter se habere possint, Dei necessario voluntas aliter se habere etiam deberet; atqui Dei voluntas aliter se habere nequit (ut modo ex Dei perfectione evidentissime ostendimus). Ergo neque res aliter se habere possunt. Fateor hanc opinionem quæ omnia indifferenti cuidam Dei voluntati subjicit et ab ipsius beneplacito omnia pendere statuit, minus a vero aberrare quam illorum qui statuunt Deum omnia sub ratione boni agere. Nam hi aliquid extra Deum videntur ponere quod a Deo non dependet, ad quod Deus tanquam ad exemplar in operando attendit vel ad quod tanquam ad certum scopum collineat. Quod profecto nihil aliud est quam Deum fato subjicere, quo nihil de Deo absurdius statui potest, quem ostendimus tam omnium rerum

essentiæ quam earum existentiae primam et unicam liberam causam esse. Quare non est ut in hoc absurdo refutando tempus consumam.

PROPOSITIO XXXIV : Dei potentia est ipsa ipsius essentia.

DEMONSTRATIO : Ex sola enim necessitate Dei essentiæ sequitur Deum esse causam sui (per propositionem 11) et (per propositionem 16 ejusque corollarium) omnium rerum. Ergo potentia Dei qua ipse et omnia sunt et agunt, est ipsa ipsius essentia. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXXV : Quicquid concipimus in Dei potestate esse, id necessario est.

DEMONSTRATIO : Quicquid enim in Dei potestate est, id (per propositionem præcedentem) in ejus essentia ita debet comprehendi ut ex ea necessario sequatur adeoque necessario est. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXXVI : Nihil existit ex cujus natura aliquis effectus non sequatur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Quicquid existit, Dei naturam sive essentiam certo et determinato modo exprimit (per corollarium propositionis 25) hoc est (per propositionem 34) quicquid existit, Dei potentiam quæ omnium rerum causa est, certo et determinato modo exprimit adeoque (per propositionem 16) ex eo aliquis effectus sequi debet. Q.E.D.

APPENDIX : His Dei naturam ejusque proprietates explicui ut quod necessario existit; quod sit unicus; quod ex sola suæ naturæ necessitate sit et agat; quod sit omnium rerum causa libera et quomodo; quod omnia in Deo sint et ab ipso ita pendeant ut sine ipso nec esse nec concipi possint; et denique quod omnia a Deo fuerint prædeterminata, non quidem ex libertate voluntatis sive absoluto beneplacito sed ex absoluta Dei natura sive infinita potentia. Porro ubicunque data fuit occasio, præjudicia quæ impedire poterant quominus meæ demonstrationes perciperentur, amovere curavi sed quia non pauca adhuc restant præjudicia quæ etiam imo maxime impedire poterant et possunt quominus homines rerum concatenationem eo quo ipsam explicui modo, amplecti possint, eadem hic ad examen rationis vocare operæ pretium duxi. Et quoniam omnia quæ hic indicare

suscipio præjudicia pendent ab hoc uno quod scilicet communiter supponant homines omnes res naturales ut ipsos propter finem agere, imo ipsum Deum omnia ad certum aliquem finem dirigere pro certo statuant : dicunt enim Deum omnia propter hominem fecisse, hominem autem ut ipsum coleret. Hoc igitur unum prius considerabo quærendo scilicet primo causam cur plerique hoc in præjudicio acquiescant et omnes natura adeo propensi sint ad idem amplectendum. Deinde ejusdem falsitatem ostendam et tandem quomodo ex hoc orta sint præjudicia de bono et malo, merito et peccato, laude et vituperio, ordine et confusione, pulchritudine et deformitate et de aliis hujus generis. Verum hæc ab humanæ mentis natura deducere non est hujus loci : satis hic erit si pro fundamento id capiam quod apud omnes debet esse in confesso nempe hoc quod omnes homines rerum causarum ignari nascuntur et quod omnes appetitum habent suum utile quærendi, cujus rei sunt conscii. Ex his enim sequitur primo quod homines se liberos esse opinentur quandoquidem suarum volitionum suique appetitus sunt conscii et de causis a quibus disponuntur ad appetendum et volendum, quia earum sunt ignari nec per somnium cogitant. Sequitur secundo homines omnia propter finem agere videlicet propter utile quod appetunt; unde fit ut semper rerum peractarum causas finales tantum scire expetant et ubi ipsas audiverint, quiescant; nimirum quia nullam habent causam ulterius dubitandi. Sin autem easdem ex alio audire nequeant, nihil iis restat nisi ut ad semet se convertant et ad fines a quibus ipsi ad similia determinari solent, reflectant et sic ex suo ingenio ingenium alterius necessario judicant. Porro cum in se et extra se non pauca reperiant media quæ ad suum utile assequendum non parum conducant ut exempli gratia oculos ad videndum, dentes ad masticandum, herbas et animantia ad alimentum, solem ad illuminandum, mare ad alendum pisces, hinc factum ut omnia naturalia tanquam ad suum utile media considerent et quia illa media ab ipsis inventa, non autem parata esse sciunt, hinc causam credendi habuerunt aliquem alium esse qui illa media in eorum usum paraverit. Nam postquam res ut media consideraverunt, credere non potuerunt easdem se ipsas fecisse sed ex mediis quæ sibi ipsi parare solent, concludere debuerunt dari

aliquem vel aliquos naturæ rectores humana præditos libertate qui ipsis omnia curaverint et in eorum usum omnia fecerint. Atque horum etiam ingenium quandoquidem de eo nunquam quid audiverant, ex suo judicare debuerunt atque hinc statuerunt Deos omnia in hominum usum dirigere ut homines sibi devinciant et in summo ab iisdem honore habeantur; unde factum ut unusquisque diversos Deum colendi modos ex suo ingenio excogitaverit ut Deus eos supra reliquos diligeret et totam naturam in usum cæcæ illorum cupiditatis et insatiabilis avaritiæ dirigeret. Atque ita hoc præjudicium in superstitionem versum et altas in mentibus egit radices; quod in causa fuit ut unusquisque maximo conatu omnium rerum causas finales intelligere easque explicare studeret. Sed dum quæsiverunt ostendere naturam nihil frustra (hoc est quod in usum hominum non sit) agere, nihil aliud videntur ostendisse quam naturam Deosque æque ac homines delirare. Vide quæso quo res tandem evasit! Inter tot naturæ commoda non pauca reperire debuerunt incommoda, tempestates scilicet, terræ motus, morbos etc. atque hæc statuerunt propterea evenire quod Dii irati essent ob injurias sibi ab hominibus factas sive ob peccata in suo cultu commissa et quamvis experientia indies reclamaret ac infinitis exemplis ostenderet commoda atque incommoda piis æque ac impiis promiscue evenire, non ideo ab inveterato præjudicio destiterunt : facilius enim iis fuit hoc inter alia incognita quorum usum ignorabant, ponere et sic præsentem suum et innatum statum ignorantiae retinere quam totam illam fabricam destruere et novam excogitare. Unde pro certo statuerunt Deorum judicia humanum captum longissime superare : quæ sane unica fuisset causa ut veritas humanum genus in æternum lateret nisi mathesis, quæ non circa fines sed tantum circa figurarum essentias et proprietates versatur, aliam veritatis normam hominibus ostendisset et præter mathesin aliæ etiam adsignari possunt causæ (quas hic enumerare supervacaneum est) a quibus fieri potuit ut homines communia hæc præjudicia animadverterent et in veram rerum cognitionem ducerentur.

His satis explicui id quod primo loco promisi. Ut jam autem ostendam naturam finem nullum sibi præfixum habere et omnes causas finales nihil nisi humana esse

figmenta, non opus est multis. Credo enim id jam satis constare tam ex fundamentis et causis unde hoc præjudicium originem suam traxisse ostendi quam ex propositione 16 et corollariis propositionis 32 et præterea ex iis omnibus quibus ostendi omnia naturæ æterna quadam necessitate summaque perfectione procedere. Hoc tamen adhuc addam nempe hanc de fine doctrinam naturam omnino evertere. Nam id quod revera causa est, ut effectum considerat et contra. Deinde id quod natura prius est, facit posterius. Et denique id quod supremum et perfectissimum est, reddit imperfectissimum. Nam (duobus prioribus omissis quia per se manifesta sunt) ut ex propositionibus 21, 22 et 23 constat, ille effectus perfectissimus est qui a Deo immediate producitur et quo aliquid pluribus causis intermediis indiget ut producat, eo imperfectius est. At si res quæ immediate a Deo productæ sunt, ea de causa factæ essent ut Deus finem assequeretur suum, tum necessario ultimæ quarum de causa priores factæ sunt, omnium præstantissimæ essent. Deinde hæc doctrina Dei perfectionem tollit nam si Deus propter finem agit, aliquid necessario appetit quo caret. Et quamvis theologi et metaphysici distinguant inter finem indigentiae et finem assimilationis, fatentur tamen Deum omnia propter se, non vero propter res creandas egisse quia nihil ante creationem præter Deum assignare possunt propter quod Deus ageret adeoque necessario fateri coguntur Deum iis propter quæ media parare voluit, caruisse eaque cupivisse, ut per se clarum. Nec hic prætereundum est quod hujus doctrinæ sectatores qui in assignandis rerum finibus suum ingenium ostentare voluerunt, ad hanc suam doctrinam probandam novum attulerunt modum argumentandi reducendo scilicet non ad impossibile sed ad ignorantiam, quod ostendit nullum aliud fuisse huic doctrinæ argumentandi medium. Nam si exempli gratia ex culmine aliquo lapis in alicujus caput ceciderit eumque interfecerit, hoc modo demonstrabunt lapidem ad hominem interficiendum cecidisse. Ni enim eum in finem Deo id volente ceciderit, quomodo tot circumstantiæ (sæpe enim multæ simul concurrunt) casu concurrere potuerunt? Respondebis fortasse id ex eo quod ventus flavit et quod homo illac iter habebat, evenisse. At instabunt, cur ventus illo tempore flavit? Cur homo illo eodemque tempore illac iter habebat? Si iterum

respondeas ventum tum ortum quia mare præcedenti die tempore adhuc tranquillo agitari inceperat et quod homo ab amico invitatus fuerat, instabunt iterum quia nullus rogandi finis, cur autem mare agitabatur? cur homo in illud tempus invitatus fuit? et sic porro causarum causas rogare non cessabunt donec ad Dei voluntatem hoc est ignorantiae asylum confugeris. Sic etiam ubi corporis humani fabricam vident, stupescunt et ex eo quod tantæ artis causas ignorant, concludunt eandem non mechanica sed divina vel supernaturali arte fabricari talique modo constitui ut una pars alteram non lædat. Atque hinc fit ut qui miraculorum causas veras quærit quique res naturales ut doctus intelligere, non autem ut stultus admirari studet, passim pro hæretico et impio habeatur et proclametur ab iis quos vulgus tanquam naturæ Deorumque interpretes adorat. Nam sciunt quod sublata ignorantia stupor hoc est unicum argumentandi tuendæque suæ auctoritatis medium quod habent, tollitur. Sed hæc relinquo et ad id quod tertio loco hic agere constitui, pergo.

Postquam homines sibi persuaserunt omnia quæ fiunt propter ipsos fieri, id in unaquaque re præcipuum judicare debuerunt quod ipsis utilissimum et illa omnia præstantissima æstimare a quibus optime afficiebantur. Unde has formare debuerunt notiones quibus rerum naturas explicarent scilicet bonum, malum, ordinem, confusionem, calidum, frigidum, pulchritudinem et deformitatem et quia se liberos existimant, inde hæ notiones ortæ sunt scilicet laus et vituperium, peccatum et meritum sed has infra postquam de natura humana egero, illas autem hic breviter explicabo. Nempe id omne quod ad valetudinem et Dei cultum conducit, bonum, quod autem iis contrarium est, malum vocaverunt. Et quia ii qui rerum naturam non intelligunt sed res tantummodo imaginantur, nihil de rebus affirmant et imaginationem pro intellectu capiunt, ideo ordinem in rebus esse firmiter credunt rerum suæque naturæ ignari. Nam cum ita sint dispositæ ut cum nobis per sensus repræsentantur, eas facile imaginari et consequenter earum facile recordari possimus, easdem bene ordinatas, si vero contra, ipsas male ordinatas sive confusas esse dicimus. Et quoniam ea nobis præ cæteris grata sunt quæ facile imaginari possumus, ideo homines ordinem confusioni præferunt quasi ordo

aliquid in natura præter respectum ad nostram imaginationem esset; dicuntque Deum omnia ordine creasse et hoc modo ipsi nescientes Deo imaginationem tribuunt nisi velint forte Deum humanæ imaginationi providentem res omnes eo disposuisse modo quo ipsas facillime imaginari possent; nec moram forsan iis injiciet quod infinita reperiantur quæ nostram imaginationem longe superant et plurima quæ ipsam propter ejus imbecillitatem confundunt. Sed de hac re satis. Cæteræ deinde notiones etiam præter imaginandi modos quibus imaginatio diversimode afficitur, nihil sunt et tamen ab ignaris tanquam præcipua rerum attributa considerantur quia ut jam diximus, res omnes propter ipsos factas esse credunt et rei alicujus naturam bonam vel malam, sanam vel putridam et corruptam dicunt prout ab eadem afficiuntur. Exempli gratia si motus quem nervi ab objectis per oculos repræsentatis accipiunt, valetudini conducatur, objecta a quibus causatur pulchra dicuntur, quæ autem contrarium motum cient, deformia. Quæ deinde per nares sensum movent, odorifera vel fætida vocant, quæ per linguam, dulcia aut amara, sapida aut insipida etc. Quæ autem per tactum, dura aut mollia, aspera aut lævia etc. Et quæ denique aures movent, strepitum, sonum vel harmoniam edere dicuntur quorum postremum homines adeo dementavit ut Deum etiam harmonia delectari crederent. Nec desunt philosophi qui sibi persuaserint motus cælestes harmoniam componere. Quæ omnia satis ostendunt unumquemque pro dispositione cerebri de rebus judicasse vel potius imaginationis affectiones pro rebus accepisse. Quare non mirum est (ut hoc etiam obiter notemus) quod inter homines tot quot experimur, controversiæ ortæ sint ex quibus tandem scepticismus. Nam quamvis humana corpora in multis conveniant, in plurimis tamen discrepant et ideo id quod uni bonum, alteri malum videtur; quod uni ordinatum, alteri confusum; quod uni gratum, alteri ingratum est et sic de cæteris quibus hic supersedeo cum quia hujus loci non est de his ex professo agere, tum quia hoc omnes satis experti sunt. Omnibus enim in ore est “quot capita tot sensus”, “suo quemque sensu abundare”, “non minora cerebrorum quam palatorum esse discrimina” : quæ sententiæ satis ostendunt homines pro dispositione cerebri de rebus judicare resque potius imaginari quam intelligere.

Res enim si intellexissent, illæ omnes teste mathesi, si non allicerent, ad minimum convincerent.

Videmus itaque omnes notiones quibus vulgus solet naturam explicare, modos esse tantummodo imaginandi nec ullius rei naturam sed tantum imaginationis constitutionem indicare et quia nomina habent, quasi essent entium extra imaginationem existentium, eadem entia non rationis sed imaginationis voco atque adeo omnia argumenta quæ contra nos ex similibus notionibus petuntur, facile propulsari possunt. Solent enim multi sic argumentari. Si omnia ex necessitate perfectissimæ Dei naturæ sunt consecuta, unde ergo tot imperfectiones in natura ortæ? Videlicet rerum corruptio ad fætorem usque, rerum deformitas quæ nauseam moveat, confusio, malum, peccatum etc. Sed ut modo dixi, facile confutantur. Nam rerum perfectio ex sola earum natura et potentia est æstimanda nec ideo res magis aut minus perfectæ sunt propterea quod hominum sensum delectant vel offendunt, quod humanæ naturæ conducunt vel quod eidem repugnant. Iis autem qui quærunt cur Deus omnes homines non ita creavit ut solo rationis ductu gubernarentur? nihil aliud respondeo quam quia ei non defuit materia ad omnia ex summo nimirum ad infimum perfectionis gradum creanda vel magis proprie loquendo quia ipsius naturæ leges adeo amplæ fuerunt ut sufficerent ad omnia quæ ab aliquo infinito intellectu concipi possunt producenda, ut propositione 16 demonstravi.

Hæc sunt quæ hic notare suscepi præjudicia. Si quædam hujus farinæ adhuc restant, poterunt eadem ab unoquoque mediocri meditatione emendari.

Finis partis primæ

PARS SECUNDA. DE NATURA ET ORIGINE MENTIS



TRANSEO JAM AD ea explicanda quæ ex Dei sive Entis æterni et infiniti essentia necessario debuerunt sequi. Non quidem omnia; infinita enim infinitis modis ex ipsa debere sequi propositione 16 partis I demonstravimus sed ea solummodo quæ nos ad mentis humanæ ejusque summæ beatitudinis cognitionem quasi manu ducere possunt.

DEFINITIONES

I. Per corpus intelligo modum qui Dei essentiam quatenus ut res extensa consideratur, certo et determinato modo exprimit; vide corollarium propositionis 25 partis I.

II. Ad essentiam alicujus rei id pertinere dico quo dato res necessario ponitur et quo sublato res necessario tollitur; vel id sine quo res et vice versa id quod sine re nec esse nec concipi potest.

III. Per ideam intelligo mentis conceptum quem mens format propterea quod res est cogitans.

EXPLICATIO : Dico potius conceptum quam perceptionem quia perceptionis nomen indicare videtur mentem ab objecto pati. At conceptus actionem mentis exprimere videtur.

IV. Per ideam adæquatam intelligo ideam quæ quatenus in se sine relatione ad objectum consideratur, omnes veræ ideæ proprietates sive denominationes intrinsecas habet.

EXPLICATIO : Dico intrinsecas ut illam secludam quæ extrinseca est nempe convenientiam ideæ cum suo ideato.

V. Duratio est indefinita existendi continuatio.

EXPLICATIO : Dico indefinitam quia per ipsam rei existentis naturam determinari nequaquam potest neque etiam a causa efficiente quæ scilicet rei existentiam necessario ponit, non autem tollit.

VI. Per realitatem et perfectionem idem intelligo.

VII. Per res singulares intelligo res quæ finitæ sunt et determinatam habent existentiam. Quod si plura individua in una actione ita concurrant ut omnia simul unius effectus sint causa, eadem omnia eatenus ut unam rem singularem considero.

AXIOMATA

I. Hominis essentia non involvit necessariam existentiam hoc est ex naturæ ordine tam fieri potest ut hic et ille homo existat quam ut non existat.

II. Homo cogitat.

III. Modi cogitandi ut amor, cupiditas vel quicumque nomine affectus animi insigniuntur, non dantur nisi in eodem individuo detur idea rei amatae, desideratae etc. At idea dari potest quamvis nullus alius detur cogitandi modus.

IV. Nos corpus quoddam multis modis affici sentimus.

V. Nullas res singulares præter corpora et cogitandi modos sentimus nec percipimus. Postulata vide post 13 propositionem.

PROPOSITIO I : Cogitatio attributum Dei est sive Deus est res cogitans.

DEMONSTRATIO : Singulares cogitationes sive hæc et illa cogitatio modi sunt qui Dei naturam certo et determinato modo exprimunt (per corollarium propositionis 25 partis I). Competit ergo Deo (per definitionem 5 partis I) attributum cujus conceptum singulares omnes cogitationes involvunt, per quod etiam concipiuntur. Est igitur cogitatio unum ex infinitis Dei attributis quod Dei æternam et infinitam essentiam exprimit (vide definitionem 6 partis I) sive Deus est res cogitans. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Patet etiam hæc propositio ex hoc quod nos possumus ens cogitans infinitum concipere. Nam quo plura ens cogitans potest cogitare, eo plus realitatis sive perfectionis idem continere concipimus; ergo ens quod infinita infinitis modis cogitare potest, est necessario virtute cogitandi infinitum. Cum

itaque ad solam cogitationem attendendo Ens infinitum concipiamus, est necessario (per definitiones 4 et 6 partis I) cogitatio unum ex infinitis Dei attributis, ut volebamus.

PROPOSITIO II : Extensio attributum Dei est sive Deus est res extensa.

DEMONSTRATIO : Hujus eodem modo procedit ac demonstratio præcedentis propositionis.

PROPOSITIO III : In Deo datur necessario idea tam ejus essentiæ quam omnium quæ ex ipsius essentia necessario sequuntur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Deus enim (per propositionem 1 hujus) infinita infinitis modis cogitare sive (quod idem est per propositionem 16 partis I) ideam suæ essentiæ et omnium quæ necessario ex ea sequuntur, formare potest. Atqui omne id quod in Dei potestate est, necessario est (per propositionem 35 partis I); ergo datur necessario talis idea et (per propositionem 15 partis I) non nisi in Deo. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Vulgus per Dei potentiam intelligit Dei liberam voluntatem et jus in omnia quæ sunt quæque propterea communiter ut contingentia considerantur. Deum enim potestatem omnia destruendi habere dicunt et in nihilum redigendi. Dei porro potentiam cum potentia regum sæpissime comparant. Sed hoc in corollario I et II propositionis 32 partis I refutavimus et propositione 16 partis I ostendimus Deum eadem necessitate agere qua seipsum intelligit hoc est sicuti ex necessitate divinæ naturæ sequitur (sicut omnes uno ore statuunt) ut Deus seipsum intelligat, eadem etiam necessitate sequitur ut Deus infinita infinitis modis agat. Deinde propositione 34 partis I ostendimus Dei potentiam nihil esse præterquam Dei actuosam essentiam adeoque tam nobis impossibile est concipere Deum non agere quam Deum non esse. Porro si hæc ulterius persequi liberet, possem hic etiam ostendere potentiam illam quam vulgus Deo affingit, non tantum humanam esse (quod ostendit Deum hominem vel instar hominis a vulgo concipi) sed etiam impotentiam involvere. Sed nolo de eadem re toties sermonem instituere. Lectorem solummodo iterum atque iterum rogo ut quæ in prima parte ex propositione 16 usque ad finem de hac re dicta sunt, semel

atque iterum perpendat. Nam nemo ea quæ volo percipere recte poterit nisi magnopere caveat ne Dei potentiam cum humana regum potentia vel jure confundat.

PROPOSITIO IV : Idea Dei ex qua infinita infinitis modis sequuntur, unica tantum esse potest.

DEMONSTRATIO : Intellectus infinitus nihil præter Dei attributa ejusque affectiones comprehendit (per propositionem 30 partis I). Atqui Deus est unicus (per corollarium I propositionis 14 partis I). Ergo idea Dei ex qua infinita infinitis modis sequuntur, unica tantum esse potest. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO V : Esse formale idearum Deum quatenus tantum ut res cogitans consideratur, pro causa agnoscit et non quatenus alio attributo explicatur. Hoc est tam Dei attributorum quam rerum singularium ideæ non ipsa ideata sive res perceptas pro causa efficiente agnoscunt sed ipsum Deum quatenus est res cogitans.

DEMONSTRATIO : Patet quidem ex propositione 3 hujus. Ibi enim concludebamus Deum ideam suæ essentiae et omnium quæ ex ea necessario sequuntur, formare posse ex hoc solo nempe quod Deus est res cogitans et non ex eo quod sit suæ ideæ objectum. Quare esse formale idearum Deum quatenus est res cogitans, pro causa agnoscit. Sed aliter hoc modo demonstratur. Esse formale idearum modus est cogitandi (ut per se notum) hoc est (per corollarium propositionis 25 partis I) modus qui Dei naturam quatenus est res cogitans, certo modo exprimit adeoque (per propositionem 10 partis I) nullius alterius attributi Dei conceptum involvit et consequenter (per axioma 4 partis I) nullius alterius attributi nisi cogitationis est effectus adeoque esse formale idearum Deum quatenus tantum ut res cogitans consideratur etc. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO VI : Cujuscunque attributi modi Deum quatenus tantum sub illo attributo cujus modi sunt et non quatenus sub ullo alio consideratur, pro causa habent.

DEMONSTRATIO : Unumquodque enim attributum per se absque alio concipitur (per propositionem 10 partis I). Quare uniuscujusque attributi modi

conceptum sui attributi, non autem alterius involvunt adeoque (per axioma 4 partis I) Deum quatenus tantum sub illo attributo cujus modi sunt et non quatenus sub ullo alio consideratur, pro causa habent. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Hinc sequitur quod esse formale rerum quæ modi non sunt cogitandi, non sequitur ideo ex divina natura quia res prius cognovit sed eodem modo eademque necessitate res ideatæ ex suis attributis consequuntur et concluduntur ac ideas ex attributo cogitationis consequi ostendimus.

PROPOSITIO VII : ordo et connexio idearum idem est ac ordo et connexio rerum.

DEMONSTRATIO : Patet ex axioma 4 partis I. Nam cujuscunque causati idea a cognitione causæ cujus est effectus, dependet.

COROLLARIUM : Hinc sequitur quod Dei cogitandi potentia æqualis est ipsius actuali agendi potentiæ. Hoc est quicquid ex infinita Dei natura sequitur formaliter, id omne ex Dei idea eodem ordine eademque connexionem sequitur in Deo objective.

SCHOLIUM : Hic antequam ulterius pergamus, revocandum nobis in memoriam est id quod supra ostendimus nempe quod quicquid ab infinito intellectu percipi potest tanquam substantiæ essentiam constituens, id omne ad unicam tantum substantiam pertinet et consequenter quod substantia cogitans et substantia extensa una eademque est substantia quæ jam sub hoc jam sub illo attributo comprehenditur. Sic etiam modus extensionis et idea illius modi una eademque est res sed duobus modis expressa, quod quidam Hebræorum quasi per nebulam vidisse videntur, qui scilicet statuunt Deum, Dei intellectum resque ab ipso intellectas unum et idem esse. Exempli gratia circulus in natura existens et idea circuli existentis quæ etiam in Deo est, una eademque est res quæ per diversa attributa explicatur et ideo sive naturam sub attributo extensionis sive sub attributo cogitationis sive sub alio quocunque concipiamus, unum eundemque ordinem sive unam eandemque causarum connexionem hoc est easdem res invicem sequi reperiemus. Nec ulla alia de causa dixi quod Deus sit causa ideæ exempli gratia circuli quatenus tantum est res cogitans et circuli quatenus tantum

est res extensa nisi quia esse formale ideæ circuli non nisi per alium cogitandi modum tanquam causam proximam et ille iterum per alium et sic in infinitum, potest percipi ita ut quamdiu res ut cogitandi modi considerantur, ordinem totius naturæ sive causarum connexionem per solum cogitationis attributum explicare debemus et quatenus ut modi extensionis considerantur, ordo etiam totius naturæ per solum extensionis attributum explicari debet et idem de aliis attributis intelligo. Quare rerum ut in se sunt, Deus revera est causa quatenus infinitis constat attributis nec impræsentiarum hæc clarius possum explicare.

PROPOSITIO VIII : Ideæ rerum singularium sive modorum non existentium ita debent comprehendi in Dei infinita idea ac rerum singularium sive modorum essentiæ formales in Dei attributis continentur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Hæc propositio patet ex præcedenti sed intelligitur clarius ex præcedenti scholio.

COROLLARIUM : Hinc sequitur quod quamdiu res singulares non existunt nisi quatenus in Dei attributis comprehenduntur, earum esse objectivum sive ideæ non existunt nisi quatenus infinita Dei idea existit et ubi res singulares dicuntur existere non tantum quatenus in Dei attributis comprehenduntur sed quatenus etiam durare dicuntur, earum ideæ etiam existentiam per quam durare dicuntur, involvent.

SCHOLIUM : Si quis ad uberiores hujus rei explicationem exemplum desideret, nullum sane dare potero quod rem de qua hic loquor, utpote unicam adæquate explicet; conabor tamen rem ut fieri potest, illustrare. Nempe circulus talis est naturæ ut omnium linearum rectarum in eodem sese invicem secantium rectangula sub segmentis sint inter se æqualia; quare in circulo infinita inter se æqualia rectangula continentur : attamen nullum eorum potest dici existere nisi quatenus circulus existit nec etiam alicujus horum rectangulorum idea potest dici existere nisi quatenus in circuli idea comprehenditur. Concipiantur jam ex infinitis illis duo tantum nempe E et D existere. Sane eorum etiam ideæ jam non tantum existunt quatenus solummodo in circuli idea comprehenduntur sed etiam quatenus

illorum rectangulorum existentiam involvunt, quo fit ut a reliquis reliquorum rectangulorum ideis distinguantur.

PROPOSITIO IX : Idea rei singularis actu existentis Deum pro causa habet non quatenus infinitus est sed quatenus alia rei singularis actu existentis idea affectus consideratur cujus etiam Deus est causa quatenus alia tertia affectus est et sic in infinitum.

DEMONSTRATIO : Idea rei singularis actu existentis modus singularis cogitandi est et a reliquis distinctus (per corollarium et scholium propositionis 8 hujus) adeoque (per propositionem 6 hujus) Deum quatenus est tantum res cogitans, pro causa habet. At non (per propositionem 28 partis I) quatenus est res absolute cogitans sed quatenus alio cogitandi modo affectus consideratur et hujus etiam Deus est causa quatenus alio cogitandi modo affectus est et sic in infinitum. Atqui ordo et connexio idearum (per propositionem 7 hujus) idem est ac ordo et connexio causarum; ergo unius singularis ideæ alia idea sive Deus quatenus alia idea affectus consideratur, est causa et hujus etiam quatenus alia affectus est et sic in infinitum. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Quicquid in singulari cujuscunque ideæ objecto contingit, ejus datur in Deo cognitio quatenus tantum ejusdem objecti ideam habet.

DEMONSTRATIO : Quicquid in objecto cujuscunque ideæ contingit, ejus datur in Deo idea (per propositionem 3 hujus) non quatenus infinitus est sed quatenus alia rei singularis idea affectus consideratur (per præcedentem propositionem) sed (per propositionem 7 hujus) ordo et connexio idearum idem est ac ordo et connexio rerum; erit ergo cognitio ejus quod in singulari aliquo objecto contingit, in Deo quatenus tantum ejusdem objecti habet ideam. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO X : Ad essentiam hominis non pertinet esse substantiæ sive substantia formam hominis non constituit.

DEMONSTRATIO : Esse enim substantiæ involvit necessariam existentiam (per propositionem 7 partis I). Si igitur ad hominis essentiam pertineret esse substantiæ, data ergo substantia, daretur necessario homo (per definitionem 2

hujus) et consequenter homo necessario existeret, quod (per axioma 1 hujus) est absurdum. Ergo etc. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Demonstratur etiam hæc propositio ex propositione 5 partis I nempe quod duæ ejusdem naturæ substantiæ non dentur. Cum autem plures homines existere possint, ergo id quod hominis formam constituit, non est esse substantiæ. Patet præterea hæc propositio ex reliquis substantiæ proprietatibus videlicet quod substantia sit sua natura infinita, immutabilis, indivisibilis etc. ut facile unusquisque videre potest.

COROLLARIUM : Hinc sequitur essentiam hominis constitui a certis Dei attributorum modificationibus.

DEMONSTRATIO : Nam esse substantiæ (per propositionem præcedentem) ad essentiam hominis non pertinet. Est ergo (per propositionem 15 partis I) aliquid quod in Deo est et quod sine Deo nec esse nec concipi potest sive (per corollarium propositionis 25 partis I) affectio sive modus qui Dei naturam certo et determinato modo exprimit.

SCHOLIUM : Omnes sane concedere debent nihil sine Deo esse neque concipi posse. Nam apud omnes in confesso est quod Deus omnium rerum tam earum essentiæ quam earum existentiae unica est causa hoc est Deus non tantum est causa rerum secundum fieri ut aiunt sed etiam secundum esse. At interim plerique id ad essentiam alicujus rei pertinere dicunt sine quo res nec esse nec concipi potest adeoque vel naturam Dei ad essentiam rerum creatarum pertinere vel res creatas sine Deo vel esse vel concipi posse credunt vel quod certius est, sibi non satis constant. Cujus rei causam fuisse credo quod ordinem philosophandi non tenuerint. Nam naturam divinam quam ante omnia contemplari debebant quia tam cognitione quam natura prior est, ordine cognitionis ultimam et res quæ sensuum objecta vocantur, omnibus priores esse crediderunt; unde factum est ut dum res naturales contemplati sunt, de nulla re minus cogitaverint quam de divina natura et cum postea animum ad divinam naturam contemplandum appulerint, de nulla re minus cogitare potuerint quam de primis suis figmentis quibus rerum naturalium cognitionem superstruxerant; utpote quæ ad cognitionem divinæ

naturæ nihil juvare poterant adeoque nihil mirum si sibi passim contradixerint. Sed hoc mitto. Nam meum intentum hic tantum fuit causam reddere cur non dixerim id ad essentiam alicujus rei pertinere sine quo res nec esse nec concipi potest; nimirum quia res singulares non possunt sine Deo esse nec concipi et tamen Deus ad earum essentiam non pertinet sed id necessario essentiam alicujus rei constituere dixi quo dato, res ponitur et quo sublato, res tollitur vel id sine quo res et vice versa id quod sine re nec esse nec concipi potest.

PROPOSITIO XI : Primum quod actuale mentis humanæ esse constituit, nihil aliud est quam idea rei alicujus singularis actu existentis.

DEMONSTRATIO : Essentia hominis (per corollarium præcedentis propositionis) a certis Dei attributorum modis constituitur nempe (per axioma 2 hujus) a modis cogitandi quorum omnium (per axioma 3 hujus) idea natura prior est et ea data reliqui modi (quibus scilicet idea natura prior est) in eodem debent esse individuo (per axioma 3 hujus). Atque adeo idea primum est quod humanæ mentis esse constituit. At non idea rei non existentis. Nam tum (per corollarium propositionis 8 hujus) ipsa idea non potest dici existere; erit ergo idea rei actu existentis. At non rei infinitæ. Res namque infinita (per propositiones 21 et 22 partis I) debet semper necessario existere; atqui hoc (per axioma 1 hujus) est absurdum; ergo primum quod esse humanæ mentis actuale constituit, est idea rei singularis actu existentis. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Hinc sequitur mentem humanam partem esse infiniti intellectus Dei ac proinde cum dicimus mentem humanam hoc vel illud percipere, nihil aliud dicimus quam quod Deus non quatenus infinitus est sed quatenus per naturam humanæ mentis explicatur sive quatenus humanæ mentis essentiam constituit, hanc vel illam habet ideam et cum dicimus Deum hanc vel illam ideam habere non tantum quatenus naturam humanæ mentis constituit sed quatenus simul cum mente humana alterius rei etiam habet ideam, tum dicimus mentem humanam rem ex parte sive inadæquate percipere.

SCHOLIUM : Hic sine dubio lectores hærebunt multaque comminiscuntur quæ moram injiciant et hac de causa ipsos rogo ut lento gradu mecum pergant nec de

his iudicium ferant donec omnia perlegerint.

PROPOSITIO XII : Quicquid in objecto ideæ humanam mentem constituentis contingit, id ab humana mente debet percipi sive ejus rei dabitur in mente necessario idea hoc est si objectum ideæ humanam mentem constituentis sit corpus, nihil in eo corpore poterit contingere quod a mente non percipiatur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Quicquid enim in objecto cujuscunque ideæ contingit, ejus rei datur necessario in Deo cognitio (per corollarium propositionis 9 hujus) quatenus ejusdem objecti idea affectus consideratur hoc est (per propositionem 11 hujus) quatenus mentem alicujus rei constituit. Quicquid igitur in objecto ideæ humanam mentem constituentis contingit, ejus datur necessario in Deo cognitio quatenus naturam humanæ mentis constituit hoc est (per corollarium propositionis 11 hujus) ejus rei cognitio erit necessario in mente sive mens id percipit. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Hæc propositio patet etiam et clarius intelligitur ex scholio propositionis 7 hujus, quod vide.

PROPOSITIO XIII : Objectum ideæ humanam mentem constituentis est corpus sive certus extensionis modus actu existens et nihil aliud.

DEMONSTRATIO : Si enim corpus non esset humanæ mentis objectum, ideæ affectionum corporis non essent in Deo (per corollarium propositionis 9 hujus) quatenus mentem nostram sed quatenus alterius rei mentem constitueret hoc est (per corollarium propositionis 11 hujus) ideæ affectionum corporis non essent in nostra mente; atqui (per axioma 4 hujus) ideas affectionum corporis habemus. Ergo objectum ideæ humanam mentem constituentis est corpus idque (per propositionem 11 hujus) actu existens. Deinde si præter corpus etiam aliud esset mentis objectum, cum nihil (per propositionem 36 partis I) existat ex quo aliquis effectus non sequatur, deberet (per propositionem 12 hujus) necessario alicujus ejus effectus idea in mente nostra dari; atqui (per axioma 5 hujus) nulla ejus idea datur. Ergo objectum nostræ mentis est corpus existens et nihil aliud. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Hinc sequitur hominem mente et corpore constare et corpus humanum prout ipsum sentimus existere.

SCHOLIUM : Ex his non tantum intelligimus mentem humanam unitam esse corpori sed etiam quid per mentis et corporis unionem intelligendum sit. Verum ipsam adæquate sive distincte intelligere nemo poterit nisi prius nostri corporis naturam adæquate cognoscat. Nam ea quæ hucusque ostendimus, admodum communia sunt nec magis ad homines quam ad reliqua individua pertinent, quæ omnia quamvis diversis gradibus animata tamen sunt. Nam cujuscunque rei datur necessario in Deo idea cujus Deus est causa eodem modo ac humani corporis ideæ atque adeo quicquid de idea humani corporis diximus, id de cujuscunque rei idea necessario dicendum est. Attamen nec etiam negare possumus ideas inter se ut ipsa objecta differre unamque alia præstantiorem esse plusque realitatis continere prout objectum unius objecto alterius præstantius est plusque realitatis continet ac propterea ad determinandum quid mens humana reliquis intersit quidque reliquis præstet, necesse nobis est ejus objecti ut diximus hoc est corporis humani naturam cognoscere. Eam autem hic explicare nec possum nec id ad ea quæ demonstrare volo, necesse est. Hoc tamen in genere dico quo corpus aliquod reliquis aptius est ad plura simul agendum vel patiendum, eo ejus mens reliquis aptior est ad plura simul percipiendum et quo unius corporis actiones magis ab ipso solo pendent et quo minus alia corpora cum eodem in agendo concurrunt, eo ejus mens aptior est ad distincte intelligendum. Atque ex his præstantiam unius mentis præ aliis cognoscere possumus, deinde causam etiam videre cur nostri corporis non nisi admodum confusam habeamus cognitionem et alia plura quæ in sequentibus ex his deducam. Qua de causa operæ pretium esse duxi hæc ipsa accuratius explicare et demonstrare, ad quod necesse est pauca de natura corporum præmittere.

AXIOMA I : Omnia corpora vel moventur vel quiescunt.

AXIOMA II : Unumquodque corpus jam tardius jam celerius movetur.

LEMMA I : Corpora ratione motus et quietis, celeritatis et tarditatis et non ratione substantiæ ab invicem distinguuntur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Primam partem hujus per se notam suppono. At quod ratione substantiæ non distinguantur corpora, patet tam ex propositione 5 quam 8

partis I sed clarius ex iis quæ in scholio propositionis 15 partis I dicta sunt.

LEMMA II : Omnia corpora in quibusdam conveniunt.

DEMONSTRATIO : In his enim omnia corpora conveniunt quod unius ejusdemque attributi conceptum involvunt (per definitionem 1 hujus), deinde quod jam tardius jam celerius et absolute jam moveri jam quiescere possunt.

LEMMA III : Corpus motum vel quiescens ad motum vel quietem determinari debuit ab alio corpore quod etiam ad motum vel quietem determinatum fuit ab alio et illud iterum ab alio et sic in infinitum.

DEMONSTRATIO : Corpora (per definitionem 1 hujus) res singulares sunt quæ (per lemma 1) ratione motus et quietis ab invicem distinguuntur adeoque (per propositionem 28 partis I) unumquodque ad motum vel quietem necessario determinari debuit ab alia re singulari nempe (per propositionem 6 hujus) ab alio corpore quod (per axioma 1) etiam vel movetur vel quiescit. At hoc etiam (per eandem rationem) moveri vel quiescere non potuit nisi ab alio ad motum vel quietem determinatum fuisset et hoc iterum (per eandem rationem) ab alio et sic in infinitum. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Hinc sequitur corpus motum tamdiu moveri donec ab alio corpore ad quiescendum determinetur et corpus quiescens tamdiu etiam quiescere donec ab alio ad motum determinetur. Quod etiam per se notum est. Nam cum suppono corpus exempli gratia A quiescere nec ad alia corpora mota attendo, nihil de corpore A dicere potero nisi quod quiescat. Quod si postea contingat ut corpus A moveatur, id sane evenire non potuit ex eo quod quiescebat; ex eo enim nil aliud sequi poterat quam ut corpus A quiesceret. Si contra supponatur A moveri, quotiescunque ad A tantum attendimus, nihil de eodem affirmare poterimus nisi quod moveatur. Quod si postea contingat ut A quiescat, id sane evenire etiam non potuit ex motu quem habebat; ex motu enim nihil aliud sequi poterat quam ut A moveretur : contingit itaque a re quæ non erat in A nempe a causa externa a qua ad quiescendum determinatum fuit.

AXIOMA I : Omnes modi quibus corpus aliquod ab alio afficitur corpore, ex natura corporis affecti et simul ex natura corporis afficientis sequuntur ita ut unum

idemque corpus diversimode moveatur pro diversitate naturæ corporum moventium et contra ut diversa corpora ab uno eodemque corpore diversimode moveantur.

AXIOMA II : Cum corpus motum alteri quiescenti quod dimovere nequit, impingit, reflectitur ut moveri pergat et angulus lineæ motus reflectionis cum plano corporis quiescentis cui impegit, æqualis erit angulo quem linea motus incidentiæ cum eodem plano efficit. Atque hæc de corporibus simplicissimis quæ scilicet solo motu et quiete, celeritate et tarditate ab invicem distinguuntur : jam ad composita ascendamus.

DEFINITIO : Cum corpora aliquot ejusdem aut diversæ magnitudinis a reliquis ita coercentur ut invicem incumbant vel si eodem aut diversis celeritatis gradibus moventur ut motus suos invicem certa quadam ratione communicent, illa corpora invicem unita dicemus et omnia simul unum corpus sive individuum componere quod a reliquis per hanc corporum unionem distinguitur.

AXIOMA III : Quo partes individui vel corporis compositi secundum majores vel minores superficies sibi invicem incumbunt, eo difficilius vel facilius cogi possunt ut situm suum mutant et consequenter eo difficilius vel facilius effici potest ut ipsum individuum aliam figuram induat. Atque hinc corpora quorum partes secundum magnas superficies invicem incumbunt, dura, quorum autem partes secundum parvas, mollia et quorum denique partes inter se moventur, fluida vocabo.

LEMMA IV : Si corporis sive individui quod ex pluribus corporibus componitur, quædam corpora segregentur et simul totidem alia ejusdem naturæ eorum loco succedant, retinebit individuum suam naturam uti antea absque ulla ejus formæ mutatione.

DEMONSTRATIO : Corpora enim (per lemma 1) ratione substantiæ non distinguuntur; id autem quod formam individui constituit, in corporum unione (per definitionem præcedentem) consistit; atqui hæc (per hypothesin) tametsi corporum continua fiat mutatio, retinetur : retinebit ergo individuum tam ratione substantiæ quam modi suam naturam uti ante. Q.E.D.

LEMMA V : Si partes individuum componentes majores minoresve evadant, ea tamen proportionem ut omnes eandem ut antea ad invicem motus et quietis rationem servant, retinebit itidem individuum suam naturam ut antea absque ulla formæ mutatione.

DEMONSTRATIO : Hujus eadem est ac præcedentis lemmatis.

LEMMA VI : Si corpora quædam individuum componentia motum quem versus unam partem habent, aliam versus flectere cogantur at ita ut motus suos continuare possint atque invicem eadem qua antea ratione communicare, retinebit itidem individuum suam naturam absque ulla formæ mutatione.

DEMONSTRATIO : Per se patet. Id enim omne retinere supponitur quod in ejusdem definitione formam ipsius constituere diximus.

LEMMA VII : Retinet præterea individuum sic compositum suam naturam sive id secundum totum moveatur sive quiescat sive versus hanc sive versus illam partem moveatur dummodo unaquæque pars motum suum retineat eumque uti antea reliquis communicet.

DEMONSTRATIO : Patet ex ipsius definitione, quam vide ante lemma 4.

SCHOLIUM : His itaque videmus qua ratione individuum compositum possit multis modis affici, ejus nihilominus natura servata. Atque hucusque individuum concepimus quod non nisi ex corporibus quæ solo motu et quiete, celeritate et tarditate inter se distinguuntur hoc est quod ex corporibus simplicissimis componitur. Quod si jam aliud concipiamus ex pluribus diversæ naturæ individuis compositum, idem pluribus aliis modis posse affici reperiemus, ipsius nihilominus natura servata. Nam quandoquidem ejus unaquæque pars ex pluribus corporibus est composita, poterit ergo (per lemma præcedens) unaquæque pars absque ulla ipsius naturæ mutatione jam tardius jam celerius moveri et consequenter motus suos citius vel tardius reliquis communicare. Quod si præterea tertium individuorum genus ex his secundis compositum concipiamus, idem multis aliis modis affici posse reperiemus absque ulla ejus formæ mutatione. Et si sic porro in infinitum pergamus, facile concipiemus totam naturam unum esse Individuum cujus partes hoc est omnia corpora infinitis modis variant absque ulla totius

Individui mutatione. Atque hæc, si animus fuisset de corpore ex professo agere, prolixius explicare et demonstrare debuisssem. Sed jam dixi me aliud velle nec alia de causa hæc adferre quam quia ex ipsis ea quæ demonstrare constitui, facile possum deducere.

POSTULATA

I. Corpus humanum componitur ex plurimis (diversæ naturæ) individuis quorum unumquodque valde compositum est.

II. Individuorum ex quibus corpus humanum componitur quædam fluida, quædam mollia et quædam denique dura sunt.

III. Individua corpus humanum componentia et consequenter ipsum humanum corpus a corporibus externis plurimis modis afficitur.

IV. Corpus humanum indiget ut conservetur plurimis aliis corporibus a quibus continuo quasi regeneratur.

V. Cum corporis humani pars fluida a corpore externo determinatur ut in aliam mollem sæpe impingat, ejus planum mutat et veluti quædam corporis externi impellentis vestigia eidem imprimit.

VI. Corpus humanum potest corpora externa plurimis modis movere plurimisque modis disponere.

PROPOSITIO XIV : Mens humana apta est ad plurima percipiendum et eo aptior quo ejus corpus pluribus modis disponi potest.

DEMONSTRATIO : Corpus enim humanum (per postulata 3 et 6) plurimis modis a corporibus externis afficitur disponiturque ad corpora externa plurimis modis afficiendum. At omnia quæ in corpore humano contingunt (per propositionem 12 hujus) mens humana percipere debet; est ergo mens humana apta ad plurima percipiendum et eo aptior etc. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XV : Idea quæ esse formale humanæ mentis constituit non est simplex sed ex plurimis ideis composita.

DEMONSTRATIO : Idea quæ esse formale humanæ mentis constituit, est idea corporis (per propositionem 13 hujus) quod (per postulatum 1) ex plurimis valde compositis individuis componitur. At cujuscunque individui corpus componentis

datur necessario (per corollarium propositionis 8 hujus) in Deo idea; ergo (per propositionem 7 hujus) idea corporis humani ex plurimis hisce partium componentium ideis est composita. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XVI : Idea cujuscunque modi quo corpus humanum a corporibus externis afficitur, involvere debet naturam corporis humani et simul naturam corporis externi.

DEMONSTRATIO : Omnes enim modi quibus corpus aliquod afficitur ex natura corporis affecti et simul ex natura corporis afficientis sequuntur (per axioma 1 post corollarium lemmatis 3) : quare eorum idea (per axioma 4 partis I) utriusque corporis naturam necessario involvet adeoque idea cujuscunque modi quo corpus humanum a corpore externo afficitur, corporis humani et corporis externi naturam involvit. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM I : Hinc sequitur primo mentem humanam plurimorum corporum naturam una cum sui corporis natura percipere.

COROLLARIUM II : Sequitur secundo quod ideæ quas corporum externorum habemus, magis nostri corporis constitutionem quam corporum externorum naturam indicant; quod in appendice partis primæ multis exemplis explicui.

PROPOSITIO XVII : Si humanum corpus affectum est modo qui naturam corporis alicujus externi involvit, mens humana idem corpus externum ut actu existens vel ut sibi præsens contemplabitur donec corpus afficiatur affectu qui ejusdem corporis existentiam vel præsentiam secludat.

DEMONSTRATIO : Patet. Nam quamdiu corpus humanum sic affectum est tamdiu mens humana (per propositionem 12 hujus) hanc corporis affectionem contemplabitur hoc est (per propositionem præcedentem) ideam habebit modi actu existentis quæ naturam corporis externi involvit hoc est ideam quæ existentiam vel præsentiam naturæ corporis externi non secludit sed ponit adeoque mens (per corollarium I præcedentis) corpus externum ut actu existens vel ut præsens contemplabitur donec afficiatur etc. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Mens corpora externa a quibus corpus humanum semel affectum fuit, quamvis non existant nec præsentia sint, contemplari tamen poterit

velut præsentia essent.

DEMONSTRATIO : Dum corpora externa corporis humani partes fluidas ita determinant ut in molliores sæpe impingant, earum plana (per postulatum 5) mutant, unde fit (vide axioma 2 post corollarium lemmatis 3) ut inde alio modo reflectantur quam antea solebant et ut etiam postea iisdem novis planis spontaneo suo motu occurrendo eodem modo reflectantur ac cum a corporibus externis versus illa plana impulsæ sunt et consequenter ut corpus humanum dum sic reflexæ moveri pergunt, eodem modo afficiant, de quo mens (per propositionem 12 hujus) iterum cogitabit hoc est (per propositionem 17 hujus) mens iterum corpus externum ut præsens contemplabitur et hoc toties quoties corporis humani partes fluidæ spontaneo suo motu iisdem planis occurrent. Quare quamvis corpora externa a quibus corpus humanum affectum semel fuit, non existant, mens tamen eadem toties ut præsentia contemplabitur quoties hæc corporis actio repetetur. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Videmus itaque qui fieri potest ut ea quæ non sunt veluti præsentia contemplemur, ut sæpe fit. Et fieri potest ut hoc aliis de causis contingat sed mihi hic sufficit ostendisse unam per quam rem sic possim explicare ac si ipsam per veram causam ostendissem nec tamen credo me a vera longe aberrare quandoquidem omnia illa quæ sumpsi postulata, vix quicquam continent quod non constet experientia de qua nobis non licet dubitare postquam ostendimus corpus humanum prout ipsum sentimus, existere (vide corollarium post propositionem 13 hujus). Præterea (ex corollario præcedentis et corollario II propositionis 16 hujus) clare intelligimus quænam sit differentia inter ideam exempli gratia Petri quæ essentiam mentis ipsius Petri constituit et inter ideam ipsius Petri quæ in alio homine, puta in Paulo, est. Illa enim essentiam corporis ipsius Petri directe explicat nec existentiam involvit nisi quamdiu Petrus existit; hæc autem magis constitutionem corporis Pauli quam Petri naturam indicat et ideo durante illa corporis Pauli constitutione mens Pauli quamvis Petrus non existat, ipsum tamen ut sibi præsentem contemplabitur. Porro ut verba usitata retineamus, corporis humani affectiones quarum ideæ corpora externa velut nobis

præsentia repræsentant, rerum imagines vocabimus tametsi rerum figuras non referunt. Et cum mens hac ratione contemplatur corpora, eandem imaginari dicemus. Atque hic ut quid sit error indicare incipiam, notetis velim mentis imaginationes in se spectatas nihil erroris continere sive mentem ex eo quod imaginatur, non errare sed tantum quatenus consideratur carere idea quæ existentiam illarum rerum quas sibi præsentis imaginatur, secludat. Nam si mens dum res non existentes ut sibi præsentis imaginatur, simul sciret res illas revera non existere, hanc sane imaginandi potentiam virtuti suæ naturæ, non vitio tribueret præsertim si hæc imaginandi facultas a sola sua natura penderet hoc est (per definitionem 7 partis I) si hæc mentis imaginandi facultas libera esset.

PROPOSITIO XVIII : Si corpus humanum a duobus vel pluribus corporibus simul affectum fuerit semel, ubi mens postea eorum aliquod imaginabitur, statim et aliorum recordabitur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Mens (per corollarium præcedentis) corpus aliquod ea de causa imaginatur quia scilicet humanum corpus a corporis externi vestigiis eodem modo afficitur disponiturque ac affectum est cum quædam ejus partes ab ipso corpore externo fuerunt impulsæ sed (per hypothesin) corpus tum ita fuit dispositum ut mens duo simul corpora imaginaretur; ergo jam etiam duo simul imaginabitur atque mens ubi alterutrum imaginabitur, statim et alterius recordabitur. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Hinc clare intelligimus quid sit memoria. Est enim nihil aliud quam quædam concatenatio idearum naturam rerum quæ extra corpus humanum sunt involventium quæ in mente fit secundum ordinem et concatenationem affectionum corporis humani. Dico primo concatenationem esse illarum tantum idearum quæ naturam rerum quæ extra corpus humanum sunt, involvunt, non autem idearum quæ earundem rerum naturam explicant. Sunt enim revera (per propositionem 16 hujus) ideæ affectionum corporis humani quæ tam hujus quam corporum externorum naturam involvunt. Dico secundo hanc concatenationem fieri secundum ordinem et concatenationem affectionum corporis humani ut ipsam distinguerem a concatenatione idearum quæ fit secundum ordinem

intellectus quo res per primas suas causas mens percipit et qui in omnibus hominibus idem est. Atque hinc porro clare intelligimus cur mens ex cogitatione unius rei statim in alterius rei cogitationem incidat quæ nullam cum priore habet similitudinem; ut exempli gratia ex cogitatione vocis pomi homo romanus statim in cogitationem fructus incidet qui nullam cum articulo illo sono habet similitudinem nec aliquid commune nisi quod ejusdem hominis corpus ab his duobus affectum sæpe fuit hoc est quod ipse homo sæpe vocem pomum audivit dum ipsum fructum videret et sic unusquisque ex una in aliam cogitationem incidet prout rerum imagines uniuscujusque consuetudo in corpore ordinavit. Nam miles exempli gratia visis in arena equi vestigiis statim ex cogitatione equi in cogitationem equitis et inde in cogitationem belli etc. incidet. At rusticus ex cogitatione equi in cogitationem aratri, agri etc. incidet et sic unusquisque prout rerum imagines consuevit hoc vel alio modo jungere et concatenare, ex una in hanc vel aliam incidet cogitationem.

PROPOSITIO XIX : Mens humana ipsum humanum corpus non cognoscit nec ipsum existere scit nisi per ideas affectionum quibus corpus afficitur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Mens enim humana est ipsa idea sive cognitio corporis humani (per propositionem 13 hujus) quæ (per propositionem 9 hujus) in Deo quidem est quatenus alia rei singularis idea affectus consideratur vel quia (per postulatum 4) corpus humanum plurimis corporibus indiget a quibus continuo quasi regeneratur et ordo et connexio idearum idem est (per propositionem 7 hujus) ac ordo et connexio causarum, erit hæc idea in Deo quatenus plurimarum rerum singularium ideis affectus consideratur. Deus itaque ideam corporis humani habet sive corpus humanum cognoscit quatenus plurimis aliis ideis affectus est et non quatenus naturam humanæ mentis constituit hoc est (per corollarium propositionis 11 hujus) mens humana corpus humanum non cognoscit. At ideæ affectionum corporis in Deo sunt quatenus humanæ mentis naturam constituit sive mens humana easdem affectiones percipit (per propositionem 12 hujus) et consequenter (per propositionem 16 hujus) ipsum corpus humanum idque (per

propositionem 17 hujus) ut actu existens; percipit ergo eatenus tantum mens humana ipsum humanum corpus. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XX : Mentis humanæ datur etiam in Deo idea sive cognitio quæ in Deo eodem modo sequitur et ad Deum eodem modo refertur ac idea sive cognitio corporis humani.

DEMONSTRATIO : Cogitatio attributum Dei est (per propositionem 1 hujus) adeoque (per propositionem 3 hujus) tam ejus quam omnium ejus affectionum et consequenter (per propositionem 11 hujus) mentis etiam humanæ debet necessario in Deo dari idea. Deinde hæc mentis idea sive cognitio non sequitur in Deo dari quatenus infinitus sed quatenus alia rei singularis idea affectus est (per propositionem 9 hujus). Sed ordo et connexio idearum idem est ac ordo et connexio causarum (per propositionem 7 hujus); sequitur ergo hæc mentis idea sive cognitio in Deo et ad Deum eodem modo refertur ac idea sive cognitio corporis. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXI : Hæc mentis idea eodem modo unita est menti ac ipsa mens unita est corpori.

DEMONSTRATIO : Mentem unitam esse corpori ex eo ostendimus quod scilicet corpus mentis sit objectum (vide propositiones 12 et 13 hujus) adeoque per eandem illam rationem idea mentis cum suo objecto hoc est cum ipsa mente eodem modo unita esse debet ac ipsa mens unita est corpori. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Hæc propositio longe clarius intelligitur ex dictis in scholio propositionis 7 hujus; ibi enim ostendimus corporis ideam et corpus hoc est (per propositionem 13 hujus) mentem et corpus unum et idem esse individuum quod jam sub cogitationis jam sub extensionis attributo concipitur; quare mentis idea et ipsa mens una eademque est res quæ sub uno eodemque attributo nempe cogitationis concipitur. Mentis inquam idea et ipsa mens in Deo eadem necessitate ex eadem cogitandi potentia sequuntur dari. Nam revera idea mentis hoc est idea ideæ nihil aliud est quam forma ideæ quatenus hæc ut modus cogitandi absque relatione ad objectum consideratur; simulac enim quis aliquid scit, eo ipso scit se id scire et simul scit se scire quod scit et sic in infinitum. Sed de his postea.

PROPOSITIO XXII : Mens humana non tantum corporis affectiones sed etiam harum affectionum ideas percipit.

DEMONSTRATIO : Affectionum idearum ideæ in Deo eodem modo sequuntur et ad Deum eodem modo referuntur ac ipsæ affectionum ideæ; quod eodem modo demonstratur ac propositio 20 hujus. At ideæ affectionum corporis in mente humana sunt (per propositionem 12 hujus) hoc est (per corollarium propositionis 11 hujus) in Deo quatenus humanæ mentis essentiam constituit; ergo harum idearum ideæ in Deo erunt quatenus humanæ mentis cognitionem sive ideam habet hoc est (per propositionem 21 hujus) in ipsa mente humana quæ propterea non tantum corporis affectiones sed earum etiam ideas percipit. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXIII : Mens se ipsam non cognoscit nisi quatenus corporis affectionum ideas percipit.

DEMONSTRATIO : Mentis idea sive cognitio (per propositionem 20 hujus) in Deo eodem modo sequitur et ad Deum eodem modo refertur ac corporis idea sive cognitio. At quoniam (per propositionem 19 hujus) mens humana ipsum humanum corpus non cognoscit hoc est (per corollarium propositionis 11 hujus) quoniam cognitio corporis humani ad Deum non refertur quatenus humanæ mentis naturam constituit; ergo nec cognitio mentis ad Deum refertur quatenus essentiam mentis humanæ constituit atque adeo (per idem corollarium propositionis 11 hujus) mens humana eatenus se ipsam non cognoscit. Deinde affectionum quibus corpus afficitur ideæ naturam ipsius corporis humani involvunt (per propositionem 16 hujus) hoc est (per propositionem 13 hujus) cum natura mentis conveniunt; quare harum idearum cognitio cognitionem mentis necessario involvet; at (per propositionem præcedentem) harum idearum cognitio in ipsa humana mente est; ergo mens humana eatenus tantum se ipsam novit. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXIV : Mens humana partium corpus humanum componentium adæquatam cognitionem non involvit.

DEMONSTRATIO : Partes corpus humanum componentes ad essentiam ipsius corporis non pertinent nisi quatenus motus suos certa quadam ratione invicem

communicant (vide definitionem post corollarium lemmatis 3) et non quatenus ut individua absque relatione ad humanum corpus considerari possunt. Sunt enim partes humani corporis (per postulatum 1) valde composita individua quorum partes (per lemma 4) a corpore humano, servata omnino ejusdem natura et forma, segregari possunt motusque suos (vide axioma 1 post lemma 3) aliis corporibus alia ratione communicare adeoque (per propositionem 3 hujus) cujuscunque partis idea sive cognitio in Deo erit et quidem (per propositionem 9 hujus) quatenus affectus consideratur alia idea rei singularis, quæ res singularis ipsa parte ordine naturæ prior est (per propositionem 7 hujus). Quod idem præterea etiam de quacunque parte ipsius individui corpus humanum componentis est dicendum adeoque cujuscunque partis corpus humanum componentis cognitio in Deo est quatenus plurimis rerum ideis affectus est et non quatenus corporis humani tantum habet ideam hoc est (per propositionem 13 hujus) ideam quæ humanæ mentis naturam constituit atque adeo (per corollarium propositionis 11 hujus) humana mens partium corpus humanum componentium adæquatam cognitionem non involvit. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXV : Idea cujuscunque affectionis corporis humani adæquatam corporis externi cognitionem non involvit.

DEMONSTRATIO : Ideam affectionis corporis humani eatenus corporis externi naturam involvere ostendimus (vide propositionem 16 hujus) quatenus externum ipsum humanum corpus certo quodam modo determinat. At quatenus externum corpus individuum est quod ad corpus humanum non refertur, ejus idea sive cognitio in Deo est (per propositionem 9 hujus) quatenus Deus affectus consideratur alterius rei idea quæ (per propositionem 7 hujus) ipso corpore externo prior est natura. Quare corporis externi adæquata cognitio in Deo non est quatenus ideam affectionis humani corporis habet sive idea affectionis corporis humani adæquatam corporis externi cognitionem non involvit. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXVI : Mens humana nullum corpus externum ut actu existens percipit nisi per ideas affectionum sui corporis.

DEMONSTRATIO : Si a corpore aliquo externo corpus humanum nullo modo affectum est, ergo (per propositionem 7 hujus) nec idea corporis humani hoc est (per propositionem 13 hujus) nec mens humana idea existentiae illius corporis ullo etiam modo affecta est sive existentiam illius corporis externi ullo modo percipit. At quatenus corpus humanum a corpore aliquo externo aliquo modo afficitur eatenus (per propositionem 16 hujus cum corollario I ejusdem) corpus externum percipit. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Quatenus mens humana corpus externum imaginatur eatenus adaequatam ejus cognitionem non habet.

DEMONSTRATIO : Cum mens humana per ideas affectionum sui corporis corpora externa contemplatur, eandem tum imaginari dicimus (vide scholium propositionis 17 hujus) nec mens alia ratione (per propositionem praecedentem) corpora externa ut actu existentia imaginari potest. Atque adeo (per propositionem 25 hujus) quatenus mens corpora externa imaginatur, eorum adaequatam cognitionem non habet. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXVII : Idea cujuscunque affectionis corporis humani adaequatam ipsius humani corporis cognitionem non involvit.

DEMONSTRATIO : Quaelibet idea cujuscunque affectionis humani corporis eatenus naturam corporis humani involvit quatenus ipsum humanum corpus certo quodam modo affici consideratur (vide propositionem 16 hujus). At quatenus corpus humanum individuum est quod multis aliis modis affici potest, ejus idea etc. Vide demonstrationem propositionis 25 hujus.

PROPOSITIO XXVIII : Ideae affectionum corporis humani quatenus ad humanam mentem tantum referuntur, non sunt clarae et distinctae sed confusae.

DEMONSTRATIO : Ideae enim affectionum corporis humani tam corporum externorum quam ipsius humani corporis naturam involvunt (per propositionem 16 hujus) nec tantum corporis humani sed ejus etiam partium naturam involvere debent; affectiones namque modi sunt (per postulatum 3) quibus partes corporis humani et consequenter totum corpus afficitur. At (per propositiones 24 et 25 hujus) corporum externorum adaequata cognitio ut et partium corpus humanum

componentium in Deo non est quatenus humana mente sed quatenus aliis ideis affectus consideratur. Sunt ergo hæ affectionum ideæ quatenus ad solam humanam mentem referuntur, veluti consequentiæ absque præmissis hoc est (ut per se notum) ideæ confusæ. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Idea quæ naturam mentis humanæ constituit, demonstratur eodem modo non esse, in se sola considerata, clara et distincta, ut etiam idea mentis humanæ et ideæ idearum affectionum corporis humani quatenus ad solam mentem referuntur, quod unusquisque facile videre potest.

PROPOSITIO XXIX : Idea ideæ cujuscunque affectionis corporis humani adæquatam humanæ mentis cognitionem non involvit.

DEMONSTRATIO : Idea enim affectionis corporis humani (per propositionem 27 hujus) adæquatam ipsius corporis cognitionem non involvit sive ejus naturam adæquate non exprimit hoc est (per propositionem 13 hujus) cum natura mentis non convenit adæquate adeoque (per axioma 6 partis I) hujus ideæ idea adæquate humanæ mentis naturam non exprimit sive adæquatam ejus cognitionem non involvit. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Hinc sequitur mentem humanam quoties ex communi naturæ ordine res percipit, nec sui ipsius nec sui corporis nec corporum externorum adæquatam sed confusam tantum et mutilatam habere cognitionem. Nam mens se ipsam non cognoscit nisi quatenus ideas affectionum corporis percipit (per propositionem 23 hujus). Corpus autem suum (per propositionem 19 hujus) non percipit nisi per ipsas affectionum ideas per quas etiam tantum (per propositionem 26 hujus) corpora externa percipit atque adeo quatenus eas habet, nec sui ipsius (per propositionem 29 hujus) nec sui corporis (per propositionem 27 hujus) nec corporum externorum (per propositionem 25 hujus) habet adæquatam cognitionem sed tantum (per propositionem 28 hujus cum ejus scholio) mutilatam et confusam. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Dico expresse quod mens nec sui ipsius nec sui corporis nec corporum externorum adæquatam sed confusam tantum et mutilatam cognitionem habeat quoties ex communi naturæ ordine res percipit hoc est quoties externe, ex

rerum nempe fortuito occurso, determinatur ad hoc vel illud contemplandum et non quoties interne, ex eo scilicet quod res plures simul contemplatur, determinatur ad earundem convenientias, differentias et oppugnantias intelligendum; quoties enim hoc vel alio modo interne disponitur, tum res clare et distincte contemplatur, ut infra ostendam.

PROPOSITIO XXX : Nos de duratione nostri corporis nullam nisi admodum inadæquatam cognitionem habere possumus.

DEMONSTRATIO : Nostri corporis duratio ab ejus essentia non dependet (per axioma 1 hujus) nec etiam ab absoluta Dei natura (per propositionem 21 partis I). Sed (per propositionem 28 partis I) ad existendum et operandum determinatur a talibus causis quæ etiam ab aliis determinatæ sunt ad existendum et operandum certa ac determinata ratione et hæc iterum ab aliis et sic in infinitum. Nostri igitur corporis duratio a communi naturæ ordine et rerum constitutione pendet. Qua autem ratione constitutæ sint, ejus rei adæquata cognitio datur in Deo quatenus earum omnium ideas et non quatenus tantum humani corporis ideam habet (per corollarium propositionis 9 hujus); quare cognitio durationis nostri corporis est in Deo admodum inadæquata quatenus tantum naturam mentis humanæ constituere consideratur hoc est (per corollarium propositionis 11 hujus) hæc cognitio est in nostra mente admodum inadæquata. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXXI : Nos de duratione rerum singularium quæ extra nos sunt, nullam nisi admodum inadæquatam cognitionem habere possumus.

DEMONSTRATIO : Unaquæque enim res singularis sicuti humanum corpus ab alia re singulari determinari debet ad existendum et operandum certa ac determinata ratione et hæc iterum ab alia et sic in infinitum (per propositionem 28 partis I). Cum autem ex hac communi rerum singularium proprietate in præcedenti propositione demonstraverimus nos de duratione nostri corporis non nisi admodum inadæquatam cognitionem habere, ergo hoc idem de rerum singularium duratione erit concludendum quod scilicet ejus non nisi admodum inadæquatam cognitionem habere possumus. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Hinc sequitur omnes res particulares contingentes et corruptibiles esse. Nam de earum duratione nullam adæquatam cognitionem habere possumus (per propositionem præcedentem) et hoc est id quod per rerum contingentiam et corruptionis possibilitatem nobis est intelligendum (vide scholium I propositionis 33 partis I). Nam (per propositionem 29 partis I) præter hoc nullum datur contingens.

PROPOSITIO XXXII : Omnes ideæ quatenus ad Deum referuntur, veræ sunt.

DEMONSTRATIO : Omnes enim ideæ quæ in Deo sunt, cum suis ideatis omnino conveniunt (per corollarium propositionis 7 hujus) adeoque (per axioma 6 partis I) omnes veræ sunt. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXXIII : Nihil in ideis positivum est propter quod falsæ dicuntur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Si negas, concipe si fieri potest, modum positivum cogitandi qui formam erroris sive falsitatis constituat. Hic cogitandi modus non potest esse in Deo (per propositionem præcedentem); extra Deum autem etiam nec esse nec concipi potest (per propositionem 15 partis I). Atque adeo nihil potest dari positivum in ideis propter quod falsæ dicuntur. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXXIV : Omnis idea quæ in nobis est absoluta sive adæquata et perfecta, vera est.

DEMONSTRATIO : Cum dicimus dari in nobis ideam adæquatam et perfectam, nihil aliud dicimus (per corollarium propositionis 11 hujus) quam quod in Deo quatenus nostræ mentis essentiam constituit, detur idea adæquata et perfecta et consequenter (per propositionem 32 hujus) nihil aliud dicimus quam quod talis idea sit vera. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXXV : Falsitas consistit in cognitionis privatione quam ideæ inadæquatæ sive mutilatæ et confusæ involvunt.

DEMONSTRATIO : Nihil in ideis positivum datur quod falsitatis formam constituat (per propositionem 33 hujus); at falsitas in absoluta privatione consistere nequit (mentes enim, non corpora errare nec falli dicuntur) neque etiam in absoluta ignorantia; diversa enim sunt ignorare et errare; quare in cognitionis

privatione quam rerum inadæquata cognitio sive ideæ inadæquatae et confusæ involvunt, consistit. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : In scholio propositionis 17 hujus partis explicui qua ratione error in cognitionis privatione consistit sed ad uberiolem hujus rei explicationem exemplum dabo nempe falluntur homines quod se liberos esse putant, quæ opinio in hoc solo consistit quod suarum actionum sint conscii et ignari causarum a quibus determinantur. Hæc ergo est eorum libertatis idea quod suarum actionum nullam cognoscant causam. Nam quod aiunt humanas actiones a voluntate pendere, verba sunt quorum nullam habent ideam. Quid enim voluntas sit et quomodo moveat corpus, ignorant omnes; qui aliud jactant et animæ sedes et habitacula fingunt, vel risum vel nauseam movere solent. Sic cum solem intuemur, eum ducentos circiter pedes a nobis distare imaginamur, qui error in hac sola imaginatione non consistit sed in eo quod dum ipsum sic imaginamur, veram ejus distantiam et hujus imaginationis causam ignoramus. Nam tametsi postea cognoscamus eundem ultra 600 terræ diametros a nobis distare, ipsum nihilominus prope adesse imaginabimur; non enim solem adeo propinquum imaginamur propterea quod veram ejus distantiam ignoramus sed propterea quod affectio nostri corporis essentiam solis involvit quatenus ipsum corpus ab eodem afficitur.

PROPOSITIO XXXVI : Ideæ inadæquatae et confusæ eadem necessitate consequuntur ac adæquatae sive claræ ac distinctæ ideæ.

DEMONSTRATIO : Ideæ omnes in Deo sunt (per propositionem 15 partis I) et quatenus ad Deum referuntur, sunt veræ (per propositionem 32 hujus) et (per corollarium propositionis 7 hujus) adæquatae adeoque nullæ inadæquatae nec confusæ sunt nisi quatenus ad singularem alicujus mentem referuntur (qua de re vide propositiones 24 et 28 hujus) adeoque omnes tam adæquatae quam inadæquatae eadem necessitate (per corollarium propositionis 6 hujus) consequuntur. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXXVII : Id quod omnibus commune (de his vide supra lemma 2) quodque æque in parte ac in toto est, nullius rei singularis essentiam constituit.

DEMONSTRATIO : Si negas, concipe si fieri potest, id essentiam alicujus rei singularis constituere nempe essentiam B. Ergo (per definitionem 2 hujus) id sine B non poterit esse neque concipi; atqui hoc est contra hypothesin : ergo id ad essentiam B non pertinet nec alterius rei singularis essentiam constituit. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXXVIII : Illa quæ omnibus communia quæque æque in parte ac in toto sunt, non possunt concipi nisi adæquate.

DEMONSTRATIO : Sit A aliquid quod omnibus corporibus commune quodque æque in parte cujuscunque corporis ac in toto est. Dico A non posse concipi nisi adæquate. Nam ejus idea (per corollarium propositionis 7 hujus) erit necessario in Deo adæquata tam quatenus ideam corporis humani quam quatenus ideas habet ejusdem affectionum quæ (per propositiones 16, 25 et 27 hujus) tam corporis humani quam corporum externorum naturam ex parte involvunt hoc est (per propositiones 12 et 13 hujus) hæc idea erit necessario in Deo adæquata quatenus mentem humanam constituit sive quatenus ideas habet quæ in mente humana sunt; mens igitur (per corollarium propositionis 11 hujus) A necessario adæquate percipit idque tam quatenus se quam quatenus suum vel quodcunque externum corpus percipit nec A alio modo potest concipi. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Hinc sequitur dari quasdam ideas sive notiones omnibus hominibus communes. Nam (per lemma 2) omnia corpora in quibusdam conveniunt, quæ (per propositionem præcedentem) ab omnibus debent adæquate sive clare et distincte percipi.

PROPOSITIO XXXIX : Id quod corpori humano et quibusdam corporibus externis a quibus corpus humanum affici solet, commune est et proprium quodque in cujuscunque horum parte æque ac in toto est, ejus etiam idea erit in mente adæquata.

DEMONSTRATIO : Sit A id quod corpori humano et quibusdam corporibus externis commune est et proprium quodque æque in humano corpore ac in iisdem corporibus externis et quod denique æque in cujuscunque corporis externi parte ac in toto est. Ipsius A dabitur in Deo idea adæquata (per corollarium propositionis 7 hujus) tam quatenus ideam corporis humani quam quatenus positorum corporum

externorum ideas habet. Ponatur jam humanum corpus a corpore externo affici per id quod cum eo habet commune hoc est ab A; hujus affectionis idea proprietatem A involvet (per propositionem 16 hujus) atque adeo (per idem corollarium propositionis 7 hujus) idea hujus affectionis quatenus proprietatem A involvit, erit in Deo adæquata quatenus idea corporis humani affectus est hoc est (per propositionem 13 hujus) quatenus mentis humanæ naturam constituit adeoque (per corollarium propositionis 11 hujus) hæc idea est etiam in mente humana adæquata. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Hinc sequitur quod mens eo aptior est ad plura adæquate percipiendum quo ejus corpus plura habet cum aliis corporibus communia.

PROPOSITIO XL : Quæcunque ideæ in mente sequuntur ex ideis quæ in ipsa sunt adæquatæ, sunt etiam adæquatæ.

DEMONSTRATIO : Patet. Nam cum dicimus in mente humana ideam sequi ex ideis quæ in ipsa sunt adæquatæ, nihil aliud dicimus (per corollarium propositionis 11 hujus) quam quod in ipso divino intellectu detur idea cujus Deus est causa, non quatenus infinitus est nec quatenus plurimarum rerum singularium ideis affectus est sed quatenus tantum humanæ mentis essentiam constituit.

SCHOLIUM I : His causam notionum quæ communes vocantur quæque ratiocinii nostri fundamenta sunt, explicui. Sed aliæ quorundam axiomatum sive notionum causæ dantur quas hac nostra methodo explicare e re foret; ex iis namque constaret quænam notiones præ reliquis utiliores, quænam vero vix ullius usus essent. Deinde quænam communes et quænam iis tantum qui præjudiciis non laborant, claræ et distinctæ et quænam denique male fundatæ sint. Præterea constaret unde notiones illæ quas secundas vocant et consequenter axiomata quæ in iisdem fundantur suam duxerunt originem et alia quæ circa hæc aliquando meditatsum. Sed quoniam hæc alii dicavi tractatui et etiam ne propter nimiam hujus rei prolixitatem fastidium crearem, hac re hic supersedere decrevi. Attamen ne quid horum omittam quod scitu necessarium sit, causas breviter addam ex quibus termini transcendentales dicti suam duxerunt originem ut Ens, Res, Aliquid. Hi termini ex hoc oriuntur quod scilicet humanum corpus quandoquidem

limitatum est, tantum est capax certi imaginum numeri (quid imago sit explicui in scholio propositionis 17 hujus) in se distincte simul formandi, qui si excedatur, hæ imagines confundi incipient et si hic imaginum numerus quarum corpus est capax ut eas in se simul distincte formet, longe excedatur, omnes inter se plane confundentur. Cum hoc ita se habeat, patet ex corollario propositionis 17 et propositione 18 hujus quod mens humana tot corpora distincte simul imaginari poterit quot in ipsius corpore imagines possunt simul formari. At ubi imagines in corpore plane confunduntur, mens etiam omnia corpora confuse sine ulla distinctione imaginabitur et quasi sub uno attributo comprehendet nempe sub attributo entis, rei etc. Potest hoc etiam ex eo deduci quod imagines non semper æque vigeant et ex aliis causis his analogis quas hic explicare non est opus nam ad nostrum ad quem collimamus scopum, unam tantum sufficit considerare. Nam omnes huc redeunt quod hi termini ideas significant summo gradu confusas. Ex similibus deinde causis ortæ sunt notiones illæ quas universales vocant ut Homo, Equus, Canis etc. videlicet quia in corpore humano tot imagines exempli gratia hominum formantur simul ut vim imaginandi, non quidem penitus sed eo usque tamen superent ut singulorum parvas differentias (videlicet uniuscujusque colorem, magnitudinem etc.) eorumque determinatum numerum mens imaginari nequeat et id tantum in quo omnes quatenus corpus ab iisdem afficitur, conveniunt, distincte imaginetur nam ab eo corpus maxime scilicet ab unoquoque singulari affectum fuit atque hoc nomine hominis exprimit hocque de infinitis singularibus prædicat. Nam singularium determinatum numerum ut diximus imaginari nequit. Sed notandum has notiones non ab omnibus eodem modo formari sed apud unumquemque variare pro ratione rei a qua corpus affectum sæpius fuit quamque facilius mens imaginatur vel recordatur. Exempli gratia qui sæpius cum admiratione hominum staturam contemplati sunt, sub nomine hominis intelligent animal erectæ staturæ; qui vero aliud assueti sunt contemplari, aliam hominum communem imaginem formabunt nempe hominem esse animal risibile, animal bipes sine plumis, animal rationale et sic de reliquis unusquisque pro dispositione sui corporis rerum universales imagines formabit. Quare non

mirum est quod inter philosophos qui res naturales per solas rerum imagines explicare voluerunt, tot sint ortæ controversiæ.

SCHOLIUM II : Ex omnibus supra dictis clare apparet nos multa percipere et notiones universales formare I° ex singularibus nobis per sensus mutilate, confuse et sine ordine ad intellectum repræsentatis (vide corollarium propositionis 29 hujus) et ideo tales perceptiones cognitionem ab experientia vaga vocare consuevi. II° ex signis exempli gratia ex eo quod auditis aut lectis quibusdam verbis rerum recordemur et earum quasdam ideas formemus similes iis per quas res imaginamur (vide scholium propositionis 18 hujus). Utrumque hunc res contemplandi modum cognitionem primi generis, opinionem vel imaginationem in posterum vocabo. III° denique ex eo quod notiones communes rerumque proprietatum ideas adæquatas habemus (vide corollarium propositionis 38 et propositionem 39 cum ejus corollario et propositionem 40 hujus) atque hunc rationem et secundi generis cognitionem vocabo. Præter hæc duo cognitionis genera datur, ut in sequentibus ostendam, aliud tertium quod scientiam intuitivam vocabimus. Atque hoc cognoscendi genus procedit ab adæquata idea essentiæ formalis quorundam Dei attributorum ad adæquatam cognitionem essentiæ rerum. Hæc omnia unius rei exemplo explicabo. Dantur exempli gratia tres numeri ad quartum obtinendum qui sit ad tertium ut secundus ad primum. Non dubitant mercatores secundum in tertium ducere et productum per primum dividere quia scilicet ea quæ a magistro absque ulla demonstratione audiverunt, nondum tradiderunt oblivioni vel quia id sæpe in numeris simplicissimis experti sunt vel ex vi demonstrationis propositionis 19 libri 7 Euclidis nempe ex communi proprietate proportionalium. At in numeris simplicissimis nihil horum opus est. Exempli gratia datis numeris 1, 2, 3, nemo non videt quartum numerum proportionalem esse 6 atque hoc multo clarius quia ex ipsa ratione quam primum ad secundum habere uno intuitu videmus, ipsum quartum concludimus.

PROPOSITIO XLI : Cognitionis primi generis unica est falsitatis causa, secundi autem et tertii est necessario vera.

DEMONSTRATIO : Ad primi generis cognitionem illas omnes ideas diximus in præcedenti scholio pertinere quæ sunt inadæquatæ et confusæ atque adeo (per propositionem 35 hujus) hæc cognitio unica est falsitatis causa. Deinde ad cognitionem secundi et tertii illas pertinere diximus quæ sunt adæquatæ adeoque (per propositionem 34 hujus) est necessario vera. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XLII : Secundi et tertii et non primi generis cognitio docet nos verum a falso distinguere.

DEMONSTRATIO : Hæc propositio per se patet. Qui enim inter verum et falsum scit distinguere, debet adæquatam veri et falsi habere ideam hoc est (per II scholium propositionis 40 hujus) verum et falsum secundo aut tertio cognitionis genere cognoscere.

PROPOSITIO XLIII : Qui veram habet ideam, simul scit se veram habere ideam nec de rei veritate potest dubitare.

DEMONSTRATIO : Idea vera in nobis est illa quæ in Deo quatenus per naturam mentis humanæ explicatur, est adæquata (per corollarium propositionis 11 hujus). Ponamus itaque dari in Deo quatenus per naturam mentis humanæ explicatur, ideam adæquatam A. Hujus ideæ debet necessario dari etiam in Deo idea quæ ad Deum eodem modo refertur ac idea A (per propositionem 20 hujus cujus demonstratio universalis est). At idea A ad Deum referri supponitur quatenus per naturam mentis humanæ explicatur; ergo etiam idea ideæ A ad Deum eodem modo debet referri hoc est (per idem corollarium propositionis 11 hujus) hæc adæquata idea ideæ A erit in ipsa mente quæ ideam adæquatam A habet adeoque qui adæquatam habet ideam sive (per propositionem 34 hujus) qui vere rem cognoscit, debet simul suæ cognitionis adæquatam habere ideam sive veram cognitionem hoc est (ut per se manifestum) debet simul esse certus. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : In scholio propositionis 21 hujus partis explicui quid sit idea ideæ sed notandum præcedentem propositionem per se satis esse manifestam. Nam nemo qui veram habet ideam, ignorat veram ideam summam certitudinem involvere; veram namque habere ideam nihil aliud significat quam perfecte sive optime rem cognoscere nec sane aliquis de hac re dubitare potest nisi putet ideam

quid mutum instar picturæ in tabula et non modum cogitandi esse nempe ipsum intelligere et quæso quis scire potest se rem aliquam intelligere nisi prius rem intelligat? hoc est quis potest scire se de aliqua re certum esse nisi prius de ea re certus sit? Deinde quid idea vera clarius et certius dari potest quod norma sit veritatis? Sane sicut lux seipsam et tenebras manifestat, sic veritas norma sui et falsi est. Atque his me ad has quæstiones respondisse puto nempe si idea vera quatenus tantum dicitur cum suo ideato convenire, a falsa distinguitur, nihil ergo realitatis aut perfectionis idea vera habet præ falsa (quandoquidem per solam denominationem extrinsecam distinguuntur) et consequenter neque etiam homo qui veras præ illo qui falsas tantum ideas habet? Deinde unde fit ut homines falsas habeant ideas? Et denique unde aliquis certo scire potest se ideas habere quæ cum suis ideatis conveniant? Ad has inquam quæstiones me jam respondisse puto. Nam quod ad differentiam inter ideam veram et falsam attinet, constat ex propositione 35 hujus illam ad hanc sese habere ut ens ad non-ens. Falsitatis autem causas a propositione 19 usque ad 35 cum ejus scholio clarissime ostendi. Ex quibus etiam apparet quid homo qui veras habet ideas, homini qui non nisi falsas habet, intersit. Quod denique ultimum attinet nempe undenam homo scire potest se habere ideam quæ cum suo ideato conveniat, id modo satis superque ostendi ex hoc solo oriri quod ideam habet quæ cum suo ideato convenit sive quod veritas sui sit norma. His adde quod mens nostra quatenus res vere percipit, pars est infiniti Dei intellectus (per corollarium propositionis 11 hujus) adeoque tam necesse est ut mentis claræ et distinctæ ideæ veræ sint ac Dei ideæ.

PROPOSITIO XLIV : De natura rationis non est res ut contingentes sed ut necessarias contemplari.

DEMONSTRATIO : De natura rationis est res vere percipere (per propositionem 41 hujus) nempe (per axioma 6 partis I) ut in se sunt hoc est (per propositionem 29 partis I) non ut contingentes sed ut necessarias. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM I : Hinc sequitur a sola imaginatione pendere quod res tam respectu præteriti quam futuri ut contingentes contemplemur.

SCHOLIUM : Qua autem ratione hoc fiat paucis explicabo. Ostendimus supra (propositione 17 hujus cum ejus corollario) mentem, quamvis res non existant, eas tamen semper ut sibi præsentes imaginari nisi causæ occurrant quæ earum præsentem existentiam secludant. Deinde (propositione 18 hujus) ostendimus quod si corpus humanum semel a duobus corporibus externis simul affectum fuit, ubi mens postea eorum alterutrum imaginabitur, statim et alterius recordabitur hoc est ambo ut sibi præsentia contemplabitur nisi causæ occurrant quæ eorum præsentem existentiam secludant. Præterea nemo dubitat quin etiam tempus imaginemur nempe ex eo quod corpora alia aliis tardius vel celerius vel æque celeriter moveri imaginemur. Ponamus itaque puerum qui heri prima vice hora matutina viderit Petrum, meridiana autem Paulum et vespertina Simeonem atque hodie iterum matutina hora Petrum. Ex propositione 18 hujus patet quod simulac matutinam lucem videt, illico solem eandem cæli quam die præcedenti viderit partem percurrentem sive diem integrum et simul cum tempore matutino Petrum, cum meridiano autem Paulum et cum vespertino Simeonem imaginabitur hoc est Pauli et Simeonis existentiam cum relatione ad futurum tempus imaginabitur et contra si hora vespertina Simeonem videat, Paulum et Petrum ad tempus præteritum referet, eosdem scilicet simul cum tempore præterito imaginando atque hæc eo constantius quo sæpius eos eodem hoc ordine viderit. Quod si aliquando contingat ut alia quadam vespera loco Simeonis Jacobum videat, tum sequenti mane cum tempore vespertino jam Simeonem jam Jacobum, non vero ambos simul imaginabitur. Nam alterutrum tantum, non autem ambos simul tempore vespertino vidisse supponitur. Fluctuabitur itaque ejus imaginatio et cum futuro tempore vespertino jam hunc jam illum imaginabitur hoc est neutrum certo sed utrumque contingenter futurum contemplabitur. Atque hæc imaginationis fluctuatio eadem erit si imaginatio rerum sit quas eodem modo cum relatione ad tempus præteritum vel præsens contemplamur et consequenter res tam ad tempus præsens quam ad præteritum vel futurum relatas ut contingentes imaginabimur.

COROLLARIUM II : De natura rationis est res sub quadam æternitatis specie percipere.

DEMONSTRATIO : De natura enim rationis est res ut necessarias et non ut contingentes contemplari (per propositionem præcedentem). Hanc autem rerum necessitatem (per propositionem 41 hujus) vere hoc est (per axioma 6 partis I) ut in se est, percipit. Sed (per propositionem 16 partis I) hæc rerum necessitas est ipsa Dei æternæ naturæ necessitas; ergo de natura rationis est res sub hac æternitatis specie contemplari. Adde quod fundamenta rationis notiones sint (per propositionem 38 hujus) quæ illa explicant quæ omnibus communia sunt quæque (per propositionem 37 hujus) nullius rei singularis essentiam explicant quæque propterea absque ulla temporis relatione sed sub quadam æternitatis specie debent concipi. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XLV : Unaquæque cujuscunque corporis vel rei singularis actu existentis idea Dei æternam et infinitam essentiam necessario involvit.

DEMONSTRATIO : Idea rei singularis actu existentis ipsius rei tam essentiam quam existentiam necessario involvit (per corollarium propositionis 8 hujus). At res singulares (per propositionem 15 partis I) non possunt sine Deo concipi sed quia (per propositionem 6 hujus) Deum pro causa habent quatenus sub attributo consideratur cujus res ipsæ modi sunt, debent necessario earum ideæ (per axioma 4 partis I) ipsarum attributi conceptum hoc est (per definitionem 6 partis I) Dei æternam et infinitam essentiam involvere. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Hic per existentiam non intelligo durationem hoc est existentiam quatenus abstracte concipitur et tanquam quædam quantitatis species. Nam loquor de ipsa natura existentiae quæ rebus singularibus tribuitur propterea quod ex æterna necessitate Dei naturæ infinita infinitis modis sequuntur (vide propositionem 16 partis I). Loquor inquam de ipsa existentia rerum singularium quatenus in Deo sunt. Nam etsi unaquæque ab alia re singulari determinetur ad certo modo existendum, vis tamen qua unaquæque in existendo perseverat, ex æterna necessitate naturæ Dei sequitur. Qua de re vide corollarium propositionis 24 partis I.

PROPOSITIO XLVI : Cognitio æternæ et infinitæ essentiae Dei quam unaquæque idea involvit, est adæquata et perfecta.

DEMONSTRATIO : Demonstratio præcedentis propositionis universalis est et sive res ut pars sive ut totum consideretur, ejus idea sive totius sit sive partis (per propositionem præcedentem) Dei æternam et infinitam essentiam involvet. Quare id quod cognitionem æternæ et infinitæ essentiæ Dei dat, omnibus commune et æque in parte ac in toto est adeoque (per propositionem 38 hujus) erit hæc cognitio adæquata. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XLVII : Mens humana adæquatam habet cognitionem æternæ et infinitæ essentiæ Dei.

DEMONSTRATIO : Mens humana ideas habet (per propositionem 22 hujus) ex quibus (per propositionem 23 hujus) se suumque corpus (per propositionem 19 hujus) et (per corollarium I propositionis 16 et per propositionem 17 hujus) corpora externa ut actu existentia percipit adeoque (per propositiones 45 et 46 hujus) cognitionem æternæ et infinitæ essentiæ Dei habet adæquatam. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Hinc videmus Dei infinitam essentiam ejusque æternitatem omnibus esse notam. Cum autem omnia in Deo sint et per Deum concipiantur, sequitur nos ex cognitione hac plurima posse deducere quæ adæquate cognoscamus atque adeo tertium illud cognitionis genus formare de quo diximus in scholio II propositionis 40 hujus partis et de cujus præstantia et utilitate in quinta parte erit nobis dicendi locus. Quod autem homines non æque claram Dei ac notionum communium habeant cognitionem, inde fit quod Deum imaginari nequeant ut corpora et quod nomen “Deus” junxerunt imaginibus rerum quas videre solent; quod homines vix vitare possunt quia continuo a corporibus externis afficiuntur. Et profecto plerique errores in hoc solo consistunt quod scilicet nomina rebus non recte applicamus. Cum enim aliquis ait lineas quæ ex centro circuli ad ejusdem circumferentiam ducuntur esse inæquales, ille sane aliud tum saltem per circulum intelligit quam mathematici. Sic cum homines in calculo errant, alios numeros in mente, alios in charta habent. Quare si ipsorum mentem spectes, non errant sane; videntur tamen errare quia ipsos in mente putamus habere numeros qui in charta sunt. Si hoc non esset, nihil eosdem errare crederemus; ut non credidi quendam errare quem nuper audiivi clamantem suum

atrium volasse in gallinam vicini quia scilicet ipsius mens satis perspecta mihi videbatur. Atque hinc pleræque oriuntur controversiæ nempe quia homines mentem suam non recte explicant vel quia alterius mentem male interpretantur. Nam revera dum sibi maxime contradicunt, vel eadem vel diversa cogitant ita ut quos in alio errores et absurda esse putant, non sint.

PROPOSITIO XLVIII : In mente nulla est absoluta sive libera voluntas sed mens ad hoc vel illud volendum determinatur a causa quæ etiam ab alia determinata est et hæc iterum ab alia et sic in infinitum.

DEMONSTRATIO : Mens certus et determinatus modus cogitandi est (per propositionem 11 hujus) adeoque (per corollarium II propositionis 17 partis I) suarum actionum non potest esse causa libera sive absolutam facultatem volendi et nolendi habere non potest sed ad hoc vel illud volendum (per propositionem 28 partis I) determinari debet a causa quæ etiam ab alia determinata est et hæc iterum ab alia etc. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Eodem hoc modo demonstratur in mente nullam dari facultatem absolutam intelligendi, cupiendi, amandi etc. Unde sequitur has et similes facultates vel prorsus fictitias vel nihil esse præter entia metaphysica vel universalia quæ ex particularibus formare solemus. Adeo ut intellectus et voluntas ad hanc et illam ideam vel ad hanc et illam volitionem eodem modo sese habeant ac lapideitas ad hunc et illum lapidem vel ut homo ad Petrum et Paulum. Causam autem cur homines se liberos esse putent explicuimus in appendice partis primæ. Verum antequam ulterius pergam, venit hic notandum me per voluntatem affirmandi et negandi facultatem, non autem cupiditatem intelligere; facultatem inquam intelligo qua mens quid verum quidve falsum sit, affirmat vel negat et non cupiditatem qua mens res appetit vel aversatur. At postquam demonstravimus has facultates notiones esse universales quæ a singularibus ex quibus easdem formamus, non distinguuntur, inquirendum jam est an ipsæ volitiones aliquid sint præter ipsas rerum ideas. Inquirendum inquam est an in mente alia affirmatio et negatio detur præter illam quam idea quatenus idea est, involvit, qua de re vide sequentem propositionem ut et demonstrationem 3 hujus ne cogitatio in picturas

incidat. Non enim per ideas imagines quales in fundo oculi et si placet, in medio cerebro formantur sed cogitationis conceptus intelligo.

PROPOSITIO XLIX : In mente nulla datur volitio sive affirmatio et negatio præter illam quam idea quatenus idea est, involvit.

DEMONSTRATIO : In mente (per propositionem præcedentem) nulla datur absoluta facultas volendi et nolendi sed tantum singulares volitiones nempe hæc et illa affirmatio et hæc et illa negatio. Concipiamus itaque singularem aliquam volitionem nempe modum cogitandi quo mens affirmat tres angulos trianguli æquales esse duobus rectis. Hæc affirmatio conceptum sive ideam trianguli involvit hoc est sine idea trianguli non potest concipi. Idem enim est si dicam quod A conceptum B debeat involvere ac quod A sine B non possit concipi. Deinde hæc affirmatio (per axioma 3 hujus) non potest etiam sine idea trianguli esse. Hæc ergo affirmatio sine idea trianguli nec esse nec concipi potest. Porro hæc trianguli idea hanc eandem affirmationem involvere debet nempe quod tres ejus anguli æquentur duobus rectis. Quare et vice versa hæc trianguli idea sine hac affirmatione nec esse nec concipi potest adeoque (per definitionem 2 hujus) hæc affirmatio ad essentiam ideæ trianguli pertinet nec aliud præter ipsam est. Et quod de hac volitione diximus (quandoquidem eam ad libitum sumpsimus) dicendum etiam est de quacunque volitione nempe quod præter ideam nihil sit. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Voluntas et intellectus unum et idem sunt.

DEMONSTRATIO : Voluntas et intellectus nihil præter ipsas singulares volitiones et ideas sunt (per propositionem 48 hujus et ejusdem scholium). At singularis volitio et idea (per propositionem præcedentem) unum et idem sunt, ergo voluntas et intellectus unum et idem sunt. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : His causam quæ communiter erroris esse statuitur, sustulimus. Supra autem ostendimus falsitatem in sola privatione quam ideæ mutilatæ et confusæ involvunt, consistere. Quare idea falsa quatenus falsa est, certitudinem non involvit. Cum itaque dicimus hominem in falsis acquiescere nec de iis dubitare, non ideo ipsum certum esse sed tantum non dubitare dicimus vel quod in

falsis acquiescit quia nullæ causæ dantur quæ efficiant ut ipsius imaginatio fluctuetur. Qua de re vide scholium propositionis 44 hujus partis. Quantumvis igitur homo falsis adhærere supponatur, nunquam tamen ipsum certum esse dicemus. Nam per certitudinem quid positivum intelligimus (vide propositionem 43 hujus cum ejusdem scholio) non vero dubitationis privationem. At per certitudinis privationem falsitatem intelligimus. Sed ad uberiores explicationem præcedentis propositionis quædam monenda supersunt. Superest deinde ut ad objectiones quæ in nostram hanc doctrinam objici possunt, respondeam et denique ut omnem amoveam scrupulum, operæ pretium esse duxi hujus doctrinæ quasdam utilitates indicare. Quasdam inquam nam præcipuæ ex iis quæ in quinta parte dicemus, melius intelligentur.

Incipio igitur a primo lectoresque moneo ut accurate distinguant inter ideam sive mentis conceptum et inter imagines rerum quas imaginamur. Deinde necesse est ut distinguant inter ideas et verba quibus res significamus. Nam quia hæc tria, imagines scilicet verba et ideæ, a multis vel plane confunduntur vel non satis accurate vel denique non satis caute distinguuntur, ideo hanc de voluntate doctrinam scitu prorsus necessariam tam ad speculationem quam ad vitam sapienter instituendam plane ignorarunt. Quippe qui putant ideas consistere in imaginibus quæ in nobis ex corporum occurso formantur, sibi persuadent ideas illas rerum quarum similem nullam imaginem formare possumus, non esse ideas sed tantum figmenta quæ ex libero voluntatis arbitrio fingimus; ideas igitur veluti picturas in tabula mutas aspiciunt et hoc præjudicio præoccupati non vident ideam quatenus idea est, affirmationem aut negationem involvere. Deinde qui verba confundunt cum idea vel cum ipsa affirmatione quam idea involvit, putant se posse contra id quod sentiunt velle quando aliquid solis verbis contra id quod sentiunt affirmant aut negant. Hæc autem præjudicia exuere facile is poterit qui ad naturam cogitationis attendit, quæ extensionis conceptum minime involvit atque adeo clare intelliget ideam (quandoquidem modus cogitandi est) neque in rei alicujus imagine neque in verbis consistere. Verborum namque et imaginum essentia a solis motibus corporeis constituitur, qui cogitationis conceptum minime

involvunt. Atque hæc pauca de his monuisse sufficiat, quare ad prædictas objectiones transeo.

Harum prima est quod constare putant voluntatem latius se extendere quam intellectum atque adeo ab eodem diversam esse. Ratio autem cur putant voluntatem latius se extendere quam intellectum est quia se experiri aiunt se non majore assentiendi sive affirmandi et negandi facultate indigere ad infinitis aliis rebus quas non percipimus, assentiendum quam jam habemus, at quidem majore facultate intelligendi. Distinguitur ergo voluntas ab intellectu quod finitus hic sit, illa autem infinita.

Secundo nobis objici potest quod experientia nihil clarius videatur docere quam quod nostrum judicium possumus suspendere ne rebus quas percipimus, assentiamur; quod hinc etiam confirmatur quod nemo dicitur decipi quatenus aliquid percipit sed tantum quatenus assentitur aut dissentitur. Exempli gratia qui equum alatum fingit, non ideo concedit dari equum alatum hoc est non ideo decipitur nisi simul concedat dari equum alatum; nihil igitur clarius videtur docere experientia quam quod voluntas sive facultas assentiendi libera sit et a facultate intelligendi diversa.

Tertio objici potest quod una affirmatio non plus realitatis videtur continere quam alia hoc est non majore potentia indigere videmur ad affirmandum verum esse id quod verum est, quam ad aliquid quod falsum est, verum esse affirmandum; at unam ideam plus realitatis sive perfectionis quam aliam habere percipimus; quantum enim objecta alia aliis præstantiora tantum etiam eorum ideæ aliæ aliis perfectiores sunt; ex quibus etiam constare videtur differentia inter voluntatem et intellectum.

Quarto objici potest si homo non operatur ex libertate voluntatis, quid ergo fiet si in æquilibrio sit ut Buridani asina? Famene et siti peribit? Quod si concedam, viderer asinam vel hominis statuam, non hominem concipere; si autem negem, ergo seipsum determinabit et consequenter eundi facultatem et faciendi quicquid velit, habet. Præter hæc alia forsitan possunt objici sed quia inculcare non teneor

quid unusquisque somniare potest, ad has objectiones tantum respondere curabo idque quam potero breviter.

Et quidem ad primam dico me concedere voluntatem latius se extendere quam intellectum si per intellectum claras tantummodo et distinctas ideas intelligant sed nego voluntatem latius se extendere quam perceptiones sive concipiendi facultatem nec sane video cur facultas volendi potius dicenda est infinita quam sentiendi facultas; sicut enim infinita (unum tamen post aliud nam infinita simul affirmare non possumus) eadem volendi facultate possumus affirmare, sic etiam infinita corpora (unum nempe post aliud) eadem sentiendi facultate possumus sentire sive percipere. Quod si dicant infinita dari quæ percipere non possumus? regero nos ea ipsa nulla cogitatione et consequenter nulla volendi facultate posse assequi. At dicunt si Deus vellet efficere ut ea etiam perciperemus, majorem quidem facultatem percipiendi deberet nobis dare sed non majorem quam dedit volendi facultatem; quod idem est ac si dicerent quod si Deus velit efficere ut infinita alia entia intelligeremus, necesse quidem esset ut nobis daret majorem intellectum sed non universalioris entis ideam quam dedit ad eadem infinita entia amplectendum. Ostendimus enim voluntatem ens esse universale sive ideam qua omnes singulares volitiones hoc est id quod iis omnibus commune est, explicamus. Cum itaque hanc omnium volitionum communem sive universalem ideam facultatem esse credant, minime mirum si hanc facultatem ultra limites intellectus in infinitum se extendere dicant. Universale enim æque de uno ac de pluribus ac de infinitis individuis dicitur.

Ad secundam objectionem respondeo negando nos liberam habere potestatem iudicium suspendendi. Nam cum dicimus aliquem iudicium suspendere, nihil aliud dicimus quam quod videt se rem non adæquate percipere. Est igitur iudicii suspensio revera perceptio et non libera voluntas. Quod ut clare intelligatur, concipiamus puerum equum alatum imaginantem nec aliud quicquam percipientem. Quandoquidem hæc imaginatio equi existentiam involvit (per corollarium propositionis 17 hujus) nec puer quicquam percipit quod equi existentiam tollat, ille necessario equum ut præsentem contemplabitur nec de ejus

existentia poterit dubitare quamvis de eadem non sit certus. Atque hoc quotidie in somnis experimur nec credo aliquem esse qui putet se, dum somniat, liberam habere potestatem suspendendi de iis quæ somniat, iudicium efficiendique ut ea quæ se videre somniat, non somniet et nihilominus contingit ut etiam in somnis iudicium suspendamus nempe cum somniamus nos somniare. Porro concedo neminem decipi quatenus percipit hoc est mentis imaginationes in se consideratas nihil erroris involvere concedo (vide scholium propositionis 17 hujus) sed nego hominem nihil affirmare quatenus percipit. Nam quid aliud est equum alatum percipere quam alas de equo affirmare? Si enim mens præter equum alatum nihil aliud perciperet, eundem sibi præsentem contemplaretur nec causam haberet ullam dubitandi de ejusdem existentia nec ullam dissentendi facultatem nisi imaginatio equi alati juncta sit ideæ quæ existentiam ejusdem equi tollit vel quod percipit ideam equi alati quam habet esse inadæquatam atque tum vel ejusdem equi existentiam necessario negabit vel de eadem necessario dubitabit.

Atque his puto me ad tertiam etiam objectionem respondisse nempe quod voluntas universale quid sit quod de omnibus ideis prædicatur quodque id tantum significat quod omnibus ideis commune est nempe affirmationem. Cujus propterea adæquata essentia quatenus sic abstracte concipitur, debet esse in unaquaque idea et hac ratione tantum in omnibus eadem sed non quatenus consideratur essentiam ideæ constituere nam eatenus singulares affirmationes æque inter se differunt ac ipsæ ideæ. Exempli gratia affirmatio quam idea circuli ab illa quam idea trianguli involvit æque differt ac idea circuli ab idea trianguli. Deinde absolute nego nos æquali cogitandi potentia indigere ad affirmandum verum esse id quod verum est quam ad affirmandum verum esse id quod falsum est. Nam hæ duæ affirmationes, si mentem spectes, se habent ad invicem ut ens ad non-ens; nihil enim in ideis positivum est quod falsitatis formam constituit (vide propositionem 35 hujus cum ejus scholio et scholium propositionis 47 hujus). Quare hic apprime venit notandum quam facile decipimur quando universalis cum singularibus, et entia rationis et abstracta cum realibus confundimus.

Quod denique ad quartam objectionem attinet, dico me omnino concedere quod homo in tali æquilibrio positus (nempe qui nihil aliud percipit quam sitim et famem, talem cibum et talem potum qui æque ab eo distant) fame et siti peribit. Si me rogant an talis homo non potius asinus quam homo sit æstimandus? dico me nescire ut etiam nescio quanti æstimandus sit ille qui se pensilem facit et quanti æstimandi sint pueri, stulti, vesani, etc.

Superest tandem indicare quantum hujus doctrinæ cognitio ad usum vitæ conferat, quod facile ex his animadvertemus. Nempe

I° quatenus docet nos ex solo Dei nutu agere divinæque naturæ esse participes et eo magis quo perfectiores actiones agimus et quo magis magisque Deum intelligimus. Hæc ergo doctrina præterquam quod animum omnimode quietum reddit, hoc etiam habet quod nos docet in quo nostra summa felicitas sive beatitudo consistit nempe in sola Dei cognitione ex qua ad ea tantum agenda inducimur quæ amor et pietas suadent. Unde clare intelligimus quantum illi a vera virtutis æstimatione aberrant qui pro virtute et optimis actionibus tanquam pro summa servitute, summis præmiis a Deo decorari expectant quasi ipsa virtus Deique servitus non esset ipsa felicitas et summa libertas.

II° Quatenus docet quomodo circa res fortunæ sive quæ in nostra potestate non sunt hoc est circa res quæ ex nostra natura non sequuntur, nos gerere debeamus nempe utramque fortunæ faciem æquo animo expectare et ferre : nimirum quia omnia ab æterno Dei decreto eadem necessitate sequuntur ac ex essentia trianguli sequitur quod tres ejus anguli sunt æquales duobus rectis.

III° Confert hæc doctrina ad vitam socialem quatenus docet neminem odio habere, contemnere, irridere, nemini irasci, invidere. Præterea quatenus docet ut unusquisque suis sit contentus et proximo auxilio, non ex muliebri misericordia, partialitate neque superstitione sed ex solo rationis ductu prout scilicet tempus et res postulat ut in quarta parte ostendam.

IV° Denique confert etiam hæc doctrina non parum ad communem societatem quatenus docet qua ratione cives gubernandi sint et ducendi nempe non ut serviant sed ut libere ea quæ optima sunt, agant. Atque his quæ in hoc scholio agere

constitueram, absolvi et eo finem huic nostræ secundæ parti impono in qua puto me naturam mentis humanæ ejusque proprietates satis prolixè et quantum rei difficultas fert, clare explicuisse atque talia tradidisse ex quibus multa præclara, maxime utilia et cognitu necessaria concludi possunt, ut partim ex sequentibus constabit.

Finis secundæ partis

PARS TERTIA. DE ORIGINE ET NATURA AFFECTUUM

PRÆFATIO



PLERIQUE QUI DE affectibus et hominum vivendi ratione scripserunt, videntur non de rebus naturalibus quæ communes naturæ leges sequuntur sed de rebus quæ extra naturam sunt, agere. Imo hominem in natura veluti imperium in imperio concipere videntur. Nam hominem naturæ ordinem magis perturbare quam sequi ipsumque in suas actiones absolutam habere potentiam nec aliunde quam a se ipso determinari credunt. Humanæ deinde impotentiae et inconstantiae causam non communi naturæ potentiae sed nescio cui naturæ humanæ vitio tribuunt quam propterea flent, rident, contemnunt vel quod plerumque fit, detestantur et qui humanæ mentis impotentiam eloquentius vel argutius carpere novit, veluti divinus habetur. Non defuerunt tamen viri præstantissimi (quorum labori et industriæ nos multum debere fatemur) qui de recta vivendi ratione præclara multa scripserint et plena prudentiae consilia mortalibus dederint; verum affectuum naturam et vires et quid contra mens in iisdem moderandis possit, nemo quod sciam determinavit. Scio equidem celeberrimum Cartesium, licet etiam crediderit mentem in suas actiones absolutam habere potentiam, affectus tamen humanos per primas suas causas explicare simulque viam ostendere studuisse qua mens in affectus absolutum habere possit imperium sed mea quidem sententia nihil præter magni sui ingenii acumen ostendit, ut suo loco demonstrabo. Nam ad illos revertere volo qui hominum affectus et actiones detestari vel ridere malunt quam intelligere. His sine dubio mirum videbitur quod hominum vitia et ineptias more geometrico tractare aggrediar et certa ratione demonstrare velim ea quæ rationi repugnare quæque vana, absurda et horrenda esse clamitant. Sed mea hæc est ratio. Nihil in natura fit quod ipsius vitio possit tribui; est namque natura semper eadem et

ubique una eademque ejus virtus et agendi potentia hoc est naturæ leges et regulæ secundum quas omnia fiunt et ex unis formis in alias mutantur, sunt ubique et semper eadem atque adeo una eademque etiam debet esse ratio rerum qualiumcunque naturam intelligendi nempe per leges et regulas naturæ universales. Affectus itaque odii, iræ, invidiæ etc. in se considerati ex eadem naturæ necessitate et virtute consequuntur ac reliqua singularia ac proinde certas causas agnoscunt per quas intelliguntur certasque proprietates habent cognitione nostra æque dignas ac proprietates cujuscunque alterius rei cujus sola contemplatione delectamur. De affectuum itaque natura et viribus ac mentis in eosdem potentia eadem methodo agam qua in præcedentibus de Deo et mente egi et humanas actiones atque appetitus considerabo perinde ac si quæstio de lineis, planis aut de corporibus esset.

DEFINITIONES

I. Causam adæquatam appello eam cujus effectus potest clare et distincte per eandem percipi. Inadæquatam autem seu partialem illam voco cujus effectus per ipsam solam intelligi nequit.

II. Nos tum agere dico cum aliquid in nobis aut extra nos fit cujus adæquata sumus causa hoc est (per definitionem præcedentem) cum ex nostra natura aliquid in nobis aut extra nos sequitur quod per eandem solam potest clare et distincte intelligi. At contra nos pati dico cum in nobis aliquid fit vel ex nostra natura aliquid sequitur cujus nos non nisi partialis sumus causa.

III. Per affectum intelligo corporis affectiones quibus ipsius corporis agendi potentia augetur vel minuitur, juvatur vel coercetur et simul harum affectionum ideas. Si itaque alicujus harum affectionum adæquata possimus esse causa, tum per affectum actionem intelligo, alias passionem.

POSTULATA

I. Corpus humanum potest multis affici modis quibus ipsius agendi potentia augetur vel minuitur et etiam aliis qui ejusdem agendi potentiam nec majorem nec

minorem reddunt. Hoc postulatum seu axioma nititur postulato 1 et lemmatibus 5 et 7, quæ vide post propositionem 13 partis II.

II. Corpus humanum multas pati potest mutationes et nihilominus retinere objectorum impressiones seu vestigia (de quibus vide postulatum 5 partis II) et consequenter easdem rerum imagines; quarum definitionem vide in scholio propositionis 17 partis II.

PROPOSITIO I : Mens nostra quædam agit, quædam vero patitur nempe quatenus adæquatas habet ideas eatenus quædam necessario agit et quatenus ideas habet inadæquatas eatenus necessario quædam patitur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Cujuscunque humanæ mentis ideæ aliæ adæquatae sunt, aliæ autem mutilatae et confusæ (per scholia propositionis 40 partis II). Ideæ autem quæ in alicujus mente sunt adæquatae, sunt in Deo adæquatae quatenus ejusdem mentis essentiam constituit (per corollarium propositionis 11 partis II) et quæ deinde inadæquatae sunt in mente, sunt etiam in Deo (per idem corollarium) adæquatae non quatenus ejusdem solummodo mentis essentiam sed etiam quatenus aliarum rerum mentes in se simul continet. Deinde ex data quacunque idea aliquis effectus sequi necessario debet (per propositionem 36 partis I) cujus effectus Deus causa est adæquata (vide definitionem 1 hujus) non quatenus infinitus est sed quatenus data illa idea affectus consideratur (vide propositionem 9 partis II). At ejus effectus cujus Deus est causa quatenus affectus est idea quæ in alicujus mente est adæquata, illa eadem mens est causa adæquata (per corollarium propositionis 11 partis II). Ergo mens nostra (per definitionem 2 hujus) quatenus ideas habet adæquatas, quædam necessario agit, quod erat primum. Deinde quicquid necessario sequitur ex idea quæ in Deo est adæquata, non quatenus mentem unius hominis tantum sed quatenus aliarum rerum mentes simul cum ejusdem hominis mente in se habet, ejus (per idem corollarium propositionis 11 partis II) illius hominis mens non est causa adæquata sed partialis ac proinde (per definitionem 2 hujus) mens quatenus ideas inadæquatas habet, quædam necessario patitur. Quod erat secundum. Ergo mens nostra etc. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Hinc sequitur mentem eo pluribus passionibus esse obnoxiam quo plures ideas inadæquatas habet et contra eo plura agere quo plures habet adæquatas.

PROPOSITIO II : Nec corpus mentem ad cogitandum nec mens corpus ad motum neque ad quietem nec ad aliquid (si quid est) aliud determinare potest.

DEMONSTRATIO : Omnes cogitandi modi Deum quatenus res est cogitans et non quatenus alio attributo explicatur, pro causa habent (per propositionem 6 partis II); id ergo quod mentem ad cogitandum determinat, modus cogitandi est et non extensionis hoc est (per definitionem 1 partis II) non est corpus : quod erat primum. Corporis deinde motus et quies ab alio oriri debet corpore quod etiam ad motum vel quietem determinatum fuit ab alio et absolute quicquid in corpore oritur, id a Deo oriri debuit quatenus aliquo extensionis modo et non quatenus aliquo cogitandi modo affectus consideratur (per eandem propositionem 6 partis II) hoc est a mente quæ (per propositionem 11 partis II) modus cogitandi est, oriri non potest : quod erat secundum. Ergo nec corpus mentem etc. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Hæc clarius intelliguntur ex iis quæ in scholio propositionis 7 partis II dicta sunt quod scilicet mens et corpus una eademque res sit quæ jam sub cogitationis jam sub extensionis attributo concipitur. Unde fit ut ordo sive rerum concatenatio una sit sive natura sub hoc sive sub illo attributo concipiatur, consequenter ut ordo actionum et passionum corporis nostri simul sit natura cum ordine actionum et passionum mentis : quod etiam patet ex modo quo propositionem 12 partis II demonstravimus. At quamvis hæc ita se habeant ut nulla dubitandi ratio supersit, vix tamen credo nisi rem experientia comprobavero, homines induci posse ad hæc æquo animo perpendendum adeo firmiter persuasi sunt corpus ex solo mentis nutu jam moveri jam quiescere plurimaque agere quæ a sola mentis voluntate et excogitandi arte pendent. Etenim quid corpus possit, nemo hucusque determinavit hoc est neminem hucusque experientia docuit quid corpus ex solis legibus naturæ quatenus corporea tantum consideratur, possit agere et quid non possit nisi a mente determinetur. Nam nemo hucusque corporis fabricam tam accurate novit ut omnes ejus functiones potuerit explicare ut jam

taceam quod in brutis plura observentur quæ humanam sagacitatem longe superant et quod somnambuli in somnis plurima agant quæ vigilando non auderent; quod satis ostendit ipsum corpus ex solis suæ naturæ legibus multa posse quæ ipsius mens admiratur. Deinde nemo scit qua ratione quibusve mediis mens moveat corpus neque quot motus gradus possit corpori tribuere quantaque cum celeritate idem movere queat. Unde sequitur cum homines dicunt hanc vel illam actionem corporis oriri a mente quæ imperium in corpus habet, eos nescire quid dicant nec aliud agere quam speciosis verbis fateri se veram illius actionis causam absque admiratione ignorare. At dicent sive sciant sive nesciant quibus mediis mens moveat corpus, se tamen experiri quod nisi mens humana apta esset ad excogitandum, corpus iners esset. Deinde se experiri in sola mentis potestate esse tam loqui quam tacere et alia multa quæ proinde a mentis decreto pendere credunt. Sed quod ad primum attinet, ipsos rogo num experientia non etiam doceat quod si contra corpus iners sit, mens simul ad cogitandum sit inepta? Nam cum corpus somno quiescit, mens simul cum ipso sopita manet nec potestatem habet veluti cum vigilat, excogitandi. Deinde omnes expertos esse credo mentem non semper æque aptam esse ad cogitandum de eodem objecto sed prout corpus aptius est ut in eo hujus vel illius objecti imago excitetur, ita mentem aptiorem esse ad hoc vel illud objectum contemplandum. At dicent ex solis legibus naturæ quatenus corporea tantum consideratur, fieri non posse ut causæ ædificiorum, picturarum rerumque hujusmodi quæ sola humana arte fiunt, possint deduci nec corpus humanum nisi a mente determinaretur ducereturque, pote esset ad templum aliquod ædificandum. Verum ego jam ostendi ipsos nescire quid corpus possit quidve ex sola ipsius naturæ contemplatione possit deduci ipsosque plurima experiri ex solis naturæ legibus fieri quæ nunquam credidissent posse fieri nisi ex mentis directione ut sunt ea quæ somnambuli in somnis agunt quæque ipsi, dum vigilant, admirantur. Addo hic ipsam corporis humani fabricam quæ artificio longissime superat omnes quæ humana arte fabricatæ sunt, ut jam taceam, quod supra ostenderim, ex natura sub quovis attributo considerata, infinita sequi. Quod porro ad secundum attinet, sane longe felicius sese res humanæ haberent si æque

in hominis potestate esset tam tacere quam loqui. At experientia satis superque docet homines nihil minus in potestate habere quam linguam nec minus posse quam appetitus moderari suos; unde factum ut plerique credant nos ea tantum libere agere quæ leviter petimus quia earum rerum appetitus facile contrahi potest memoria alterius rei cuius frequenter recordamur sed illa minime quæ magno cum affectu petimus et qui alterius rei memoria sedari nequit. Verumenimvero nisi experti essent nos plura agere quorum postea pænitet nosque sæpe, quando scilicet contrariis affectibus conflictamur, meliora videre et deteriora sequi, nihil impediret quominus crederent nos omnia libere agere. Sic infans se lac libere appetere credit, puer autem iratus vindictam velle et timidus fugam. Ebrius deinde credit se ex libero mentis decreto ea loqui quæ postea sobrius vellet tacuisse : sic delirans, garrula, puer et hujus farinae plurimi ex libero mentis decreto credunt loqui cum tamen loquendi impetum quem habent, continere nequeant, ita ut ipsa experientia non minus clare quam ratio doceat quod homines ea sola de causa liberos se esse credant quia suarum actionum sunt conscii et causarum a quibus determinantur, ignari et præterea quod mentis decreta nihil sint præter ipsos appetitus, quæ propterea varia sunt pro varia corporis dispositione. Nam unusquisque ex suo affectu omnia moderatur et qui præterea contrariis affectibus conflictantur, quid velint nesciunt; qui autem nullo, facili momento huc atque illuc pelluntur. Quæ omnia profecto clare ostendunt mentis tam decretum quam appetitum et corporis determinationem simul esse natura vel potius unam eandemque rem quam quando sub cogitationis attributo consideratur et per ipsum explicatur, decretum appellamus et quando sub extensionis attributo consideratur et ex legibus motus et quietis deducitur, determinationem vocamus; quod adhuc clarius ex jam dicendis patebit. Nam aliud est quod hic apprime notari vellem nempe quod nos nihil ex mentis decreto agere possumus nisi ejus recordemur. Exempli gratia non possumus verbum loqui nisi ejusdem recordemur. Deinde in libera mentis potestate non est rei alicujus recordari vel ejusdem oblivisci. Quare hoc tantum in mentis potestate esse creditur quod rem cuius recordamur vel tacere vel loqui ex solo mentis decreto possumus. Verum cum nos loqui somniamus,

credimus nos ex libero mentis decreto loqui nec tamen loquimur vel si loquimur, id ex corporis spontaneo motu fit. Somniamus deinde nos quædam homines celare idque eodem mentis decreto quo dum vigilamus ea quæ scimus, tacemus. Somniamus denique nos ex mentis decreto quædam agere quæ dum vigilamus non audemus atque adeo pervelim scire an in mente duo decretorum genera dentur, phantasticorum unum et liberorum alterum? Quod si eo usque insanire non libet, necessario concedendum est hoc mentis decretum quod liberum esse creditur, ab ipsa imaginatione sive memoria non distingui nec aliud esse præter illam affirmationem quam idea quatenus idea est, necessario involvit (vide propositionem 49 partis II). Atque adeo hæc mentis decreta eadem necessitate in mente oriuntur ac ideæ rerum actu existentium. Qui igitur credunt se ex libero mentis decreto loqui vel tacere vel quicquam agere, oculis apertis somniant.

PROPOSITIO III : Mentis actiones ex solis ideis adæquatis oriuntur, passiones autem a solis inadæquatis pendent.

DEMONSTRATIO : Primum quod mentis essentiam constituit, nihil aliud est quam idea corporis actu existentis (per propositiones 11 et 13 partis II) quæ (per propositionem 15 partis II) ex multis aliis componitur quarum quædam (per corollarium propositionis 38 partis II) sunt adæquatae, quædam autem inadæquatae (per corollarium propositionis 29 partis II). Quicquid ergo ex mentis natura sequitur et cujus mens causa est proxima per quam id debet intelligi, necessario ex idea adæquata vel inadæquata sequi debet. At quatenus mens (per propositionem 1 hujus) ideas habet inadæquatas eatenus necessario patitur; ergo mentis actiones ex solis ideis adæquatis sequuntur et mens propterea tantum patitur quia ideas habet inadæquatas. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Videmus itaque passiones ad mentem non referri nisi quatenus aliquid habet quod negationem involvit sive quatenus consideratur ut naturæ pars quæ per se absque aliis non potest clare et distincte percipi et hac ratione ostendere possem passiones eodem modo ad res singulares ac ad mentem referri nec alia ratione posse percipi sed meum institutum est de sola mente humana agere.

PROPOSITIO IV : Nulla res nisi a causa externa potest destrui.

DEMONSTRATIO : Hæc propositio per se patet; definitio enim cujuscunque rei ipsius rei essentiam affirmat sed non negat sive rei essentiam ponit sed non tollit. Dum itaque ad rem ipsam tantum, non autem ad causas externas attendimus, nihil in eadem poterimus invenire quod ipsam possit destruere. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO V : Res eatenus contrariæ sunt naturæ hoc est eatenus in eodem subjecto esse nequeunt quatenus una alteram potest destruere.

DEMONSTRATIO : Si enim inter se convenire vel in eodem subjecto simul esse possent, posset ergo in eodem subjecto aliquid dari quod ipsum posset destruere, quod (per propositionem præcedentem) est absurdum. Ergo res etc. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO VI : Unaquæque res quantum in se est, in suo esse perseverare conatur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Res enim singulares modi sunt quibus Dei attributa certo et determinato modo exprimuntur (per corollarium propositionis 25 partis I) hoc est (per propositionem 34 partis I) res quæ Dei potentiam qua Deus est et agit, certo et determinato modo exprimunt neque ulla res aliquid in se habet a quo possit destrui sive quod ejus existentiam tollat (per propositionem 4 hujus) sed contra ei omni quod ejusdem existentiam potest tollere, opponitur (per propositionem præcedentem) adeoque quantum potest et in se est, in suo esse perseverare conatur. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO VII : Conatus quo unaquæque res in suo esse perseverare conatur, nihil est præter ipsius rei actualement essentiam.

DEMONSTRATIO : Ex data cujuscunque rei essentia quædam necessario sequuntur (per propositionem 36 partis I) nec res aliud possunt quam id quod ex determinata earum natura necessario sequitur (per propositionem 29 partis I); quare cujuscunque rei potentia sive conatus quo ipsa vel sola vel cum aliis quidquam agit vel agere conatur hoc est (per propositionem 6 hujus) potentia sive

conatus quo in suo esse perseverare conatur, nihil est præter ipsius rei datam sive actualem essentiam. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO VIII : Conatus quo unaquæque res in suo esse perseverare conatur, nullum tempus finitum sed indefinitum involvit.

DEMONSTRATIO : Si enim tempus limitatum involveret quod rei durationem determinaret, tum ex sola ipsa potentia qua res existit, sequeretur quod res post limitatum illud tempus non posset existere sed quod deberet destrui; atqui hoc (per propositionem 4 hujus) est absurdum : ergo conatus quo res existit, nullum tempus definitum involvit sed contra quoniam (per eandem propositionem 4 hujus) si a nulla externa causa destruat, eadem potentia qua jam existit, existere perget semper, ergo hic conatus tempus indefinitum involvit. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO IX : Mens tam quatenus claras et distinctas quam quatenus confusas habet ideas, conatur in suo esse perseverare indefinita quadam duratione et hujus sui conatus est conscia.

DEMONSTRATIO : Mentis essentia ex ideis adæquatis et inadæquatis constituitur (ut in propositione 3 hujus ostendimus) adeoque (per propositionem 7 hujus) tam quatenus has quam quatenus illas habet, in suo esse perseverare conatur idque (per propositionem 8 hujus) indefinita quadam duratione. Cum autem mens (per propositionem 23 partis II) per ideas affectionum corporis necessario sui sit conscia, est ergo (per propositionem 7 hujus) mens sui conatus conscia. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Hic conatus cum ad mentem solam refertur, voluntas appellatur sed cum ad mentem et corpus simul refertur, vocatur appetitus, qui proinde nihil aliud est quam ipsa hominis essentia ex cujus natura ea quæ ipsius conservationi inserviunt, necessario sequuntur atque adeo homo ad eadem agendum determinatus est. Deinde inter appetitum et cupiditatem nulla est differentia nisi quod cupiditas ad homines plerumque referatur quatenus sui appetitus sunt conscii et propterea sic definiri potest nempe cupiditas est appetitus cum ejusdem conscientia. Constat itaque ex his omnibus nihil nos conari, velle, appetere neque

cupere quia id bonum esse judicamus sed contra nos propterea aliquid bonum esse judicare quia id conamur, volumus, appetimus atque cupimus.

PROPOSITIO X : Idea quæ corporis nostri existentiam secludit in nostra mente dari nequit sed eidem est contraria.

DEMONSTRATIO : Quicquid corpus nostrum potest destruere, in eodem dari nequit (per propositionem 5 hujus) adeoque neque ejus rei idea potest in Deo dari quatenus nostri corporis ideam habet (per corollarium propositionis 9 partis II) hoc est (per propositiones 11 et 13 partis II) ejus rei idea in nostra mente dari nequit sed contra quoniam (per propositiones 11 et 13 partis II) primum quod mentis essentiam constituit, est idea corporis actu existentis, primum et præcipuum nostræ mentis conatus est (per propositionem 7 hujus) corporis nostri existentiam affirmare atque adeo idea quæ corporis nostri existentiam negat, nostræ menti est contraria etc. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XI : Quicquid corporis nostri agendi potentiam auget vel minuit, juvat vel coercet, ejusdem rei idea mentis nostræ cogitandi potentiam auget vel minuit, juvat vel coercet.

DEMONSTRATIO : Hæc propositio patet ex propositione 7 partis II vel etiam ex propositione 14 partis II.

SCHOLIUM : Videmus itaque mentem magnas posse pati mutationes et jam ad majorem jam autem ad minorem perfectionem transire, quæ quidem passiones nobis explicant affectus lætitiæ et tristitiæ. Per lætitiā itaque in sequentibus intelligam passionem qua mens ad majorem perfectionem transit. Per tristitiā autem passionem qua ipsa ad minorem transit perfectionem. Porro affectum lætitiæ ad mentem et corpus simul relatum titillationem vel hilaritatem voco, tristitiæ autem dolorem vel melancholiam. Sed notandum titillationem et dolorem ad hominem referri quando una ejus pars præ reliquis est affecta; hilaritatem autem et melancholiam quando omnes pariter sunt affectæ. Quid deinde cupiditas sit in scholio propositionis 9 hujus partis explicui et præter hos tres nullum alium agnosco affectum primarium nam reliquos ex his tribus oriri in sequentibus

ostendam. Sed antequam ulterius pergam, lubet hic fusius propositionem 10 hujus partis explicare ut clarius intelligatur qua ratione idea ideæ sit contraria.

In scholio propositionis 17 partis II ostendimus ideam quæ mentis essentiam constituit, corporis existentiam tamdiu involvere quamdiu ipsum corpus existit. Deinde ex iis quæ in corollario propositionis 8 partis II et in ejusdem scholio ostendimus, sequitur præsentem nostræ mentis existentiam ab hoc solo pendere quod scilicet mens actualement corporis existentiam involvit. Denique mentis potentiam qua ipsa res imaginatur earumque recordatur, ab hoc etiam pendere ostendimus (vide propositiones 17 et 18 partis II cum ejus scholio) quod ipsa actualement corporis existentiam involvit. Ex quibus sequitur mentis præsentem existentiam ejusque imaginandi potentiam tolli simulatque mens præsentem corporis existentiam affirmare desinit. At causa cur mens hanc corporis existentiam affirmare desinit, non potest esse ipsa mens (per propositionem 4 hujus) nec etiam quod corpus esse desinit. Nam (per propositionem 6 partis II) causa cur mens corporis existentiam affirmat, non est quia corpus existere incepit : quare per eandem rationem nec ipsius corporis existentiam affirmare desinit quia corpus esse desinit sed (per propositionem 8 partis II) hoc ab alia idea oritur quæ nostri corporis et consequenter nostræ mentis præsentem existentiam secludit quæque adeo ideæ quæ nostræ mentis essentiam constituit, est contraria.

PROPOSITIO XII : Mens quantum potest ea imaginari conatur quæ corporis agendi potentiam augment vel juvant.

DEMONSTRATIO : Quamdiu humanum corpus affectum est modo qui naturam corporis alicujus externi involvit tamdiu mens humana idem corpus ut præsens contemplabitur (per propositionem 17 partis II) et consequenter (per propositionem 7 partis II) quamdiu mens aliquod externum corpus ut præsens contemplatur hoc est (per ejusdem propositionis 17 scholium) imaginatur tamdiu humanum corpus affectum est modo qui naturam ejusdem corporis externi involvit atque adeo quamdiu mens ea imaginatur quæ corporis nostri agendi potentiam augment vel juvant tamdiu corpus affectum est modis qui ejusdem agendi potentiam augment vel juvant (vide postulatum 1 hujus) et consequenter (per

propositionem 11 hujus) tamdiu mentis cogitandi potentia augetur vel juvatur ac proinde (per propositionem 6 vel 9 hujus) mens quantum potest eadem imaginari conatur. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XIII : Cum mens ea imaginatur quæ corporis agendi potentiam minuunt vel coercent, conatur quantum potest rerum recordari quæ horum existentiam secludunt.

DEMONSTRATIO : Quamdiu mens quicquam tale imaginatur tamdiu mentis et corporis potentia minuitur vel coercentur (ut in præcedenti propositione demonstravimus) et nihilominus id tamdiu imaginabitur donec mens aliud imaginetur quod hujus præsentem existentiam secludat (per propositionem 17 partis II) hoc est (ut modo ostendimus) mentis et corporis potentia tamdiu minuitur vel coercentur donec mens aliud imaginetur quod hujus existentiam secludit quodque adeo mens (per propositionem 9 hujus) quantum potest imaginari vel recordari conabitur. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Hinc sequitur quod mens ea imaginari aversatur quæ ipsius et corporis potentiam minuunt vel coercent.

SCHOLIUM : Ex his clare intelligimus quid amor quidque odium sit. Nempe amor nihil aliud est quam lætitia concomitante idea causæ externæ et odium nihil aliud quam tristitia concomitante idea causæ externæ. Videmus deinde quod ille qui amat necessario conatur rem quam amat præsentem habere et conservare et contra qui odit, rem quam odio habet, amovere et destruere conatur. Sed de his omnibus in sequentibus prolixius.

PROPOSITIO XIV : Si mens duobus affectibus simul affecta semel fuit, ubi postea eorum alterutro afficietur, afficietur etiam altero.

DEMONSTRATIO : Si corpus humanum a duobus corporibus simul affectum semel fuit, ubi mens postea eorum alterutrum imaginatur, statim et alterius recordabitur (per propositionem 18 partis II). At mentis imaginationes magis nostri corporis affectus quam corporum externorum naturam indicant (per corollarium II propositionis 16 partis II) : ergo si corpus et consequenter mens

(vide definitionem 3 hujus) duobus affectibus semel affecta fuit, ubi postea eorum alterutro afficietur, afficietur etiam altero. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XV : Res quæcunque potest esse per accidens causa lætitiæ, tristitiæ vel cupiditatis.

DEMONSTRATIO : Ponatur mens duobus affectibus simul affici, uno scilicet qui ejus agendi potentiam neque auget neque minuit et altero qui eandem vel auget vel minuit (vide postulatum 1 hujus). Ex præcedenti propositione patet quod ubi mens postea illo a sua vera causa quæ (per hypothesin) per se ejus cogitandi potentiam nec auget nec minuit, afficietur, statim et hoc altero qui ipsius cogitandi potentiam auget vel minuit hoc est (per scholium propositionis 11 hujus) lætitia vel tristitia afficietur atque adeo illa res non per se sed per accidens causa erit lætitiæ vel tristitiæ. Atque hac eadem via facile ostendi potest rem illam posse per accidens causam esse cupiditatis. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Ex eo solo quod rem aliquam affectu lætitiæ vel tristitiæ cujus ipsa non est causa efficiens, contemplati sumus, eandem amare vel odio habere possumus.

DEMONSTRATIO : Nam ex hoc solo fit (per propositionem 14 hujus) ut mens hanc rem postea imaginando affectu lætitiæ vel tristitiæ afficiatur hoc est (per scholium propositionis 11 hujus) ut mentis et corporis potentia augeatur vel minuatur etc. Et consequenter (per propositionem 12 hujus) ut mens eandem imaginari cupiat vel (per corollarium propositionis 13 hujus) aversetur hoc est (per scholium propositionis 13 hujus) ut eandem amet vel odio habeat. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Hinc intelligimus qui fieri potest ut quædam amemus vel odio habeamus absque ulla causa nobis cognita sed tantum ex sympathia (ut aiunt) et antipathia. Atque huc referenda etiam ea objecta quæ nos lætitia vel tristitia afficiunt ex eo solo quod aliquid simile habent objectis quæ nos iisdem affectibus afficere solent ut in sequentibus propositionibus ostendam. Scio equidem auctores qui primi hæc nomina sympathiæ et antipathiæ introduxerunt, significare iisdem voluisse rerum occultas quasdam qualitates sed nihilominus credo nobis licere per eadem notas vel manifestas etiam qualitates intelligere.

PROPOSITIO XVI : Ex eo solo quod rem aliquam aliquid habere imaginamur simile objecto quod mentem lætitia vel tristitia afficere solet, quamvis id in quo res objecto est similis, non sit horum affectuum efficiens causa, eam tamen amabimus vel odio habebimus.

DEMONSTRATIO : Id quod simile est objecto, in ipso objecto (per hypothesin) cum affectu lætitiae vel tristitiae contemplati sumus atque adeo (per propositionem 14 hujus) cum mens ejus imagine afficietur, statim etiam hoc vel illo afficietur affectu et consequenter res quam hoc idem habere percipimus, erit (per propositionem 15 hujus) per accidens lætitiae vel tristitiae causa adeoque (per præcedens corollarium) quamvis id in quo objecto est similis, non sit horum affectuum causa efficiens, eam tamen amabimus vel odio habebimus. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XVII : Si rem quæ nos tristitiae affectu afficere solet, aliquid habere imaginamur simile alteri quæ nos æque magno lætitiae affectu solet afficere, eandem odio habebimus et simul amabimus.

DEMONSTRATIO : Est enim (per hypothesin) hæc res per se tristitiae causa et (per scholium propositionis 13 hujus) quatenus eandem hoc affectu imaginamur, eandem odio habemus et quatenus præterea aliquid habere imaginamur simile alteri quæ nos æque magno lætitiae affectu afficere solet, æque magno lætitiae conamine amabimus (per propositionem præcedentem) atque adeo eandem odio habebimus et simul amabimus. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Hæc mentis constitutio quæ scilicet ex duobus contrariis affectibus oritur, animi vocatur fluctuatio, quæ proinde affectum respicit ut dubitatio imaginationem (vide scholium propositionis 44 partis II) nec animi fluctuatio et dubitatio inter se differunt nisi secundum majus et minus. Sed notandum me in propositione præcedenti has animi fluctuationes ex causis deduxisse quæ per se unius et per accidens alterius affectus sunt causa; quod ideo feci quia sic facilius ex præcedentibus deduci poterant; at non quod negem animi fluctuationes plerumque oriri ab objecto quod utriusque affectus sit efficiens causa. Nam corpus humanum (per postulatum 1 partis II) ex plurimis diversæ naturæ individuis componitur atque adeo (per axioma 1 post lemma 3, quod vide

post propositionem 13 partis II) ab uno eodemque corpore plurimis diversisque modis potest affici et contra quia una eademque res multis modis potest affici, multis ergo etiam diversisque modis unam eandemque corporis partem afficere poterit. Ex quibus facile concipere possumus unum idemque objectum posse esse causam multorum contrariorumque affectuum.

PROPOSITIO XVIII : Homo ex imagine rei præteritæ aut futuræ eodem lætitiæ et tristitiæ affectu afficitur ac ex imagine rei præsentis.

DEMONSTRATIO : Quamdiu homo rei alicujus imagine affectus est, rem ut præsentem tametsi non existat, contemplabitur (per propositionem 17 partis II cum ejusdem corollario) nec ipsam ut præteritam aut futuram imaginatur nisi quatenus ejus imago juncta est imagini temporis præteriti aut futuri (vide scholium propositionis 44 partis II). Quare rei imago in se sola considerata eadem est sive ad tempus futurum vel præteritum sive ad præsens referatur hoc est (per corollarium II propositionis 16 partis II) corporis constitutio seu affectus idem est sive imago sit rei præteritæ vel futuræ sive præsentis atque adeo affectus lætitiæ et tristitiæ idem est sive imago sit rei præteritæ aut futuræ sive præsentis. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM I : Rem eatenus præteritam aut futuram hic voco quatenus ab eadem affecti fuimus aut afficiemur exempli gratia quatenus ipsam vidimus aut videbimus, nos refecit aut reficiet, nos læsit aut lædet etc. Quatenus enim eandem sic imaginamur eatenus ejus existentiam affirmamus hoc est corpus nullo affectu afficitur qui rei existentiam secludat atque adeo (per propositionem 17 partis II) corpus ejusdem rei imagine eodem modo afficitur ac si res ipsa præsens adesset. Verumenimvero quia plerumque fit ut ii qui plura sunt experti, fluctuent quamdiu rem ut futuram vel præteritam contemplantur deque rei eventu ut plurimum dubitent (vide scholium propositionis 44 partis II) hinc fit ut affectus qui ex similibus rerum imaginibus oriuntur, non sint adeo constantes sed ut plerumque aliarum rerum imaginibus perturbentur donec homines de rei eventu certiores fiant.

SCHOLIUM II : Ex modo dictis intelligimus quid sit spes, metus, securitas, desperatio, gaudium et conscientiae morsus. Spes namque nihil aliud est quam

inconstans lætitia orta ex imagine rei futuræ vel præteritæ de cuius eventu dubitamus, metus contra inconstans tristitia ex rei dubiæ imagine etiam orta. Porro si horum affectuum dubitatio tollatur, ex spe sit securitas et ex metu desperatio nempe lætitia vel tristitia orta ex imagine rei quam metuimus vel speravimus. Gaudium deinde est lætitia orta ex imagine rei præteritæ de cuius eventu dubitavimus. Conscientiæ denique morsus est tristitia opposita gaudio.

PROPOSITIO XIX : Qui id quod amat destrui imaginatur, contristabitur; si contra autem conservari, lætabitur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Mens quantum potest ea imaginari conatur quæ corporis agendi potentiam augent vel juvant (per propositionem 12 hujus) hoc est (per scholium propositionis 13 hujus) ea quæ amat. At imaginatio ab iis juvatur quæ rei existentiam ponunt et contra coercetur iis quæ rei existentiam secludunt (per propositionem 17 partis II); ergo rerum imagines quæ rei existentiam ponunt, mentis conatum quo rem amatam imaginari conatur, juvant hoc est (per scholium propositionis 11 hujus) lætitia mentem afficiunt et quæ contra rei amatae existentiam secludunt, eundem mentis conatum coercent hoc est (per idem scholium) tristitia mentem afficiunt. Qui itaque id quod amat destrui imaginatur, contristabitur, etc. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XX : Qui id quod odio habet, destrui imaginatur, lætabitur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Mens (per 13 propositionem hujus) ea imaginari conatur quæ rerum existentiam quibus corporis agendi potentia minuitur vel coercetur, secludunt hoc est (per scholium ejusdem propositionis) ea imaginari conatur quæ rerum quas odio habet, existentiam secludunt atque adeo rei imago quæ existentiam ejus quod mens odio habet, secludit, hunc mentis conatum juvat hoc est (per scholium propositionis 11 hujus) mentem lætitia afficit. Qui itaque id quod odio habet, destrui imaginatur, lætabitur. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXI : Qui id quod amat lætitia vel tristitia affectum imaginatur, lætitia etiam vel tristitia afficietur et uterque hic affectus major aut minor erit in amante prout uterque major aut minor est in re amata.

DEMONSTRATIO : Rerum imagines (ut in propositione 19 hujus demonstravimus) quæ rei amatae existentiam ponunt, mentis conatum quo ipsam rem amatam imaginari conatur, juvant. Sed lætitia existentiam rei lætæ ponit et eo magis quo lætitiae affectus major est : est enim (per scholium propositionis 11 hujus) transitio ad majorem perfectionem : ergo imago lætitiae rei amatae in amante ipsius mentis conatum juvat hoc est (per scholium propositionis 11 hujus) amantem lætitia afficit et eo majore quo major hic affectus in re amata fuerit. Quod erat primum. Deinde quatenus res aliqua tristitia afficitur eatenus destruitur et eo magis quo majore afficitur tristitia (per idem scholium propositionis 11 hujus) adeoque (per propositionem 19 hujus) qui id quod amat tristitia affici imaginatur, tristitia etiam afficietur et eo majore quo major hic affectus in re amata fuerit. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXII : Si aliquem imaginamur lætitia afficere rem quam amamus, amore erga eum afficiemur. Si contra eundem imaginamur tristitia eandem afficere, contra odio etiam contra ipsum afficiemur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Qui rem quam amamus lætitia vel tristitia afficit, ille nos lætitia vel tristitia etiam afficit si nimirum rem amatam lætitia illa vel tristitia affectam imaginamur (per præcedentem propositionem). At hæc lætitia vel tristitia in nobis supponitur dari concomitante idea causæ externæ; ergo (per scholium propositionis 13 hujus) si aliquem imaginamur lætitia vel tristitia afficere rem quam amamus, erga eundem amore vel odio afficiemur. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Propositio 21 nobis explicat quid sit commiseratio quam definire possumus quod sit tristitia orta ex alterius damno. Quo autem nomine appellanda sit lætitia quæ ex alterius bono oritur, nescio. Porro amorem erga illum qui alteri bene fecit, favorem et contra odium erga illum qui alteri male fecit, indignationem appellabimus. Denique notandum nos non tantum misereri rei quam amavimus (ut in propositione 21 ostendimus) sed etiam ejus quam antea nullo affectu persecuti sumus modo eam nobis similem judicemus (ut infra ostendam) atque adeo ei etiam favere qui simili bene fecit et contra in eum indignari qui simili damnum intulit.

PROPOSITIO XXIII : Qui id quod odio habet, tristitia affectum imaginatur, lætabitur; si contra idem lætitia affectum esse imaginetur, contristabitur et uterque hic affectus major aut minor erit prout ejus contrarius major aut minor est in eo quod odio habet.

DEMONSTRATIO : Quatenus res odiosa tristitia afficitur eatenus destruitur et eo magis quo majore tristitia afficitur (per scholium propositionis 11 hujus). Qui igitur (per propositionem 20 hujus) rem quam odio habet, tristitia affici imaginatur, lætitia contra afficietur et eo majore quo majore tristitia rem odiosam affectam esse imaginatur; quod erat primum. Deinde lætitia existentiam rei lætæ ponit (per idem scholium propositionis 11 hujus) et eo magis quo major lætitia concipitur. Si quis eum quem odio habet, lætitia affectum imaginatur, hæc imaginatio (per propositionem 13 hujus) ejusdem conatum coercebit hoc est (per scholium propositionis 11 hujus) is qui odio habet, tristitia afficietur etc. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Hæc lætitia vix solida et absque ullo animi conflictu esse potest. Nam (ut statim in propositione 27 hujus ostendam) quatenus rem sibi similem tristitiæ affectu affici imaginatur eatenus contristari debet et contra si eandem lætitia affici imaginetur. Sed hic ad solum odium attendimus.

PROPOSITIO XXIV : Si aliquem imaginamur lætitia afficere rem quam odio habemus, odio etiam erga eum afficiemur. Si contra eundem imaginamur tristitia eandem rem afficere, amore erga ipsum afficiemur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Demonstratur eodem modo hæc propositio ac propositio 22 hujus, quam vide.

SCHOLIUM : Hi et similes odii affectus ad invidiam referuntur, quæ propterea nihil aliud est quam ipsum odium quatenus id consideratur hominem ita disponere ut malo alterius gaudeat et contra ut ejusdem bono contristetur.

PROPOSITIO XXV : Id omne de nobis deque re amata affirmare conamur quod nos vel rem amatam lætitia afficere imaginamur et contra id omne negare quod nos vel rem amatam tristitia afficere imaginamur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Quod rem amatam lætitia vel tristitia afficere imaginamur, id nos lætitia vel tristitia afficit (per propositionem 21 hujus). At

mens (per propositionem 12 hujus) ea quæ nos lætitia afficiunt, quantum potest conatur imaginari hoc est (per propositionem 17 partis II et ejus corollarium) ut præsentia contemplari et contra (per propositionem 13 hujus) quæ nos tristitia afficiunt, eorum existentiam secludere; ergo id omne de nobis deque re amata affirmare conamur quod nos vel rem amatam lætitia afficere imaginamur et contra. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXVI : Id omne de re quam odio habemus, affirmare conamur quod ipsam tristitia afficere imaginamur et id contra negare quod ipsam lætitia afficere imaginamur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Sequitur hæc propositio ex propositione 23 ut præcedens ex propositione 21 hujus.

SCHOLIUM : His videmus facile contingere ut homo de se deque re amata plus justo et contra de re quam odit, minus justo sentiat, quæ quidem imaginatio quando ipsum hominem respicit qui de se plus justo sentit, superbia vocatur et species delirii est quia homo oculis apertis somniat se omnia illa posse quæ sola imaginatione assequitur quæque propterea veluti realia contemplatur iisque exultat quamdiu ea imaginari non potest quæ horum existentiam secludunt et ipsius agendi potentiam determinant. Est igitur superbia lætitia ex eo orta quod homo de se plus justo sentit. Deinde lætitia quæ ex eo oritur quod homo de alio plus justo sentit, existimatio vocatur et illa denique despectus quæ ex eo oritur quod de alio minus justo sentit.

PROPOSITIO XXVII : Ex eo quod rem nobis similem et quam nullo affectu persecuti sumus, aliquo affectu affici imaginamur, eo ipso simili affectu afficimur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Rerum imagines sunt corporis humani affectiones quarum ideæ corpora externa veluti nobis præsentia repræsentant (per scholium propositionis 17 partis II) hoc est (per propositionem 16 partis II) quarum ideæ naturam nostri corporis et simul præsentem externi corporis naturam involvunt. Si igitur corporis externi natura similis sit naturæ nostri corporis, tum idea corporis externi quod imaginamur affectionem nostri corporis involvet similem affectioni corporis externi et consequenter si aliquem nobis similem aliquo affectu affectum

imaginamur, hæc imaginatio affectionem nostri corporis huic affectui similem exprimet adeoque ex hoc quod rem aliquam nobis similem aliquo affectu affici imaginamur, simili cum ipsa affectu afficimur. Quod si rem nobis similem odio habeamus, eatenus (per propositionem 23 hujus) contrario affectu cum ipsa afficiemur, non autem simili. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Hæc affectuum imitatio quando ad tristitiam refertur, vocatur commiseratio (de qua vide scholium propositionis 22 hujus) sed ad cupiditatem relata æmulatio, quæ proinde nihil aliud est quam alicujus rei cupiditas quæ in nobis ingeneratur ex eo quod alios nobis similes eandem cupiditatem habere imaginamur.

COROLLARIUM I : Si aliquem quem nullo affectu persecuti sumus, imaginamur lætitia afficere rem nobis similem, amore erga eundem afficiemur. Si contra eundem imaginamur eandem tristitia afficere, odio erga ipsum afficiemur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Hoc eodem modo ex propositione præcedenti demonstratur ac propositio 22 hujus ex propositione 21.

COROLLARIUM II : Rem cujus nos miseret, odio habere non possumus ex eo quod ipsius miseria nos tristitia afficit.

DEMONSTRATIO : Si enim ex eo nos eandem odio habere possemus, tum (per propositionem 23 hujus) ex ipsius tristitia lætaremur, quod est contra hypothesin.

COROLLARIUM III : Rem cujus nos miseret, a miseria quantum possumus liberare conabimur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Id quod rem cujus nos miseret, tristitia afficit, nos simili etiam tristitia afficit (per propositionem præcedentem) adeoque omne id quod ejus rei existentiam tollit sive quod rem destruit, comminisci conabimur (per propositionem 13 hujus) hoc est (per scholium propositionis 9 hujus) id destruere appetemus sive ad id destruendum determinabimur atque adeo rem cujus miseremur, a sua miseria liberare conabimur. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Hæc voluntas sive appetitus benefaciendi qui ex eo oritur quod rei in quam beneficium conferre volumus, nos miseret, benevolentia vocatur, quæ

proinde nihil aliud est quam cupiditas ex commiseratione orta. Cæterum de amore et odio erga illum qui rei quam nobis similem esse imaginamur, bene aut male fecit, vide scholium propositionis 22 hujus.

PROPOSITIO XXVIII : Id omne quod ad lætitiā conducere imaginamur, conamur promovere ut fiat; quod vero eidem repugnare sive ad tristitiā conducere imaginamur, amovere vel destruere conamur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Quod ad lætitiā conducere imaginamur, quantum possumus imaginari conamur (per propositionem 12 hujus) hoc est (per propositionem 17 partis II) id quantum possumus conabimur ut præsens sive ut actu existens contemplari. Sed mentis conatus seu potentia in cogitando æqualis et simul natura est cum corporis conatu seu potentia in agendo (ut clare sequitur ex corollario propositionis 7 et corollario propositionis 11 partis II) : ergo ut id existat absolute conamur sive (quod per scholium propositionis 9 hujus idem est) appetimus et intendimus; quod erat primum. Deinde si id quod tristitiæ causam esse credimus hoc est (per scholium propositionis 13 hujus) si id quod odio habemus, destrui imaginamur, lætabimur (per propositionem 20 hujus) adeoque idem (per primam hujus partem) conabimur destruere sive (per propositionem 13 hujus) a nobis amovere ne ipsum ut præsens contemplemur, quod erat secundum. Ergo id omne quod ad lætitiā etc. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXIX : Nos id omne etiam agere conabimur quod homines cum lætitiā aspicere imaginamur et contra id agere aversabimur quod homines aversari imaginamur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Ex eo quod imaginamur homines aliquid amare vel odio habere, nos idem amabimus vel odio habebimus (per propositionem 27 hujus) hoc est (per scholium propositionis 13 hujus) eo ipso ejus rei præsentia lætabimur vel contristabimur adeoque (per præcedentem propositionem) id omne quod homines amare sive cum lætitiā aspicere imaginamur, conabimur agere etc. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Hic conatus aliquid agendi et etiam omittendi ea sola de causa ut hominibus placeamus, vocatur ambitio præsertim quando adeo impense vulgo placere conamur ut cum nostro aut alterius damno quædam agamus vel

omittamus; alias humanitas appellari solet. Deinde lætitiam qua alterius actionem qua nos conatus est delectari, imaginamur, laudem voco; tristitiam vero qua contra ejusdem actionem aversamur, vituperium voco.

PROPOSITIO XXX : Si quis aliquid egit quod reliquos lætitia afficere imaginatur, is lætitia concomitante idea sui tanquam causa afficietur sive se ipsum cum lætitia contemplabitur. Si contra aliquid egit quod reliquos tristitia afficere imaginatur, se ipsum cum tristitia contra contemplabitur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Qui se reliquos lætitia vel tristitia afficere imaginatur, eo ipso (per propositionem 27 hujus) lætitia vel tristitia afficietur. Cum autem homo (per propositiones 19 et 23 partis II) sui sit conscius per affectiones quibus ad agendum determinatur, ergo qui aliquid egit quod ipse imaginatur reliquos lætitia afficere, lætitia cum conscientia sui tanquam causa afficietur sive seipsum cum lætitia contemplabitur et contra. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Cum amor (per scholium propositionis 13 hujus) sit lætitia concomitante idea causæ externæ et odium tristitia concomitante etiam idea causæ externæ, erit ergo hæc lætitia et tristitia amoris et odii species. Sed quia amor et odium ad objecta externa referuntur, ideo hos affectus aliis nominibus significabimus nempe lætitiam concomitante idea causæ internæ gloriam et tristitiam huic contrariam pudorem appellabimus : intellige quando lætitia vel tristitia ex eo oritur quod homo se laudari vel vituperari credit, alias lætitiam concomitante idea causæ internæ acquiescentiam in se ipso, tristitiam vero eidem contrariam pœnitentiam vocabo. Deinde quia (per corollarium propositionis 17 partis II) fieri potest ut lætitia qua aliquis se reliquos afficere imaginatur, imaginaria tantum sit et (per propositionem 25 hujus) unusquisque de se id omne conatur imaginari quod se lætitia afficere imaginatur, facile ergo fieri potest ut gloriosus superbus sit et se omnibus gratum esse imagnetur quando omnibus molestus est.

PROPOSITIO XXXI : Si aliquem imaginamur amare vel cupere vel odio habere aliquid quod ipsi amamus, cupimus vel odio habemus, eo ipso rem

constantius amabimus, etc. Si autem id quod amamus, eum aversari imaginamur vel contra, tum animi fluctuationem patiemur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Ex eo solo quod aliquem aliquid amare imaginamur, eo ipso idem amabimus (per propositionem 27 hujus). At sine hoc nos idem amare supponimus; accedit ergo amoris nova causa a qua fovetur atque adeo id quod amamus hoc ipso constantius amabimus. Deinde ex eo quod aliquem aliquid aversari imaginamur, idem aversabimur (per eandem propositionem). At si supponamus nos eodem tempore id ipsum amare, eodem ergo tempore hoc idem amabimus et aversabimur sive (vide scholium propositionis 17 hujus) animi fluctuationem patiemur. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Hinc et ex propositione 28 hujus sequitur unumquemque quantum potest conari ut unusquisque id quod ipse amat, amet et quod ipse odit, odio etiam habeat; unde illud poetæ: Speremus pariter, pariter metuamus amantes; Ferreus est si quis quod sinit alter, amat.

SCHOLIUM : Hic conatus efficiendi ut unusquisque probet id quod ipse amat vel odio habet, revera est ambitio (vide scholium propositionis 29 hujus) atque adeo videmus unumquemque ex natura appetere ut reliqui ex ipsius ingenio vivant, quod dum omnes pariter appetunt, pariter sibi impedimento et dum omnes ab omnibus laudari seu amari volunt, odio invicem sunt.

PROPOSITIO XXXII : Si aliquem re aliqua qua unus solus potiri potest, gaudere imaginamur, conabimur efficere ne ille illa re potiatur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Ex eo solo quod aliquem re aliqua gaudere imaginamur (per propositionem 27 hujus cum ejusdem I corollario) rem illam amabimus eaque gaudere cupiemus. At (per hypothesin) huic lætitiæ obstare imaginamur quod ille eadem hac re gaudeat; ergo (per propositionem 28 hujus) ne ille eadem potiatur, conabimur. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Videmus itaque cum hominum natura plerumque ita comparatum esse ut eorum quibus male est, misereantur et quibus bene est, invideant et (per propositionem præcedentem) eo majore odio quo rem qua alium potiri imaginantur, magis amant. Videmus deinde ex eadem naturæ humanæ

proprietate ex qua sequitur homines esse misericordes, sequi etiam eosdem esse invidios et ambitiosos. Denique si ipsam experientiam consulere velimus, ipsam hæc omnia docere experiemur præsertim si ad priores nostræ ætatis annos attenderimus. Nam pueros quia eorum corpus continuo veluti in æquilibrio est, ex hoc solo ridere vel flere experimur quod alios ridere vel flere vident et quicquid præterea vident alios facere, id imitari statim cupiunt et omnia denique sibi cupiunt quibus alios delectari imaginantur; nimirum quia rerum imagines uti diximus sunt ipsæ humani corporis affectiones sive modi quibus corpus humanum a causis externis afficitur disponiturque ad hoc vel illud agendum.

PROPOSITIO XXXIII : Cum rem nobis similem amamus, conamur quantum possumus efficere ut nos contra amet.

DEMONSTRATIO : Rem quam amamus præ reliquis quantum possumus imaginari conamur (per propositionem 12 hujus). Si igitur res nobis sit similis, ipsam præ reliquis lætitia afficere conabimur (per propositionem 29 hujus) sive conabimur quantum possumus efficere ut res amata lætitia afficiatur concomitante idea nostri hoc est (per scholium propositionis 13 hujus) ut nos contra amet. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXXIV : Quo majore affectu rem amatam erga nos affectam esse imaginamur, eo magis gloriabimur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Nos (per propositionem præcedentem) conamur quantum possumus ut res amata nos contra amet hoc est (per scholium propositionis 13 hujus) ut res amata lætitia afficiatur concomitante idea nostri. Quo itaque rem amatam majore lætitia nostra de causa affectam esse imaginamur, eo magis hic conatus juvatur hoc est (per propositionem 11 hujus cum ejus scholio) eo majore lætitia afficimur. At cum ex eo lætemur quod alium nobis similem lætitia affecimus, tum nosmet cum lætitia contemplamur (per propositionem 30 hujus) : ergo quo majore affectu rem amatam erga nos affectam esse imaginamur, eo majore lætitia nosmet contemplabimur sive (per scholium propositionis 30 hujus) eo magis gloriabimur. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXXV : Si quis imaginatur rem amatam eodem vel arctiore vinculo amicitiae quo ipse eadem solus potiebatur, alium sibi jungere, odio erga ipsam rem amatam afficietur et illi alteri invidet.

DEMONSTRATIO : Quo quis majore amore rem amatam erga se affectam esse imaginatur, eo magis gloriabitur (per praecedentem propositionem) hoc est (per scholium propositionis 30 hujus) laetabitur adeoque (per propositionem 28 hujus) conabitur quantum potest imaginari rem amatam ipsi quam arctissime devinctam, qui quidem conatus sive appetitus fomentatur si alium idem sibi cupere imaginatur (per propositionem 31 hujus). At hic conatus sive appetitus ab ipsius rei amatae imagine, concomitante imagine illius quem res amata sibi jungit, coerceri supponitur; ergo (per scholium propositionis 11 hujus) eo ipso tristitia afficietur concomitante idea rei amatae tanquam causa et simul imagine alterius hoc est (per scholium propositionis 13 hujus) odio erga rem amatam afficietur et simul erga illum alterum (per corollarium propositionis 15 hujus) cui propterea (per propositionem 23 hujus) quod re amata delectatur, invidet. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Hoc odium erga rem amatam invidiae junctum zelotypia vocatur, quae proinde nihil aliud est quam animi fluctuatio orta ex amore et odio simul concomitante idea alterius cui invidetur. Praeterea hoc odium erga rem amatam majus erit pro ratione laetitiae qua zelotypus ex reciproco rei amatae amore solebat affici et etiam pro ratione affectus quo erga illum quem sibi rem amatam jungere imaginatur, affectus erat. Nam si eum oderat, eo ipso rem amatam (per propositionem 24 hujus) odio habebit quia ipsam id quod ipse odio habet, laetitia afficere imaginatur et etiam (per corollarium propositionis 15 hujus) ex eo quod rei amatae imaginem imagini ejus quem odit, jungere cogitur, quae ratio plerumque locum habet in amore erga faeminam; qui enim imaginatur mulierem quam amat alteri sese prostituere, non solum ex eo quod ipsius appetitus coercetur, contristabitur sed etiam quia rei amatae imaginem pudendis et excrementis alterius jungere cogitur, eandem aversatur; ad quod denique accedit quod zelotypus non eodem vultu quem res amata ei praebere solebat, ab eadem excipitur, qua etiam de causa amans contristatur, ut jam ostendam.

PROPOSITIO XXXVI : Qui rei qua semel delectatus est, recordatur, cupit eadem cum iisdem potiri circumstantiis ac cum primo ipsa delectatus est.

DEMONSTRATIO : Quicquid homo simul cum re quæ ipsum delectavit, vidit, id omne (per propositionem 15 hujus) erit per accidens lætitiæ causa adeoque (per propositionem 28 hujus) omni eo simul cum re quæ ipsum delectavit, potiri cupiet sive re cum omnibus iisdem circumstantiis potiri cupiet ac cum primo eadem delectatus est. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Si itaque unam ex iis circumstantiis deficere comperit, amans contristabitur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Nam quatenus aliquam circumstantiam deficere comperit eatenus aliquid imaginatur quod ejus rei existentiam secludit. Cum autem ejus rei sive circumstantiæ (per propositionem præcedentem) sit præ amore cupidus, ergo (per propositionem 19 hujus) quatenus eandem deficere imaginatur, contristabitur. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Hæc tristitia quatenus absentiam ejus quod amamus, respicit, desiderium vocatur.

PROPOSITIO XXXVII : Cupiditas quæ præ tristitia vel lætitia præque odio vel amore oritur, eo est major quo affectus major est.

DEMONSTRATIO : Tristitia hominis agendi potentiam (per scholium propositionis 11 hujus) minuit vel coercet hoc est (per propositionem 7 hujus) conatum quo homo in suo esse perseverare conatur, minuit vel coercet adeoque (per propositionem 5 hujus) huic conatui est contraria et quicquid homo tristitia affectus conatur, est tristitiam amovere. At (per tristitiæ definitionem) quo tristitia major est, eo majori parti hominis agendi potentiæ necesse est opponi; ergo quo major tristitia est, eo majore agendi potentia conabitur homo contra tristitiam amovere hoc est (per scholium propositionis 9 hujus) eo majore cupiditate sive appetitu conabitur tristitiam amovere. Deinde quoniam lætitia (per idem scholium propositionis 11 hujus) hominis agendi potentiam auget vel juvat, facile eadem via demonstratur quod homo lætitia affectus nihil aliud cupit quam eandem conservare idque eo majore cupiditate quo lætitia major erit. Denique quoniam

odium et amor sunt ipsi tristitiæ vel lætitiæ affectus, sequitur eodem modo quod conatus, appetitus sive cupiditas quæ præ odio vel amore oritur, major erit pro ratione odii et amoris. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXXVIII : Si quis rem amatam odio habere inceperit ita ut amor plane aboleatur, eandem majore odio ex pari causa prosequetur quam si ipsam nunquam amavisset et eo majore quo amor antea major fuerat.

DEMONSTRATIO : Nam si quis rem quam amat, odio habere incipit, plures ejus appetitus coercentur quam si eandem non amavisset. Amor namque lætitia est (per scholium propositionis 13 hujus) quam homo quantum potest (per propositionem 28 hujus) conservare conatur idque (per idem scholium) rem amatam ut præsentem contemplando eandemque (per propositionem 21 hujus) lætitia quantum potest afficiendo, qui quidem conatus (per propositionem præcedentem) eo est major quo amor major est ut et conatus efficiendi ut res amata ipsum contra amet (vide propositionem 33 hujus). At hi conatus odio erga rem amatam coercentur (per corollarium propositionis 13 et per propositionem 23 hujus); ergo amans (per scholium propositionis 11 hujus) hac etiam de causa tristitia afficietur et eo majore quo amor major fuerat hoc est præter tristitiam quæ odii fuit causa, alia ex eo oritur quod rem amavit et consequenter majore tristitiæ affectu rem amatam contemplabitur hoc est (per scholium propositionis 13 hujus) majore odio prosequetur quam si eandem non amavisset et eo majore quo amor major fuerat. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXXIX : Qui aliquem odio habet, ei malum inferre conabitur nisi ex eo majus sibi malum oriri timeat et contra qui aliquem amat, ei eadem lege benefacere conabitur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Aliquem odio habere est (per scholium propositionis 13 hujus) aliquem ut tristitiæ causam imaginari adeoque (per propositionem 28 hujus) is qui aliquem odio habet, eundem amovere vel destruere conabitur. Sed si inde aliquid tristius sive (quod idem est) majus malum sibi timeat idque se vitare posse credit non inferendo ei quem odit malum quod meditabatur, a malo inferendo (per eandem propositionem 28 hujus) abstinere cupiet idque (per

propositionem 37 hujus) majore conatu quam quo tenebatur inferendi malum, qui propterea prævalebit, ut volebamus. Secundæ partis demonstratio eodem modo procedit. Ergo qui aliquem odio habet etc. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Per bonum hic intelligo omne genus lætitiæ et quicquid porro ad eandem conducit et præcipue id quod desiderio qualecunque illud sit, satisfacit. Per malum autem omne tristitiæ genus et præcipue id quod desiderium frustratur. Supra enim (in scholio propositionis 9 hujus) ostendimus nos nihil cupere quia id bonum esse judicamus sed contra id bonum vocamus quod cupimus et consequenter id quod aversamur malum appellamus; quare unusquisque ex suo affectu judicat seu æstimat quid bonum, quid malum, quid melius, quid pejus et quid denique optimum quidve pessimum sit. Sic avarus argenti copiam optimum, ejus autem inopiam pessimum judicat. Ambitiosus autem nihil æque ac gloriam cupit et contra nihil æque ac pudorem reformidat. Invidio deinde nihil jucundius quam alterius infelicitas et nihil molestius quam aliena felicitas ac sic unusquisque ex suo affectu rem aliquam bonam aut malam, utilem aut inutilem esse judicat. Cæterum hic affectus quo homo ita disponitur ut id quod vult nolit vel ut id quod non vult velit, timor vocatur, qui proinde nihil aliud est quam metus quatenus homo ab eodem disponitur ad malum quod futurum judicat, minore vitandum (vide propositionem 28 hujus). Sed si malum quod timet pudor sit, tum timor appellatur verecundia. Denique si cupiditas malum futurum vitandi coercetur timore alterius mali ita ut quid potius velit, nesciat, tum metus vocatur consternatio præcipue si utrumque malum quod timetur ex maximis sit.

PROPOSITIO XL : Qui se odio haberi ab aliquo imaginatur nec se ullam odii causam illi dedisse credit, eundem odio contra habebit.

DEMONSTRATIO : Qui aliquem odio affectum imaginatur, eo ipso etiam odio afficietur (per propositionem 27 hujus) hoc est (per scholium propositionis 13 hujus) tristitia concomitante idea causæ externæ. At ipse (per hypothesin) nullam hujus tristitiæ causam imaginatur præter illum qui ipsum odio habet; ergo ex hoc

quod se odio haberi ab aliquo imaginatur, tristitia afficietur concomitante idea ejus qui ipsum odio habet sive (per idem scholium) eundem odio habebit. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Quod si se justam odii causam præbuisse imaginatur, tum (per propositionem 30 hujus et ejusdem scholium) pudore afficietur. Sed hoc (per propositionem 25 hujus) raro contingit. Præterea hæc odii reciprocatio oriri etiam potest ex eo quod odium sequatur conatus malum inferendi ei qui odio habetur (per propositionem 39 hujus). Qui igitur se odio haberi ab aliquo imaginatur, eundem alicujus mali sive tristitiæ causam imaginabitur atque adeo tristitia afficietur seu metu concomitante idea ejus qui ipsum odio habet tanquam causa hoc est odio contra afficietur ut supra.

COROLLARIUM I : Qui quem amat odio erga se affectum imaginatur, odio et amore simul conflictabitur. Nam quatenus imaginatur ab eodem se odio haberi, determinatur (per propositionem præcedentem) ad eundem contra odio habendum. At (per hypothesin) ipsum nihilominus amat : ergo odio et amore simul conflictabitur.

COROLLARIUM II : Si aliquis imaginatur ab aliquo quem antea nullo affectu persecutus est, malum aliquod præ odio sibi illatum esse, statim idem malum eidem referre conabitur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Qui aliquem odio erga se affectum esse imaginatur, eum contra (per præcedentem propositionem) odio habebit et (per propositionem 26 hujus) id omne comminisci conabitur quod eundem possit tristitia afficere atque id eidem (per propositionem 39 hujus) inferre studebit. At (per hypothesin) primum quod hujusmodi imaginatur, est malum sibi illatum; ergo idem statim eidem inferre conabitur. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Conatus malum inferendi ei quem odimus ira vocatur; conatus autem malum nobis illatum referendi vindicta appellatur.

PROPOSITIO XLI : Si quis ab aliquo se amari imaginatur nec se ullam ad id causam dedisse credit (quod per corollarium propositionis 15 et per propositionem 16 hujus fieri potest) eundem contra amabit.

DEMONSTRATIO : Hæc propositio eadem via demonstratur ac præcedens. Cujus etiam scholium vide.

SCHOLIUM : Quod si se justam amoris causam præbuisse crediderit, gloriabitur (per propositionem 30 hujus cum ejusdem scholio) quod quidem (per propositionem 25 hujus) frequentius contingit et cujus contrarium evenire diximus quando aliquis ab aliquo se odio haberi imaginatur (vide scholium propositionis præcedentis). Porro hic reciprocus amor et consequenter (per propositionem 39 hujus) conatus benefaciendi ei qui nos amat quique (per eandem propositionem 39 hujus) nobis benefacere conatur, gratia seu gratitudo vocatur atque adeo apparet homines longe paratiores esse ad vindictam quam ad referendum beneficium.

COROLLARIUM : Qui ab eo quem odio habet, se amari imaginatur, odio et amore simul conflictabitur. Quod eadem via qua primum propositionis præcedentis corollarium demonstratur.

SCHOLIUM : Quod si odium prævaluerit, ei a quo amatur malum inferre conabitur, qui quidem affectus crudelitas appellatur præcipue si illum qui amat nullam odii communem causam præbuisse creditur.

PROPOSITIO XLII : Qui in aliquem amore aut spe gloriæ motus beneficium contulit, contristabitur si viderit beneficium ingrato animo accipi.

DEMONSTRATIO : Qui rem aliquam sibi similem amat, conatur quantum potest efficere ut ab ipsa contra ametur (per propositionem 33 hujus). Qui igitur præ amore in aliquem beneficium contulit, id facit desiderio quo tenetur ut contra ametur hoc est (per propositionem 34 hujus) spe gloriæ sive (per scholium propositionis 30 hujus) lætitiæ adeoque (per propositionem 12 hujus) hanc gloriæ causam quantum potest imaginari sive ut actu existentem contemplari conabitur. At (per hypothesin) aliud imaginatur quod ejusdem causæ existentiam secludit : ergo (per propositionem 19 hujus) eo ipso contristabitur. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XLIII : Odium reciproco odio augetur et amore contra deleri potest.

DEMONSTRATIO : Qui eum quem odit, odio contra erga se affectum esse imaginatur, eo ipso (per propositionem 40 hujus) novum odium oritur durante (per hypothesin) adhuc primo. Sed si contra eundem amore erga se affectum esse imaginetur, quatenus hoc imaginatur eatenus (per propositionem 30 hujus) se ipsum cum lætitia contemplatur et eatenus (per propositionem 29 hujus) eidem placere conabitur hoc est (per propositionem 41 hujus) eatenus conatur ipsum odio non habere nullaque tristitia afficere; qui quidem conatus (per propositionem 37 hujus) major vel minor erit pro ratione affectus ex quo oritur atque adeo si major fuerit illo qui ex odio oritur et quo rem quam odit (per propositionem 26 hujus) tristitia afficere conatur, ei prævalebit et odium ex animo delebit. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XLIV : Odium quod amore plane vincitur in amorem transit et amor propterea major est quam si odium non præcessisset.

DEMONSTRATIO : Eodem modo procedit ac propositionis 38 hujus. Nam qui rem quam odit sive quam cum tristitia contemplari solebat, amare incipit, eo ipso quod amat, lætatur et huic lætitiæ quam amor involvit (vide ejus definitionem in scholio propositionis 13 hujus) illa etiam accedit quæ ex eo oritur quod conatus amovendi tristitiam quam odium involvit (ut in propositione 37 hujus ostendimus) prorsus juvatur concomitante idea ejus quem odio habuit tanquam causa.

SCHOLIUM : Quamvis res ita se habeat, nemo tamen conabitur rem aliquam odio habere vel tristitia affici ut majore hac lætitia fruatur hoc est nemo spe damnum recuperandi damnum sibi inferri cupiet nec ægrotare desiderabit spe convalescendi. Nam unusquisque suum esse conservare et tristitiam quantum potest amovere semper conabitur. Quod si contra concipi posset hominem posse cupere aliquem odio habere ut eum postea majore amore prosequatur, tum eundem odio habere semper desiderabit. Nam quo odium majus fuerit, eo amor erit major atque adeo desiderabit semper ut odium magis magisque augeatur et eadem de causa homo magis ac magis ægrotare conabitur ut majore lætitia ex restauranda valetudine postea fruatur atque adeo semper ægrotare conabitur, quod (per propositionem 6 hujus) est absurdum.

PROPOSITIO XLV : Si quis aliquem sibi similem odio in rem sibi similem quam amat, affectum esse imaginatur, eum odio habebit.

DEMONSTRATIO : Nam res amata eum qui ipsam odit, odio contra habet (per propositionem 40 hujus) adeoque amans qui aliquem imaginatur rem amatam odio habere, eo ipso rem amatam odio hoc est (per scholium propositionis 13 hujus) tristitia affectam esse imaginatur et consequenter (per propositionem 21 hujus) contristatur idque concomitante idea ejus qui rem amatam odit tanquam causa hoc est (per scholium propositionis 13 hujus) ipsum odio habebit. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XLVI : Si quis ab aliquo cujusdam classis sive nationis a sua diversæ lætitia vel tristitia affectus fuerit concomitante ejus idea sub nomine universali classis vel nationis tanquam causa, is non tantum illum sed omnes ejusdem classis vel nationis amabit vel odio habebit.

DEMONSTRATIO : Hujus rei demonstratio patet ex propositione 16 hujus partis.

PROPOSITIO XLVII : Lætitia quæ ex eo oritur quod scilicet rem quam odimus destrui aut alio malo affici imaginamur, non oritur absque ulla animi tristitia.

DEMONSTRATIO : Patet ex propositione 27 hujus. Nam quatenus rem nobis similem tristitia affici imaginamur eatenus contristamur.

SCHOLIUM : Potest hæc propositio etiam demonstrari ex corollario propositionis 17 partis II. Quoties enim rei recordamur, quamvis ipsa actu non existat, eandem tamen ut præsentem contemplamur corpusque eodem modo afficitur; quare quatenus rei memoria viget eatenus homo determinatur ad eandem cum tristitia contemplandum; quæ determinatio manente adhuc rei imagine coercetur quidem memoria illarum rerum quæ hujus existentiam secludunt sed non tollitur atque adeo homo eatenus tantum lætatur quatenus hæc determinatio coercetur et hinc fit ut hæc lætitia quæ ex rei quam odimus malo oritur, toties repetatur quoties ejusdem rei recordamur. Nam uti diximus quando ejusdem rei imago excitatur, quia hæc ipsius rei existentiam involvit, hominem determinat ad rem cum eadem tristitia contemplandum qua eandem contemplari solebat cum

ipsa existeret. Sed quia ejusdem rei imagini alias junxit quæ ejusdem existentiam secludunt, ideo hæc ad tristitiam determinatio statim coercetur et homo de novo lætatur et hoc toties quoties hæc repetitio fit. Atque hæc eadem est causa cur homines lætantur quoties alicujus jam præteriti mali recordantur et cur pericula a quibus liberati sunt, narrare gaudeant. Nam ubi aliquod periculum imaginantur, idem veluti adhuc futurum contemplantur et ad id metuendum determinantur, quæ determinatio de novo coercetur idea libertatis quam hujus periculi ideæ junxerunt cum ab eodem liberati sunt quæque eos de novo securos reddit atque adeo de novo lætantur.

PROPOSITIO XLVIII : Amor et odium exempli gratia erga Petrum destruitur si tristitia quam hoc et lætitia quam ille involvit, ideæ alterius causæ jungatur et eatenus uterque diminuitur quatenus imaginamur Petrum non solum fuisse alterutrius causam.

DEMONSTRATIO : Patet ex sola amoris et odii definitione, quam vide in scholio propositionis 13 hujus. Nam propter hoc solum lætitia vocatur amor et tristitia odium erga Petrum quia scilicet Petrus hujus vel illius affectus causa esse consideratur. Hoc itaque prorsus vel ex parte sublato affectus quoque erga Petrum prorsus vel ex parte diminuitur. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XLIX : Amor et odium erga rem quam liberam esse imaginamur, major ex pari causa uterque debet esse quam erga necessariam.

DEMONSTRATIO : Res quam liberam esse imaginamur, debet (per definitionem 7 partis I) per se absque aliis percipi. Si igitur eandem lætitiæ vel tristitiæ causam esse imaginemur, eo ipso (per scholium propositionis 13 hujus) eandem amabimus vel odio habebimus idque (per propositionem præcedentem) summo amore vel odio qui ex dato affectu oriri potest. Sed si rem quæ ejusdem affectus est causa ut necessariam imaginemur, tum (per eandem definitionem 7 partis I) ipsam non solam sed cum aliis ejusdem affectus causam esse imaginabimur atque adeo (per propositionem præcedentem) amor et odium erga ipsam minor erit. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Hinc sequitur homines, quia se liberos esse existimant, majore amore vel odio se invicem prosequi quam alia; ad quod accedit affectuum imitatio, de qua vide propositiones 27, 34, 40 et 43 hujus.

PROPOSITIO L : Res quaecunque potest esse per accidens spei aut metus causa.

DEMONSTRATIO : Hæc propositio eadem via demonstratur qua propositio 15 hujus, quam vide una cum scholio II propositionis 18 hujus.

SCHOLIUM : Res quæ per accidens spei aut metus sunt causæ, bona aut mala omina vocantur. Deinde quatenus hæc eadem omina sunt spei aut metus causa eatenus (per definitionem spei et metus, quam vide in scholio II propositionis 18 hujus) lætitiæ aut tristitiæ sunt causa et consequenter (per corollarium propositionis 15 hujus) eatenus eadem amamus vel odio habemus et (per propositionem 28 hujus) tanquam media ad ea quæ speramus, adhibere vel tanquam obstacula aut metus causas amovere conamur. Præterea ex propositione 25 hujus sequitur nos natura ita esse constitutos ut ea quæ speramus, facile, quæ autem timemus, difficile credamus et ut de iis plus minusve justo sentiamus. Atque ex his ortæ sunt superstitiones quibus homines ubique conflictantur. Cæterum non puto operæ esse pretium animi hic ostendere fluctuationes quæ ex spe et metu oriuntur quandoquidem ex sola horum affectuum definitione sequitur non dari spem sine metu neque metum sine spe (ut fusius suo loco explicabimus) et præterea quandoquidem quatenus aliquid speramus aut metuimus eatenus idem amamus vel odio habemus atque adeo quicquid de amore et odio diximus, facile unusquisque spei et metui applicare poterit.

PROPOSITIO LI : Diversi homines ab uno eodemque objecto diversimode affici possunt et unus idemque homo ab uno eodemque objecto potest diversis temporibus diversimode affici.

DEMONSTRATIO : Corpus humanum (per postulatum 3 partis II) a corporibus externis plurimis modis afficitur. Possunt igitur eodem tempore duo homines diversimode esse affecti atque adeo (per axioma 1 quod est post lemma 3, quod vide post propositionem 13 partis II) ab uno eodemque objecto possunt

diversimode affici. Deinde (per idem postulatum) corpus humanum potest jam hoc jam alio modo esse affectum et consequenter (per idem axioma) ab uno eodemque objecto diversis temporibus diversimode affici. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Videmus itaque fieri posse ut quod hic amat, alter odio habeat et quod hic metuit, alter non metuat et ut unus idemque homo jam amet quod antea oderit et ut jam audeat quod antea timuit etc. Deinde quia unusquisque ex suo affectu judicat quid bonum, quid malum, quid melius et quid pejus sit (vide scholium propositionis 39 hujus) sequitur homines tam judicio quam affectu variare posse et hinc fit ut cum alios aliis comparamus, ex sola affectuum differentia a nobis distinguantur et ut alios intrepidus, alios timidos, alios denique alio nomine appellemus. Exempli gratia illum ego intrepidum vocabo qui malum contemnit quod ego timere soleo et si præterea ad hoc attendam quod ejus cupiditas malum inferendi ei quem odit et benefaciendi ei quem amat, non coercetur timore mali a quo ego contineri soleo, ipsum audacem appellabo. Deinde ille mihi timidus videbitur qui malum timet quod ego contemnere soleo et si insuper ad hoc attendam quod ejus cupiditas coercetur timore mali quod me continere nequit, ipsum pusillanimum esse dicam et sic unusquisque judicabit. Denique ex hac hominis natura et judicii inconstantia ut et quod homo sæpe ex solo affectu de rebus judicat et quod res quas ad lætitiā vel tristitiā facere credit quasque propterea (per propositionem 28 hujus) ut fiant promovere vel amovere conatur, sæpe non nisi imaginariæ sint ut jam taceam alia quæ in II parte ostendimus de rerum incertitudine, facile concipimus hominem posse sæpe in causa esse tam ut contristetur quam ut lætetur sive ut tam tristitia quam lætitia afficiatur concomitante idea sui tanquam causa atque adeo facile intelligimus quid pœnitentia et quid acquiescentia in se ipso sit. Nempe pœnitentia est tristitia concomitante idea sui et acquiescentia in se ipso est lætitia concomitante idea sui tanquam causa et hi affectus vehementissimi sunt quia homines se liberos esse credunt (vide propositionem 49 hujus).

PROPOSITIO LII : Objectum quod simul cum aliis antea vidimus vel quod nihil habere imaginamur nisi quod commune est pluribus, non tamdiu

contemplabimur ac illud quod aliquid singulare habere imaginamur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Simulatque objectum quod cum aliis vidimus, imaginamur, statim et aliorum recordamur (per propositionem 18 partis II, cujus etiam scholium vide) et sic ex unius contemplatione statim in contemplationem alterius incidimus. Atque eadem est ratio objecti quod nihil habere imaginamur nisi quod commune est pluribus. Nam eo ipso supponimus nos nihil in eo contemplari quod antea cum aliis non viderimus. Verum cum supponimus nos in objecto aliquo aliquid singulare quod antea nunquam vidimus, imaginari, nihil aliud dicimus quam quod mens dum illud objectum contemplatur, nullum aliud in se habeat in cuius contemplationem ex contemplatione illius incidere potest atque adeo ad illud solum contemplandum determinata est. Ergo objectum etc. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Hæc mentis affectio sive rei singularis imaginatio quatenus sola in mente versatur, vocatur admiratio, quæ si ab objecto quod timemus moveatur, consternatio dicitur quia mali admiratio hominem suspensum in sola sui contemplatione ita tenet ut de aliis cogitare non valeat quibus illud malum vitare posset. Sed si id quod admiramur sit hominis alicujus prudentia, industria vel aliquid hujusmodi, quia eo ipso hominem nobis longe antecellere contemplamur, tum admiratio vocatur veneratio; alias horror si hominis iram, invidiam etc. admiramur. Deinde si hominis quem amamus prudentiam, industriam etc. admiramur, amor eo ipso (per propositionem 12 hujus) major erit et hunc amorem admirationi sive venerationi junctum devotionem vocamus. Et ad hunc modum concipere etiam possumus odium, spem, securitatem et alios affectus admirationi junctos atque adeo plures affectus deducere poterimus quam qui receptis vocabulis indicari solent. Unde apparet affectuum nomina inventa esse magis ex eorum vulgari usu quam ex eorundem accurata cognitione.

Admirationi opponitur contemptus cujus tamen causa hæc plerumque est quod scilicet ex eo quod aliquem rem aliquam admirari, amare, metuere etc. videmus vel ex eo quod res aliqua primo aspectu apparet similis rebus quas admiramur, amamus, metuimus etc. (per propositionem 15 cum ejus corollario et propositionem 27 hujus) determinamur ad eandem rem admirandum, amandum,

metuendum etc. Sed si ex ipsius rei præsentia vel accuratiore contemplatione, id omne de eadem negare cogamur quod causa admirationis, amoris, metus etc. esse potest, tum mens ex ipsa rei præsentia magis ad ea cogitandum quæ in objecto non sunt quam quæ in ipso sunt, determinata manet cum tamen contra ex objecti præsentia id præcipue cogitare soleat quod in objecto est. Porro sicut devotio ex rei quam amamus admiratione sic irrisio ex rei quam odimus vel metuimus contemptu oritur et dedignatio ex stultitiæ contemptu sicuti veneratio ex admiratione prudentiæ. Possumus denique amorem, spem, gloriam et alios affectus junctos contemptui concipere atque inde alios præterea affectus deducere quos etiam nullo singulari vocabulo ab aliis distinguere solemus.

PROPOSITIO LIII : Cum mens se ipsam suamque agendi potentiam contemplatur, lætatur et eo magis quo se suamque agendi potentiam distinctius imaginatur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Homo se ipsum non cognoscit nisi per affectiones sui corporis earumque ideas (per propositiones 19 et 23 partis II). Cum ergo fit ut mens se ipsam possit contemplari, eo ipso ad majorem perfectionem transire hoc est (per scholium propositionis 11 hujus) lætitia affici supponitur et eo majore quo se suamque agendi potentiam distinctius imaginari potest. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Hæc lætitia magis magisque fovetur quo magis homo se ab aliis laudari imaginatur. Nam quo magis se ab aliis laudari imaginatur eo majore lætitia alios ab ipso affici imaginatur idque concomitante idea sui (per scholium propositionis 29 hujus) atque adeo (per propositionem 27 hujus) ipse majore lætitia concomitante idea sui afficitur. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO LIV : Mens ea tantum imaginari conatur quæ ipsius agendi potentiam ponunt.

DEMONSTRATIO : Mentis conatus sive potentia est ipsa ipsius mentis essentia (per propositionem 7 hujus); mentis autem essentia (ut per se notum) id tantum quod mens est et potest, affirmat; at non id quod non est neque potest adeoque id tantum imaginari conatur quod ipsius agendi potentiam affirmat sive ponit. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO LV : Cum mens suam impotentiam imaginatur, eo ipso contristatur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Mentis essentia id tantum quod mens est et potest, affirmat sive de natura mentis est ea tantummodo imaginari quæ ipsius agendi potentiam ponunt (per propositionem præcedentem). Cum itaque dicimus quod mens dum se ipsam contemplatur, suam imaginatur impotentiam, nihil aliud dicimus quam quod dum mens aliquid imaginari conatur quod ipsius agendi potentiam ponit, hic ejus conatus coercetur sive (per scholium propositionis 11 hujus) quod ipsa contristatur. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Hæc tristitia magis ac magis fovetur si se ab aliis vituperari imaginatur; quod eodem modo demonstratur ac corollarium propositionis 53 hujus.

SCHOLIUM : Hæc tristitia concomitante idea nostræ imbecillitatis humilitas appellatur; lætitia autem quæ ex contemplatione nostri oritur, philautia vel acquiescentia in se ipso vocatur. Et quoniam hæc toties repetitur quoties homo suas virtutes sive suam agendi potentiam contemplatur, hinc ergo etiam fit ut unusquisque facta sua narrare suique tam corporis quam animi vires ostentare gestiat et ut homines hac de causa sibi invicem molesti sint. Ex quibus iterum sequitur homines natura esse invidos (vide scholium propositionis 24 et scholium propositionis 32 hujus) sive ob suorum æqualium imbecillitatem gaudere et contra propter eorundem virtutem contristari. Nam quoties unusquisque suas actiones imaginatur toties lætitia (per propositionem 53 hujus) afficitur et eo majore quo actiones plus perfectionis exprimere et easdem distinctius imaginatur hoc est (per illa quæ in scholio I propositionis 40 partis II dicta sunt) quo magis easdem ab aliis distinguere et ut res singulares contemplari potest. Quare unusquisque ex contemplatione sui tunc maxime gaudebit quando aliquid in se contemplatur quod de reliquis negat. Sed si id quod de se affirmat, ad universalem hominis vel animalis ideam refert, non tantopere gaudebit et contra contristabitur si suas ad aliorum actiones comparatas imbecilliores esse imaginetur, quam quidem tristitiam (per propositionem 28 hujus) amovere conabitur idque suorum

æqualium actiones perperam interpretando vel suas quantum potest adornando. Apparet igitur homines natura proclives esse ad odium et invidiam ad quam accedit ipsa educatio. Nam parentes solo honoris et invidiæ stimulo liberos ad virtutem concitare solent. Sed scrupulus forsitan remanet quod non raro hominum virtutes admiremur eosque veneremur. Hunc ergo ut amoveam sequens addam corollarium.

COROLLARIUM : Nemo virtutem alicui nisi æquali invidet.

DEMONSTRATIO : Invidia est ipsum odium (vide scholium propositionis 24 hujus) sive (per scholium propositionis 13 hujus) tristitia hoc est (per scholium propositionis 11 hujus) affectio qua hominis agendi potentia seu conatus coercetur. At homo (per scholium propositionis 9 hujus) nihil agere conatur neque cupit nisi quod ex data sua natura sequi potest; ergo homo nullam de se agendi potentiam seu (quod idem est) virtutem prædicari cupiet quæ naturæ alterius est propria et suæ aliena adeoque ejus cupiditas coerceri hoc est (per scholium propositionis 11 hujus) ipse contristari nequit ex eo quod aliquam virtutem in aliquo ipsi dissimili contemplatur et consequenter neque ei invidere poterit. At quidem suo æquali qui cum ipso ejusdem naturæ supponitur. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Cum igitur supra in scholio propositionis 52 hujus partis dixerimus nos hominem venerari ex eo quod ipsius prudentiam, fortitudinem etc. admiramur, id fit (ut ex ipsa propositione patet) quia has virtutes ei singulariter inesse et non ut nostræ naturæ communes imaginamur adeoque easdem ipsi non magis invidemus quam arboribus altitudinem et leonibus fortitudinem etc.

PROPOSITIO LVI : Lætitiæ, tristitiæ et cupiditatis et consequenter uniuscujusque affectus qui ex his componitur ut animi fluctuationis vel qui ab his derivatur nempe amoris, odii, spei, metus etc. tot species dantur quot sunt species objectorum a quibus afficimur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Lætitia et tristitia et consequenter affectus qui ex his componuntur vel ex his derivantur, passiones sunt (per scholium propositionis 11 hujus); nos autem (per propositionem 1 hujus) necessario patimur quatenus ideas habemus inadæquatas et quatenus easdem habemus (per propositionem 3 hujus)

eatenus tantum patimur hoc est (vide scholium I propositionis 40 partis II) eatenus tantum necessario patimur quatenus imaginamur sive (vide propositionem 17 partis II cum ejus scholio) quatenus afficimur affectu qui naturam nostri corporis et naturam corporis externi involvit. Natura igitur uniuscujusque passionis ita necessario debet explicari ut objecti a quo afficimur, natura exprimat. Nempe lætitia quæ ex objecto exempli gratia A oritur, naturam ipsius objecti A et lætitia quæ ex objecto B oritur, ipsius objecti B naturam involvit atque adeo hi duo lætitiae affectus natura sunt diversi quia ex causis diversæ naturæ oriuntur. Sic etiam tristitiæ affectus qui ex uno objecto oritur, diversus natura est a tristitia quæ ab alia causa oritur, quod etiam de amore, odio, spe, metu, animi fluctuatione etc. intelligendum est ac proinde lætitiae, tristitiæ, amoris, odii etc. tot species necessario dantur quot sunt species objectorum a quibus afficimur. At cupiditas est ipsa uniuscujusque essentia seu natura quatenus ex data quacunque ejus constitutione determinata concipitur ad aliquid agendum (vide scholium propositionis 9 hujus); ergo prout unusquisque a causis externis hac aut illa lætitiae, tristitiæ, amoris, odii etc. specie afficitur hoc est prout ejus natura hoc aut alio modo constituitur, ita ejus cupiditas alia atque alia esse et natura unius a natura alterius cupiditatis tantum differre necesse est quantum affectus a quibus unaquæque oritur, inter se differunt. Dantur itaque tot species cupiditatis quot sunt species lætitiae, tristitiæ, amoris etc. et consequenter (per jam ostensa) quot sunt objectorum species a quibus afficimur. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Inter affectuum species quæ (per propositionem præcedentem) perplurimæ esse debent, insignes sunt luxuria, ebrietas, libido, avaritia et ambitio, quæ non nisi amoris vel cupiditatis sunt notiones quæ hujus utriusque affectus naturam explicant per objecta ad quæ referuntur. Nam per luxuriam, ebrietatem, libidinem, avaritiam et ambitionem nihil aliud intelligimus quam convivendi, potandi, coeundi, divitiarum et gloriæ immoderatum amorem vel cupiditatem. Præterea hi affectus quatenus eos per solum objectum ad quod referuntur ab aliis distinguimus, contrarios non habent. Nam temperantia quam luxuriæ et sobrietas quam ebrietati et denique castitas quam libidini opponere solemus, affectus seu

passiones non sunt sed animi indicant potentiam quæ hos affectus moderatur. Cæterum reliquas affectuum species hic explicare nec possum (quia tot sunt quot objectorum species) nec si possem, necesse est. Nam ad id quod intendimus nempe ad affectuum vires et mentis in eosdem potentiam determinandum, nobis sufficit uniuscujusque affectus generalem habere definitionem. Sufficit inquam nobis affectuum et mentis communes proprietates intelligere ut determinare possimus qualis et quanta sit mentis potentia in moderandis et coercendis affectibus. Quamvis itaque magna sit differentia inter hunc et illum amoris, odii vel cupiditatis affectum exempli gratia inter amorem erga liberos et inter amorem erga uxorem, nobis tamen has differentias cognoscere et affectuum naturam et originem ulterius indagare, non est opus.

PROPOSITIO LVII : Quilibet uniuscujusque individui affectus ab affectu alterius tantum discrepat quantum essentia unius ab essentia alterius differt.

DEMONSTRATIO : Hæc propositio patet ex aximate 1, quod vide post lemma 3 scholiumque propositionis 13 partis II. At nihilominus eandem ex trium primitivorum affectuum definitionibus demonstrabimus. Omnes affectus ad cupiditatem, lætitiā vel tristitiā referuntur ut eorum quas dedimus definitiones, ostendunt. At cupiditas est ipsa uniuscujusque natura seu essentia (vide ejus definitionem in scholio propositionis 9 hujus); ergo uniuscujusque individui cupiditas a cupiditate alterius tantum discrepat quantum natura seu essentia unius ab essentia alterius differt. Lætitiā deinde et tristitiā passiones sunt quibus uniuscujusque potentia seu conatus in suo esse perseverandi augetur vel minuitur, juvatur vel coercetur (per propositionem 11 hujus et ejus scholium). At per conatum in suo esse perseverandi quatenus ad mentem et corpus simul refertur, appetitum et cupiditatem intelligimus (vide scholium propositionis 9 hujus); ergo lætitiā et tristitiā est ipsa cupiditas sive appetitus quatenus a causis externis augetur vel minuitur, juvatur vel coercetur hoc est (per idem scholium) est ipsa cujusque natura atque adeo uniuscujusque lætitiā vel tristitiā a lætitiā vel tristitiā alterius tantum etiam discrepat quantum natura seu essentia unius ab essentia

alterius differt et consequenter quilibet uniuscujusque individui affectus ab affectu alterius tantum discrepat etc. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Hinc sequitur affectus animalium quæ irrationalia dicuntur (bruta enim sentire nequaquam dubitare possumus postquam mentis novimus originem) ab affectibus hominum tantum differre quantum eorum natura a natura humana differt. Fertur quidem equus et homo libidine procreandi; at ille libidine equina hic autem humana. Sic etiam libidines et appetitus insectorum, piscium et avium alii atque alii esse debent. Quamvis itaque unumquodque individuum sua qua constat natura, contentum vivat eaque gaudeat, vita tamen illa qua unumquodque est contentum et gaudium nihil aliud est quam idea seu anima ejusdem individui atque adeo gaudium unius a gaudio alterius tantum natura discrepat quantum essentia unius ab essentia alterius differt. Denique ex præcedenti propositione sequitur non parum etiam interesse inter gaudium quo ebrius exempli gratia ducitur et inter gaudium quo potitur philosophus, quod hic in transitu monere volui. Atque hæc de affectibus qui ad hominem referuntur quatenus patitur. Superest ut pauca addam de iis qui ad eundem referuntur quatenus agit.

PROPOSITIO LVIII : Præter lætitiā et cupiditatem quæ passiones sunt, alii lætitiæ et cupiditatis affectus dantur qui ad nos quatenus agimus, referuntur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Cum mens se ipsam suamque agendi potentiam concipit, lætatur (per propositionem 53 hujus) : mens autem se ipsam necessario contemplatur quando veram sive adæquatam ideam concipit (per propositionem 43 partis II). At mens quasdam ideas adæquatas concipit (per scholium II propositionis 40 partis II) : ergo eatenus etiam lætatur quatenus ideas adæquatas concipit hoc est (per propositionem 1 hujus) quatenus agit. Deinde mens tam quatenus claras et distinctas quam quatenus confusas habet ideas, in suo esse perseverare conatur (per propositionem 9 hujus) : at per conatum cupiditatem intelligimus (per ejusdem scholium); ergo cupiditas ad nos refertur etiam quatenus intelligimus sive (per propositionem 1 hujus) quatenus agimus. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO LIX : Inter omnes affectus qui ad mentem quatenus agit referuntur, nulli alii sunt quam qui ad lætitiā vel cupiditatem referuntur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Omnes affectus ad cupiditatem, lætitiā vel tristitiā referuntur ut eorum quas dedimus definitiones ostendunt. Per tristitiā autem intelligimus quod mentis cogitandi potentia minuitur vel coercetur (per propositionem 11 hujus et ejus scholium) adeoque mens quatenus contristatur eatenus ejus intelligendi hoc est ejus agendi potentia (per propositionem 1 hujus) minuitur vel coercetur adeoque nulli tristitiæ affectus ad mentem referri possunt quatenus agit sed tantum affectus lætitiæ et cupiditatis qui (per propositionem præcedentem) eatenus etiam ad mentem referuntur. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Omnes actiones quæ sequuntur ex affectibus qui ad mentem referuntur quatenus intelligit, ad fortitudinem refero quam in animositatem et generositatem distinguo. Nam per animositatem intelligo cupiditatem qua unusquisque conatur suum esse ex solo rationis dictamine conservare. Per generositatem autem cupiditatem intelligo qua unusquisque ex solo rationis dictamine conatur reliquos homines juvare et sibi amicitia jungere. Eas itaque actiones quæ solum agentis utile intendunt, ad animositatem et quæ alterius etiam utile intendunt ad generositatem refero. Temperantia igitur, sobrietas et animi in periculis præsentia etc. animositatis sunt species; modestia autem, clementia etc. species generositatis sunt. Atque his puto me præcipuos affectus animique fluctuationes quæ ex compositione trium primitivorum affectuum nempe cupiditatis, lætitiæ et tristitiæ oriuntur, explicuisse perque primas suas causas ostendisse. Ex quibus apparet nos a causis externis multis modis agitari nosque perinde ut maris undæ a contrariis ventis agitatae fluctuari nostri eventus atque fati inscios. At dixi me præcipuos tantum, non omnes qui dari possunt animi conflictus ostendisse. Nam eadem via qua supra procedendo facile possumus ostendere amorem esse junctum pœnitentiæ, dedignationi, pudori etc. Imo unicuique ex jam dictis clare constare credo affectus tot modis alios cum aliis posse componi indeque tot variationes oriri ut nullo numero definiri queant. Sed ad meum institutum præcipuos tantum enumeravisse sufficit nam reliqui quos

omisi plus curiositatis quam utilitatis haberent. Attamen de amore hoc notandum restat quod scilicet sæpissime contingit dum re quam appetebamus fruimur, ut corpus ex ea fruitione novam acquirat constitutionem a qua aliter determinatur et aliæ rerum imagines in eo excitantur et simul mens alia imaginari aliaque cupere incipit. Exempli gratia cum aliquid quod nos sapore delectare solet, imaginamur, eodem frui nempe comedere cupimus. At quamdiu eodem sic fruimur, stomachus adimpletur corpusque aliter constituitur. Si igitur corpore jam aliter disposito ejusdem cibi imago quia ipse præsens adest, fomentetur et consequenter conatus etiam sive cupiditas eundem comedendi, huic cupiditati seu conatui nova illa constitutio repugnabit et consequenter cibi quem appetebamus, præsentia odiosa erit et hoc est quod fastidium et tædium vocamus. Cæterum corporis affectiones externas quæ in affectibus observantur, ut sunt tremor, livor, singultus, risus etc. neglexi quia ad solum corpus absque ulla ad mentem relatione referuntur. Denique de affectuum definitionibus quædam notanda sunt, quas propterea hic ordine repetam et quid in unaquaque observandum est, iisdem interponam.

AFFECTUUM DEFINITIONES

I. Cupiditas est ipsa hominis essentia quatenus ex data quacunque ejus affectione determinata concipitur ad aliquid agendum.

EXPLICATIO : Diximus supra in scholio propositionis 9 hujus partis cupiditatem esse appetitum cum ejusdem conscientia; appetitum autem esse ipsam hominis essentiam quatenus determinata est ad ea agendum quæ ipsius conservationi inserviunt. Sed in eodem scholio etiam monui me revera inter humanum appetitum et cupiditatem nullam agnoscere differentiam. Nam sive homo sui appetitus sit conscius sive non sit, manet tamen appetitus unus idemque atque adeo ne tautologiam committere viderer, cupiditatem per appetitum explicare nolui sed eandem ita definire studui ut omnes humanæ naturæ conatus quos nomine appetitus, voluntatis, cupiditatis vel impetus significamus, una comprehenderem. Potueram enim dicere cupiditatem esse ipsam hominis

essentiam quatenus determinata concipitur ad aliquid agendum sed ex hac definitione (per propositionem 23 partis II) non sequeretur quod mens possit suæ cupiditatis sive appetitus esse conscia. Igitur ut hujus conscientiae causam involverem, necesse fuit (per eandem propositionem) addere “quatenus ex data quacunque ejus affectione determinata etc.”. Nam per affectionem humanæ essentiae quamcunque ejusdem essentiae constitutionem intelligimus, sive ea sit innata sive quod ipsa per solum cogitationis sive per solum extensionis attributum concipiatur sive denique quod ad utrumque simul referatur. Hic igitur cupiditatis nomine intelligo hominis quoscunque conatus, impetus, appetitus et volitiones, qui pro varia ejusdem hominis constitutione varii et non raro adeo sibi invicem oppositi sunt ut homo diversimode trahatur et quo se vertat, nesciat.

II. Lætitia est hominis transitio a minore ad majorem perfectionem.

III. Tristitia est hominis transitio a majore ad minorem perfectionem.

EXPLICATIO : Dico transitionem. Nam lætitia non est ipsa perfectio. Si enim homo cum perfectione ad quam transit nasceretur, ejusdem absque lætitiæ affectu compos esset; quod clarius apparet ex tristitiæ affectu qui huic est contrarius. Nam quod tristitia in transitione ad minorem perfectionem consistit, non autem in ipsa minore perfectione, nemo negare potest quandoquidem homo eatenus contristari nequit quatenus alicujus perfectionis est particeps. Nec dicere possumus quod tristitia in privatione majoris perfectionis consistat nam privatio nihil est; tristitiæ autem affectus actus est qui propterea nullus alius esse potest quam actus transeundi ad minorem perfectionem hoc est actus quo hominis agendi potentia minuitur vel coercetur (vide scholium propositionis 11 hujus). Cæterum definitiones hilaritatis, titillationis, melancholiæ et doloris omitto quia ad corpus potissimum referuntur et non nisi lætitiæ aut tristitiæ sunt species.

IV. Admiratio est rei alicujus imaginatio in qua mens defixa propterea manet quia hæc singularis imaginatio nullam cum reliquis habet connexionem. Vide propositionem 52 cum ejusdem scholio.

EXPLICATIO : In scholio propositionis 18 partis II ostendimus quænam sit causa cur mens ex contemplatione unius rei statim in alterius rei cogitationem

incidat videlicet quia earum rerum imagines invicem concatenatae et ita ordinatae sunt ut alia aliam sequatur, quod quidem concipi nequit quando rei imago nova est sed mens in ejusdem rei contemplatione detinebitur donec ab aliis causis ad alia cogitandum determinetur. Rei itaque novae imaginatio in se considerata ejusdem naturae est ac reliquae et hac de causa ego admirationem inter affectus non numero nec causam video cur id facerem quandoquidem haec mentis distractio ex nulla causa positiva quae mentem ab aliis distrahat, oritur sed tantum ex eo quod causa cur mens ex unius rei contemplatione ad alia cogitandum determinatur, deficit.

Tres igitur (ut in scholio propositionis 11 hujus monui) tantum affectus primitivos seu primarios agnosco nempe laetitiae, tristitiae et cupiditatis nec alia de causa verba de admiratione feci quam quia usu factum est ut quidam affectus qui ex tribus primitivis derivantur, aliis nominibus indicari soleant quando ad objecta quae admiramur, referuntur; quae quidem ratio me ex aequo movet ut etiam contemptus definitionem his adjungam.

V. Contemptus est rei alicujus imaginatio quae mentem adeo parum tangit ut ipsa mens ex rei praesentia magis moveatur ad ea imaginandum quae in ipsa re non sunt quam quae in ipsa sunt. Vide scholium propositionis 52 hujus. Definitiones venerationis et dedignationis missas hic facio quia nulli quod sciam affectus ex his nomen trahunt.

VI. Amor est laetitia concomitante idea causae externae.

EXPLICATIO : Haec definitio satis clare amoris essentiam explicat; illa vero auctorum qui definiunt amorem esse voluntatem amantis se jungendi rei amatae, non amoris essentiam sed ejus proprietatem exprimit et quia amoris essentia non satis ab auctoribus perspecta fuit, ideo neque ejus proprietatis ullum clarum conceptum habere potuerunt et hinc factum ut eorum definitionem admodum obscuram esse omnes judicaverint. Verum notandum cum dico proprietatem esse in amante se voluntate jungere rei amatae, me per voluntatem non intelligere consensum vel animi deliberationem seu liberum decretum (nam hoc fictitium esse demonstravimus propositione 48 partis II) nec etiam cupiditatem sese jungendi rei amatae quando abest vel perseverandi in ipsius praesentia quando

adest; potest namque amor absque hac aut illa cupiditate concipi sed per voluntatem me acquiescentiam intelligere quæ est in amante ob rei amatae præsentiam a qua lætitia amantis corroboratur aut saltem fovetur.

VII. Odium est tristitia concomitante idea causæ externæ.

EXPLICATIO : Quæ hic notanda sunt, ex dictis in præcedentis definitionis explicatione facile percipiuntur. Vide præterea scholium propositionis 13 hujus.

VIII. Propensio est lætitia concomitante idea alicujus rei quæ per accidens causa est lætitiae.

IX. Aversio est tristitia concomitante idea alicujus rei quæ per accidens causa est tristitiæ. De his vide scholium propositionis 15 hujus.

X. Devotio est amor erga eum quem admiramur.

EXPLICATIO : Admirationem oriri ex rei novitate ostendimus propositione 52 hujus. Si igitur contingat ut id quod admiramur sæpe imaginemur, idem admirari desinemus atque adeo videmus devotionis affectum facile in simplicem amorem degenerare.

XI. Irrisio est lætitia orta ex eo quod aliquid quod contemnimus in re quam odimus inesse imaginamur.

EXPLICATIO : Quatenus rem quam odimus contemnimus eatenus de eadem existentiam negamus (vide scholium propositionis 52 hujus) et eatenus (per propositionem 20 hujus) lætamur. Sed quoniam supponimus hominem id quod irridet odio tamen habere, sequitur hanc lætitiā solidam non esse. Vide scholium propositionis 47 hujus.

XII. Spes est inconstans lætitia orta ex idea rei futuræ vel præteritæ de cujus eventu aliquatenus dubitamus.

XIII. Metus est inconstans tristitia orta ex idea rei futuræ vel præteritæ de cujus eventu aliquatenus dubitamus. Vide de his scholium II propositionis 18 hujus.

EXPLICATIO : Ex his definitionibus sequitur non dari spem sine metu neque metum sine spe. Qui enim spe pendet et de rei eventu dubitat, is aliquid imaginari supponitur quod rei futuræ existentiam secludit atque adeo eatenus contristari (per

propositionem 19 hujus) et consequenter dum spe pendet, metuere ut res eveniat. Qui autem contra in metu est hoc est de rei quam odit eventu dubitat, aliquid etiam imaginatur quod ejusdem rei existentiam secludit atque adeo (per propositionem 20 hujus) lætatur et consequenter eatenus spem habet ne eveniat.

XIV. Securitas est lætitia orta ex idea rei futuræ vel præteritæ de qua dubitandi causa sublata est.

XV. Desperatio est tristitia orta ex idea rei futuræ vel præteritæ de qua dubitandi causa sublata est.

EXPLICATIO : Oritur itaque ex spe securitas et ex metu desperatio quando de rei eventu dubitandi causa tollitur, quod fit quia homo rem præteritam vel futuram adesse imaginatur et ut præsentem contemplatur vel quia alia imaginatur quæ existentiam earum rerum secludunt quæ ipsi dubium injiciebant. Nam tametsi de rerum singularium eventu (per corollarium propositionis 31 partis II) nunquam possumus esse certi, fieri tamen potest ut de earum eventu non dubitemus. Aliud enim esse ostendimus (vide scholium propositionis 49 partis II) de re non dubitare, aliud rei certitudinem habere atque adeo fieri potest ut ex imagine rei præteritæ aut futuræ eodem lætitiæ vel tristitiæ affectu afficiamur ac ex rei præsentis imagine, ut in propositione 18 hujus demonstravimus, quam cum ejusdem scholiis vide.

XVI. Gaudium est lætitia concomitante idea rei præteritæ quæ præter spem evenit.

XVII. Conscientiæ morsus est tristitia concomitante idea rei præteritæ quæ præter spem evenit.

XVIII. Commiseratio est tristitia concomitante idea mali quod alteri quem nobis similem esse imaginamur, evenit. Vide scholium propositionis 22 et scholium propositionis 27 hujus.

EXPLICATIO : Inter commiserationem et misericordiam nulla videtur esse differentia nisi forte quod commiseratio singularem affectum respiciat, misericordia autem ejus habitum.

XIX. Favor est amor erga aliquem qui alteri benefecit.

XX. Indignatio est odium erga aliquem qui alteri malefecit.

EXPLICATIO : Hæc nomina ex communi usu aliud significare scio. Sed meum institutum non est verborum significationem sed rerum naturam explicare easque iis vocabulis indicare quorum significatio quam ex usu habent, a significatione qua eadem usurpare volo, non omnino abhorret, quod semel monuisse sufficiat. Cæterum horum affectuum causam vide in corollario I propositionis 27 et scholio propositionis 22 hujus partis.

XXI. Existimatio est de aliquo præ amore plus justo sentire.

XXII. Despectus est de aliquo præ odio minus justo sentire.

EXPLICATIO : Est itaque existimatio amoris et despectus odii effectus sive proprietas atque adeo potest existimatio etiam definiri quod sit amor quatenus hominem ita afficit ut de re amata plus justo sentiat et contra despectus quod sit odium quatenus hominem ita afficit ut de eo quem odio habet, minus justo sentiat. Vide de his scholium propositionis 26 hujus.

XXIII. Invidia est odium quatenus hominem ita afficit ut ex alterius felicitate contristetur et contra ut ex alterius malo gaudeat.

EXPLICATIO : Invidiæ opponitur communiter misericordia quæ proinde invita vocabuli significatione sic definiri potest.

XXIV. Misericordia est amor quatenus hominem ita afficit ut ex bono alterius gaudeat et contra ut ex alterius malo contristetur.

EXPLICATIO : Cæterum de invidia vide scholium propositionis 24 et scholium propositionis 32 hujus. Atque hi affectus lætitiæ et tristitiæ sunt quos idea rei externæ comitatur tanquam causa per se vel per accidens. Hinc ad alios transeo quos idea rei internæ comitatur tanquam causa.

XXV. Acquiescentia in se ipso est lætitia orta ex eo quod homo se ipsum suamque agendi potentiam contemplatur.

XXVI. Humilitas est tristitia orta ex eo quod homo suam impotentiam sive imbecillitatem contemplatur.

EXPLICATIO : Acquiescentia in se ipso humilitati opponitur quatenus per eandem intelligimus lætitiā quæ ex eo oritur quod nostram agendi potentiam

contemplamur sed quatenus per ipsam etiam intelligimus lætitiā concomitante idea alicujus facti quod nos ex mentis libero decreto fecisse credimus, tum pœnitentiæ opponitur quæ a nobis sic definitur.

XXVII. Pœnitentia est tristitia concomitante idea alicujus facti quod nos ex libero mentis decreto fecisse credimus.

EXPLICATIO : Horum affectuum causas ostendimus in scholio propositionis 51 hujus et propositionibus 53, 54 et 55 hujus ejusque scholio. De libero autem mentis decreto vide scholium propositionis 35 partis II. Sed hic præterea notandum venit mirum non esse quod omnes omnino actus qui ex consuetudine pravi vocantur, sequatur tristitia et illos qui recti dicuntur, lætitia. Nam hoc ab educatione potissimum pendere facile ex supra dictis intelligimus. Parentes nimirum illos exprobrando liberosque propter eosdem sæpe objurgando, hos contra suadendo et laudando effecerunt ut tristitiæ commotiones illis, lætitiæ vero his jungerentur. Quod ipsa etiam experientia comprobatur. Nam consuetudo et religio non est omnibus eadem sed contra quæ apud alios sacra, apud alios profana et quæ apud alios honesta, apud alios turpia sunt. Prout igitur unusquisque educatus est, ita facti alicujus pœnitet vel eodem gloriatur.

XXVIII. Superbia est de se præ amore sui plus justo sentire.

EXPLICATIO : Differt igitur superbia ab existimatione quod hæc ad objectum externum, superbia autem ad ipsum hominem de se plus justo sentientem referatur. Cæterum ut existimatio amoris sic superbia philautiæ effectus vel proprietas est, quæ propterea etiam definiri potest quod sit amor sui sive acquiescentia in se ipso quatenus hominem ita afficit ut de se plus justo sentiat (vide scholium propositionis 26 hujus). Huic affectui non datur contrarius. Nam nemo de se præ odio sui minus justo sentit; imo nemo de se minus justo sentit quatenus imaginatur se hoc vel illud non posse. Nam quicquid homo imaginatur se non posse, id necessario imaginatur et hac imaginatione ita disponitur ut id agere revera non possit quod se non posse imaginatur. Quamdiu enim imaginatur se hoc vel illud non posse tamdiu ad agendum non est determinatus et consequenter tamdiu impossibile ei est ut id agat. Verumenimvero si ad illa

attendamus quæ a sola opinione pendent, concipere poterimus fieri posse ut homo de se minus justo sentiat; fieri enim potest ut aliquis dum tristis imbecillitatem contemplatur suam, imaginetur se ab omnibus contemni idque dum reliqui nihil minus cogitant quam ipsum contemnere. Potest præterea homo de se minus justo sentire si aliquid de se in præsentī neget cum relatione ad futurum tempus cuius est incertus; ut quod neget se nihil certi posse concipere nihilque nisi prava vel turpia posse cupere vel agere etc. Possumus deinde dicere aliquem de se minus justo sentire cum videmus ipsum ex nimio pudoris metu ea non audere quæ alii ipsi æquales audent. Hunc igitur affectum possumus superbiæ opponere quem abjectionem vocabo nam ut ex acquiescentia in se ipso superbia, sic ex humilitate abjectio oritur quæ proinde a nobis sic definitur.

XXIX. Abjectio est de se præ tristitia minus justo sentire.

EXPLICATIO : Solemus tamen sæpe superbiæ humilitatem opponere sed tum magis ad utriusque effectus quam naturam attendimus. Solemus namque illum superbum vocare qui nimis gloriatur (vide scholium propositionis 30 hujus) qui non nisi virtutes suas et aliorum non nisi vitia narrat, qui omnibus præferri vult et qui denique ea gravitate et ornatu incedit quo solent alii qui longe supra ipsum sunt positi. Contra illum humilem vocamus qui sæpius erubescit, qui sua vitia fatetur et aliorum virtutes narrat, qui omnibus cedit et qui denique submisso capite ambulat et se ornare negligit. Cæterum hi affectus nempe humilitas et abjectio rarissimi sunt. Nam natura humana in se considerata contra eosdem quantum potest nititur (vide propositiones 13 et 54 hujus) et ideo qui maxime creduntur abjecti et humiles esse, maxime plerumque ambitiosi et invidi sunt.

XXX. Gloria est lætitia concomitante idea alicujus nostræ actionis quam alios laudare imaginamur.

XXXI. Pudor est tristitia concomitante idea alicujus actionis quam alios vituperare imaginamur.

EXPLICATIO : De his vide scholium propositionis 30 hujus partis. Sed hic notanda est differentia quæ est inter pudorem et verecundiam. Est enim pudor tristitia quæ sequitur factum cuius pudet. Verecundia autem metus seu timor

pudoris quo homo continetur ne aliquid turpe committat. Verecundiæ opponi solet impudentia, quæ revera affectus non est ut suo loco ostendam sed affectuum nomina (ut jam monui) magis eorum usum quam naturam respiciunt. Atque his lætitiæ et tristitiæ affectus quos explicare proposueram, absolvi. Pergo itaque ad illos quos ad cupiditatem refero.

XXXII. Desiderium est cupiditas sive appetitus re aliqua potiundi quæ ejusdem rei memoria fovetur et simul aliarum rerum memoria quæ ejusdem rei appetendæ existentiam secludunt, coercetur.

EXPLICATIO : Cum alicujus rei recordamur, ut jam sæpe diximus, eo ipso disponimur ad eandem eodem affectu contemplandum ac si res præsens adesset sed hæc dispositio seu conatus dum vigilamus plerumque cohibetur ab imaginibus rerum quæ existentiam ejus cujus recordamur, secludunt. Quando itaque rei meminimus quæ nos aliquo lætitiæ genere afficit, eo ipso conamur eandem cum eodem lætitiæ affectu ut præsentem contemplari, qui quidem conatus statim cohibetur memoria rerum quæ illius existentiam secludunt. Quare desiderium revera tristitia est quæ lætitiæ opponitur illi quæ ex absentia rei quam odimus oritur, de qua vide scholium propositionis 47 hujus partis. Sed quia nomen “desiderium” cupiditatem respicere videtur, ideo hunc affectum ad cupiditatis affectus refero.

XXXIII. Æmulatio est alicujus rei cupiditas quæ nobis ingeneratur ex eo quod alios eandem cupiditatem habere imaginamur.

EXPLICATIO : Qui fugit quia alios fugere vel qui timet quia alios timere videt vel etiam ille qui ex eo quod aliquem manum suam combussisse videt, manum ad se contrahit corpusque movet quasi ipsius manus combureretur, eum imitari quidem alterius affectum sed non eundem æmulari dicemus, non quia aliam æmulationis aliam imitationis novimus causam sed quia usu factum est ut illum tantum vocemus æmulum qui id quod honestum, utile vel jucundum esse judicamus, imitatur. Cæterum de æmulationis causa vide propositionem 27 hujus partis cum ejus scholio. Cur autem huic affectui plerumque juncta sit invidia, de eo vide propositionem 32 hujus cum ejusdem scholio.

XXXIV. Gratia seu gratitudo est cupiditas seu amoris studium quo ei benefacere conamur qui in nos pari amoris affectu beneficium contulit. Vide propositionem 39 cum scholio propositionis 41 hujus.

XXXV. Benevolentia est cupiditas benefaciendi ei cujus nos miseret. Vide scholium propositionis 27 hujus.

XXXVI. Ira est cupiditas qua ex odio incitatur ad illi quem odimus malum inferendum. Vide propositionem 39 hujus.

XXXVII. Vindicta est cupiditas qua ex reciproco odio concitatur ad malum inferendum ei qui nobis pari affectu damnum intulit. Vide II corollarium propositionis 40 hujus cum ejusdem scholio.

XXXVIII. Crudelitas seu sævitia est cupiditas qua aliquis concitatur ad malum inferendum ei quem amamus vel cujus nos miseret.

EXPLICATIO : Crudelitati opponitur clementia, quæ passio non est sed animi potentia qua homo iram et vindictam moderatur.

XXXIX. Timor est cupiditas majus quod metuimus malum minore vitandi. Vide scholium propositionis 39 hujus.

XL. Audacia est cupiditas qua aliquis incitatur ad aliquid agendum cum periculo quod ejus æquales subire metuunt.

XLI. Pusillanimitas dicitur de eo cujus cupiditas coercetur timore periculi quod ejus æquales subire audent.

EXPLICATIO : Est igitur pusillanimitas nihil aliud quam metus alicujus mali quod plerique non solent metuere; quare ipsam ad cupiditatis affectus non refero. Eandem tamen hic explicare volui quia quatenus ad cupiditatem attendimus, affectui audaciæ revera opponitur.

XLII. Consternatio dicitur de eo cujus cupiditas malum vitandi coercetur admiratione mali quod timet.

EXPLICATIO : Est itaque consternatio pusillanimitatis species. Sed quia consternatio ex duplici timore oritur, ideo commodius definiri potest quod sit metus qui hominem stupefactum aut fluctuantem ita continet ut is malum amovere non possit. Dico stupefactum quatenus ejus cupiditatem malum

amovendi admiratione coerceri intelligimus. Fluctuantem autem dico quatenus concipimus eandem cupiditatem coerceri timore alterius mali quod ipsum æque cruciat : unde fit ut quodnam ex duobus avertat, nesciat. De his vide scholium propositionis 39 et scholium propositionis 52 hujus. Cæterum de pusillanimitate et audacia vide scholium propositionis 51 hujus.

XLIII. Humanitas seu modestia est cupiditas ea faciendi quæ hominibus placent et omittendi quæ displicent.

XLIV. Ambitio est immodica gloriæ cupiditas.

EXPLICATIO : Ambitio est cupiditas qua omnes affectus (per propositiones 27 et 31 hujus) foventur et corroborantur et ideo hic affectus vix superari potest. Nam quamdiu homo aliqua cupiditate tenetur, hac simul necessario tenetur. Optimus quisque inquit Cicero maxime gloria ducitur. Philosophi etiam libris quos de contemnenda gloria scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt etc.

XLV. Luxuria est immoderata convivendi cupiditas vel etiam amor.

XLVI. Ebrietas est immoderata potandi cupiditas et amor.

XLVII. Avaritia est immoderata divitiarum cupiditas et amor.

XLVIII. Libido est etiam cupiditas et amor in commiscendis corporibus.

EXPLICATIO : Sive hæc coeundi cupiditas moderata sit sive non sit, libido appellari solet. Porro hi quinque affectus (ut in scholio propositionis 56 hujus monui) contrarios non habent. Nam modestia species est ambitionis, de qua vide scholium propositionis 29 hujus. Temperantiam deinde, sobrietatem et castitatem mentis potentiam, non autem passionem indicare jam etiam monui. Et tametsi fieri potest ut homo avarus, ambitiosus vel timidus a nimio cibo, potu et coitu abstineat, avaritia tamen, ambitio et timor luxuriæ, ebrietati vel libidini non sunt contrarii. Nam avarus in cibum et potum alienum se ingurgitare plerumque desiderat. Ambitiosus autem, modo speret fore clam, in nulla re sibi temperabit et si inter ebrios vivat et libidinosos, ideo quia ambitiosus est, proclivior erit ad eadem vitia. Timidus denique id quod non vult, facit. Nam quamvis mortis vitandæ causa divitias in mare projiciat, manet tamen avarus et si libidinosus tristis est quod sibi morem gerere nequeat, non desinit propterea libidinosus esse.

Et absolute hi affectus non tam ipsos actus convivandi, potandi etc. respiciunt quam ipsum appetitum et amorem. Nihil igitur his affectibus opponi potest præter generositatem et animositatem, de quibus in sequentibus.

Definitiones zelotypiæ et reliquarum animi fluctuationum silentio prætermitto tam quia ex compositione affectuum quos jam definivimus, oriuntur quam quia pleræque nomina non habent, quod ostendit ad usum vitæ sufficere easdem in genere tantummodo noscere. Cæterum ex definitionibus affectuum quos explicuimus, liquet eos omnes a cupiditate, lætitia vel tristitia oriri seu potius nihil præter hos tres esse quorum unusquisque variis nominibus appellari solet propter varias eorum relationes et denominationes extrinsecas. Si jam ad hos primitivos et ad ea quæ de natura mentis supra diximus, attendere velimus, affectus quatenus ad solam mentem referuntur sic definire poterimus.

AFFECTUUM GENERALIS DEFINITIO

Affectus qui animi pathema dicitur, est confusa idea qua mens majorem vel minorem sui corporis vel alicujus ejus partis existendi vim quam antea affirmat et qua data ipsa mens ad hoc potius quam ad illud cogitandum determinatur.

EXPLICATIO : Dico primo affectum seu passionem animi esse confusam ideam. Nam mentem eatenus tantum pati ostendimus (vide propositionem 3 hujus) quatenus ideas inadæquatas sive confusas habet. Dico deinde “qua mens majorem vel minorem sui corporis vel alicujus ejus partis existendi vim quam antea affirmat”. Omnes enim corporum ideæ quas habemus magis nostri corporis actualement constitutionem (per corollarium II propositionis 16 partis II) quam corporis externi naturam indicant; at hæc quæ affectus formam constituit, corporis vel alicujus ejus partis constitutionem indicare vel exprimere debet quam ipsum corpus vel aliqua ejus pars habet ex eo quod ipsius agendi potentia sive existendi vis augetur vel minuitur, juvatur vel coercetur. Sed notandum cum dico “majorem vel minorem existendi vim quam antea”, me non intelligere quod mens præsentem corporis constitutionem cum præterita comparat sed quod idea quæ affectus formam constituit, aliquid de corpore affirmat quod plus minusve realitatis revera involvit quam antea. Et quia essentia mentis in hoc consistit (per

propositiones 11 et 13 partis II) quod sui corporis actualem existentiam affirmat et nos per perfectionem ipsam rei essentiam intelligimus, sequitur ergo quod mens ad maiorem minoremve perfectionem transit quando ei aliquid de suo corpore vel aliqua ejus parte affirmare contingit quod plus minusve realitatis involvit quam antea. Cum igitur supra dixerim mentis cogitandi potentiam augeri vel minui, nihil aliud intelligere volui quam quod mens ideam sui corporis vel alicujus ejus partis formaverit quæ plus minusve realitatis exprimit quam de suo corpore affirmaverat. Nam idearum præstantia et actualis cogitandi potentia ex objecti præstantia æstimatur. Addidi denique “et qua data ipsa mens ad hoc potius quam ad illud cogitandum determinatur” ut præter lætitiæ et tristitiæ naturam quam prima definitionis pars explicat, cupiditatis etiam naturam exprimerem.

Finis tertiæ partis

PARS QUARTA. DE SERVITUTE HUMANA SEU DE AFFECTUUM VIRIBUS

PRÆFATIO



HUMANAM IMPOTENTIAM IN moderandis et coercendis affectibus servitutem voco; homo enim affectibus obnoxius sui juris non est sed fortunæ in cujus potestate ita est ut sæpe coactus sit quanquam meliora sibi videat, deteriora tamen sequi. Hujus rei causam et quid præterea affectus boni vel mali habent, in hac parte demonstrare proposui. Sed antequam incipiam, pauca de perfectione et imperfectione deque bono et malo præfari lubet.

Qui rem aliquam facere constituit eamque perfecit, rem suam perfectam esse non tantum ipse sed etiam unusquisque qui mentem auctoris illius operis et scopum recte noverit aut se novisse crediderit, dicet. Exempli gratia si quis aliquod opus (quod suppono nondum esse peractum) viderit noveritque scopum auctoris illius operis esse domum ædificare, is domum imperfectam esse dicet et contra perfectam simulatque opus ad finem quem ejus auctor eidem dare constituerat, perductum viderit. Verum si quis opus aliquod videt cujus simile nunquam viderat nec mentem opificis novit, is sane scire non poterit opusne illud perfectum an imperfectum sit. Atque hæc videtur prima fuisse horum vocabulorum significatio. Sed postquam homines ideas universales formare et domuum, ædificiorum, turrium etc. exemplaria excogitare et alia rerum exemplaria aliis præferre inceperunt, factum est ut unusquisque id perfectum vocaret quod cum universali idea quam ejusmodi rei formaverat, videret convenire et id contra imperfectum quod cum concepto suo exemplari minus convenire videret quanquam ex opificis sententia consummatum plane esset. Nec alia videtur esse ratio cur res naturales etiam quæ scilicet humana manu non sunt

factæ, perfectas aut imperfectas vulgo appellant; solent namque homines tam rerum naturalium quam artificialium ideas formare universales quas rerum veluti exemplaria habent et quas naturam (quam nihil nisi alicujus finis causa agere existimant) intueri credunt sibi que exemplaria proponere. Cum itaque aliquid in natura fieri vident quod cum concepto exemplari quod rei ejusmodi habent, minus convenit, ipsam naturam tum defecisse vel peccavisse remque illam imperfectam reliquisse credunt. Videmus itaque homines consuevisse res naturales perfectas aut imperfectas vocare magis ex præjudicio quam ex earum vera cognitione. Ostendimus enim in primæ partis appendice Naturam propter finem non agere; æternum namque illud et infinitum Ens quod Deum seu Naturam appellamus, eadem qua existit necessitate agit. Ex qua enim naturæ necessitate existit, ex eadem ipsum agere ostendimus (propositione 16 partis I). Ratio igitur seu causa cur Deus seu Natura agit et cur existit una eademque est. Ut ergo nullius finis causa existit, nullius etiam finis causa agit sed ut existendi, sic et agendi principium vel finem habet nullum. Causa autem quæ finalis dicitur, nihil est præter ipsum humanum appetitum quatenus is alicujus rei veluti principium seu causa primaria consideratur. Exempli gratia cum dicimus habitationem causam fuisse finalem hujus aut illius domus, nihil tum sane intelligimus aliud quam quod homo ex eo quod vitæ domesticæ commoda imaginatus est, appetitum habuit ædificandi domum. Quare habitatio quatenus ut finalis causa consideratur, nihil est præter hunc singularem appetitum qui revera causa est efficiens quæ ut prima consideratur quia homines suorum appetituum causas communiter ignorant. Sunt namque ut jam sæpe dixi suarum quidem actionum et appetituum conscii sed ignari causarum a quibus ad aliquid appetendum determinantur. Quod præterea vulgo aiunt Naturam aliquando deficere vel peccare resque imperfectas producere, inter commenta numero de quibus in appendice partis primæ egi. Perfectio igitur et imperfectio revera modi solummodo cogitandi sunt nempe notiones quas fingere solemus ex eo quod ejusdem speciei aut generis individua ad invicem comparamus et hac de causa supra (definitione 6 partis II) dixi me per realitatem et perfectionem idem intelligere; solemus enim omnia Naturæ

individua ad unum genus quod generalissimum appellatur, revocare nempe ad notionem entis quæ ad omnia absolute Naturæ individua pertinet. Quatenus itaque Naturæ individua ad hoc genus revocamus et ad invicem comparamus et alia plus entitatis seu realitatis quam alia habere comperimus eatenus alia aliis perfectiora esse dicimus et quatenus iisdem aliquid tribuimus quod negationem involvit ut terminus, finis, impotentia etc. eatenus ipsa imperfecta appellamus quia nostram mentem non æque afficiunt ac illa quæ perfecta vocamus et non quod ipsis aliquid quod suum sit, deficiat vel quod Natura peccaverit. Nihil enim naturæ alicujus rei competit nisi id quod ex necessitate naturæ causæ efficientis sequitur et quicquid ex necessitate naturæ causæ efficientis sequitur, id necessario fit.

Bonum et malum quod attinet, nihil etiam positivum in rebus in se scilicet consideratis indicant nec aliud sunt præter cogitandi modos seu notiones quas formamus ex eo quod res ad invicem comparamus. Nam una eademque res potest eodem tempore bona et mala et etiam indifferens esse. Exempli gratia musica bona est melancholico, mala lugenti, surdo autem neque bona neque mala. Verum quamvis se res ita habeat, nobis tamen hæc vocabula retinenda sunt. Nam quia ideam hominis tanquam naturæ humanæ exemplar quod intueamur formare cupimus, nobis ex usu erit hæc eadem vocabula eo quo dixi sensu retinere. Per bonum itaque in sequentibus intelligam id quod certo scimus medium esse ut ad exemplar humanæ naturæ quod nobis proponimus, magis magisque accedamus. Per malum autem id quod certo scimus impedire quominus idem exemplar referamus. Deinde homines perfectiores aut imperfectiores dicemus quatenus ad hoc idem exemplar magis aut minus accedunt. Nam apprime notandum est cum dico aliquem a minore ad majorem perfectionem transire et contra, me non intelligere quod ex una essentia seu forma in aliam mutatur. Equus namque exempli gratia tam destruitur si in hominem quam si in insectum mutetur sed quod ejus agendi potentiam quatenus hæc per ipsius naturam intelligitur, augeri vel minui concipimus. Deinde per perfectionem in genere realitatem uti dixi intelligam hoc est rei cujuscunque essentiam quatenus certo modo existit et operatur nulla ipsius durationis habita ratione. Nam nulla res singularis potest

ideo dici perfectior quia plus temporis in existendo perseveravit; quippe rerum duratio ex earum essentia determinari nequit quandoquidem rerum essentia nullum certum et determinatum existendi tempus involvit sed res quæcunque, sive ea perfectior sit sive minus, eadem vi qua existere incipit, semper in existendo perseverare poterit ita ut omnes hac in re æquales sint.

DEFINITIONES

I. Per bonum id intelligam quod certo scimus nobis esse utile.

II. Per malum autem id quod certo scimus impedire quominus boni alicujus simus compotes. De his præcedentem vide præfationem sub finem.

III. Res singulares voco contingentes quatenus dum ad earum solam essentiam attendimus, nihil invenimus quod earum existentiam necessario ponat vel quod ipsam necessario secludat.

IV. Easdem res singulares voco possibles quatenus dum ad causas ex quibus produci debent, attendimus, nescimus an ipsæ determinatæ sint ad easdem producendum. In scholio I propositionis 33 partis I inter possibile et contingens nullam feci differentiam quia ibi non opus erat hæc accurate distinguere.

V. Per contrarios affectus in sequentibus intelligam eos qui hominem diversum trahunt quamvis ejusdem sint generis ut luxuries et avaritia quæ amoris sunt species nec natura sed per accidens sunt contrarii.

VI. Quid per affectum erga rem futuram, præsentem et præteritam intelligam, explicui in scholiis I et II propositionis 18 partis III, quod vide. Sed venit hic præterea notandum quod ut loci sic etiam temporis distantiam non nisi usque ad certum quendam limitem possumus distincte imaginari hoc est sicut omnia illa objecta quæ ultra ducentos pedes a nobis distant seu quorum distantia a loco in quo sumus, illam superat quam distincte imaginamur, æque longe a nobis distare et perinde ac si in eodem plano essent, imaginari solemus, sic etiam objecta quorum existendi tempus longiore a præsentem intervallo abesse imaginamur quam

quod distincte imaginari solemus, omnia æque longe a præsentia distare imaginamur et ad unum quasi temporis momentum referimus.

VII. Per finem cuius causa aliquid facimus, appetitum intelligo.

VIII. Per virtutem et potentiam idem intelligo hoc est (per propositionem 7 partis III) virtus quatenus ad hominem refertur, est ipsa hominis essentia seu natura quatenus potestatem habet quædam efficiendi quæ per solas ipsius naturæ leges possunt intelligi.

AXIOMA : Nulla res singularis in rerum natura datur qua potentior et fortior non detur alia. Sed quacunque data datur alia potentior a qua illa data potest destrui.

PROPOSITIO I : Nihil quod idea falsa positivum habet, tollitur præsentia veri quatenus verum.

DEMONSTRATIO : Falsitas in sola privatione cognitionis quam ideæ inadæquatæ involvunt, consistit (per propositionem 35 partis II) nec ipsæ aliquid habent positivum propter quod falsæ dicuntur (per propositionem 33 partis II) sed contra quatenus ad Deum referuntur, veræ sunt (per propositionem 32 partis II). Si igitur id quod idea falsa positivum habet præsentia veri quatenus verum est, tolleretur, tolleretur ergo idea vera a se ipsa, quod (per propositionem 4 partis III) est absurdum. Ergo nihil quod idea etc. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Intelligitur hæc propositio clarius ex II corollario propositionis 16 partis II. Nam imaginatio idea est quæ magis corporis humani præsentem constitutionem quam corporis externi naturam indicat, non quidem distincte sed confuse; unde fit ut mens errare dicatur. Exempli gratia cum solem intuemur, eundem ducentos circiter pedes a nobis distare imaginamur, in quo tamdiu fallimur quamdiu veram ejus distantiam ignoramus sed cognita ejusdem distantia tollitur quidem error sed non imaginatio hoc est idea solis quæ ejusdem naturam eatenus tantum explicat quatenus corpus ab eodem afficitur adeoque quamvis veram ejusdem distantiam noscamus, ipsum nihilominus prope nobis adesse imaginabimur. Nam ut in scholio propositionis 35 partis II diximus, non ea de causa solem adeo propinquum imaginamur quia ejus veram distantiam ignoramus

sed quia mens eatenus magnitudinem solis concipit quatenus corpus ab eodem afficitur. Sic cum solis radii aquæ superficie incidentes ad nostros oculos reflectuntur, eundem perinde ac si in aqua esset, imaginamur tametsi verum ejus locum noverimus et sic reliquæ imaginationes quibus mens fallitur, sive eæ naturalem corporis constitutionem sive quod ejusdem agendi potentiam augeri vel minui indicant, vero non sunt contrariæ nec ejusdem præsentia evanescunt. Fit quidem cum falso aliquod malum timemus, ut timor evanescat audito vero nuntio sed contra etiam fit cum malum quod certe venturum est, timemus ut timor etiam evanescat audito falso nuntio atque adeo imaginationes non præsentia veri quatenus verum evanescunt sed quia aliæ occurrunt iis fortiores quæ rerum quas imaginamur, præsentem existentiam secludunt, ut propositione 17 partis II ostendimus.

PROPOSITIO II : Nos eatenus patimur quatenus Naturæ sumus pars quæ per se absque aliis non potest concipi.

DEMONSTRATIO : Nos tum pati dicimur cum aliquid in nobis oritur cujus non nisi partialis sumus causa (per definitionem 2 partis III) hoc est (per definitionem 1 partis III) aliquid quod ex solis legibus nostræ naturæ deduci nequit. Patimur igitur quatenus Naturæ sumus pars quæ per se absque aliis nequit concipi. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO III : Vis qua homo in existendo perseverat, limitata est et a potentia causarum externarum infinite superatur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Patet ex axiome hujus. Nam dato homine datur aliquid aliud, puta A potentius et dato A datur deinde aliud, puta B ipso A potentius et hoc in infinitum ac proinde potentia hominis potentia alterius rei definitur et a potentia causarum externarum infinite superatur. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO IV : Fieri non potest ut homo non sit Naturæ pars et ut nullas possit pati mutationes nisi quæ per solam suam naturam possint intelligi quarumque adæquata sit causa.

DEMONSTRATIO : Potentia qua res singulares et consequenter homo suum esse conservat, est ipsa Dei sive Naturæ potentia (per corollarium propositionis 24

partis I) non quatenus infinita est sed quatenus per humanam actualement essentiam explicari potest (per propositionem 7 partis III). Potentia itaque hominis quatenus per ipsius actualement essentiam explicatur, pars est infinitæ Dei seu Naturæ potentia hoc est (per propositionem 34 partis I) essentia, quod erat primum. Deinde si fieri posset ut homo nullas posset pati mutationes nisi quæ per solam ipsius hominis naturam possint intelligi, sequeretur (per propositiones 4 et 6 partis III) ut non posset perire sed ut semper necessario existeret atque hoc sequi deberet ex causa cujus potentia finita aut infinita sit nempe vel ex sola hominis potentia, qui scilicet potis esset ut a se removeret reliquas mutationes quæ a causis externis oriri possent vel infinita Naturæ potentia a qua omnia singularia ita dirigerentur ut homo nullas alias posset pati mutationes nisi quæ ipsius conservationi inserviunt. At primum (per propositionem præcedentem cujus demonstratio universalis est et ad omnes res singulares applicari potest) est absurdum; ergo si fieri posset ut homo nullas pateretur mutationes nisi quæ per solam ipsius hominis naturam possent intelligi et consequenter (sicut jam ostendimus) ut semper necessario existeret, id sequi deberet ex Dei infinita potentia et consequenter (per propositionem 16 partis I) ex necessitate divinæ naturæ quatenus alicujus hominis idea affectus consideratur, totius Naturæ ordo quatenus ipsa sub extensionis et cogitationis attributis concipitur, deduci deberet atque adeo (per propositionem 21 partis I) sequeretur ut homo esset infinitus, quod (per I partem hujus demonstrationis) est absurdum. Fieri itaque nequit ut homo nullas alias patiat mutationes nisi quarum ipse adæquata sit causa. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Hinc sequitur hominem necessario passionibus esse semper obnoxium communemque Naturæ ordinem sequi et eidem parere seseque eidem quantum rerum natura exigit, accommodare.

PROPOSITIO V : Vis et incrementum cujuscunque passionis ejusque in existendo perseverantia non definitur potentia qua nos in existendo perseverare conamur sed causæ externæ potentia cum nostra comparata.

DEMONSTRATIO : Passionis essentia non potest per solam nostram essentiam explicari (per definitiones 1 et 2 partis III) hoc est (per propositionem 7

partis III) passionis potentia definiri nequit potentia qua in nostro esse perseverare conamur sed (ut propositione 16 partis II ostensum est) definiri necessario debet potentia causæ externæ cum nostra comparata. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO VI : Vis alicujus passionis seu affectus reliquas hominis actiones seu potentiam superare potest ita ut affectus pertinaciter homini adhæreat.

DEMONSTRATIO : Vis et incrementum cujuscunque passionis ejusque in existendo perseverantia definitur potentia causæ externæ cum nostra comparata (per propositionem præcedentem) adeoque (per propositionem 3 hujus) hominis potentiam superare potest etc. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO VII : Affectus nec coerceri nec tolli potest nisi per affectum contrarium et fortiorem affectu coercendo.

DEMONSTRATIO : Affectus quatenus ad mentem refertur est idea qua mens majorem vel minorem sui corporis existendi vim quam antea affirmat (per generalem affectuum definitionem quæ reperitur sub finem tertiæ partis). Cum igitur mens aliquo affectu conflictatur, corpus afficitur simul affectione qua ejus agendi potentia augetur vel minuitur. Porro hæc corporis affectio (per propositionem 5 hujus) vim a sua causa accipit perseverandi in suo esse; quæ proinde nec coerceri nec tolli potest nisi a causa corporea (per propositionem 6 partis II) quæ corpus afficiat affectione illi contraria (per propositionem 5 partis III) et fortiore (per axioma hujus) atque adeo (per propositionem 12 partis II) mens afficietur idea affectionis fortioris et contrariæ priori hoc est (per generalem affectuum definitionem) mens afficietur affectu fortiori et contrario priori qui scilicet prioris existentiam secludet vel tollet ac proinde affectus nec tolli nec coerceri potest nisi per affectum contrarium et fortiorem. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Affectus quatenus ad mentem refertur nec coerceri nec tolli potest nisi per ideam corporis affectionis contrariæ et fortioris affectione qua patimur. Nam affectus quo patimur nec coerceri nec tolli potest nisi per affectum eodem fortiorem eique contrarium (per propositionem præcedentem) hoc est (per

generalem affectuum definitionem) nisi per ideam corporis affectionis fortioris et contrariæ affectioni qua patimur.

PROPOSITIO VIII : Cognitio boni et mali nihil aliud est quam lætitiæ vel tristitiæ affectus quatenus ejus sumus conscii.

DEMONSTRATIO : Id bonum aut malum vocamus quod nostro esse conservando prodest vel obest (per definitiones 1 et 2 hujus) hoc est (per propositionem 7 partis III) quod nostram agendi potentiam auget vel minuit, juvat vel coercescit. Quatenus itaque (per definitiones lætitiæ et tristitiæ, quas vide in scholio propositionis 11 partis III) rem aliquam nos lætitia vel tristitia afficere percipimus, eandem bonam aut malam vocamus atque adeo boni et mali cognitio nihil aliud est quam lætitiæ vel tristitiæ idea quæ ex ipso lætitiæ vel tristitiæ affectu necessario sequitur (per propositionem 22 partis II). At hæc idea eodem modo unita est affectui ac mens unita est corpori (per propositionem 21 partis II) hoc est (ut in scholio ejusdem propositionis ostensum) hæc idea ab ipso affectu sive (per generalem affectuum definitionem) ab idea corporis affectionis revera non distinguitur nisi solo conceptu; ergo hæc cognitio boni et mali nihil est aliud quam ipse affectus quatenus ejusdem sumus conscii. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO IX : Affectus cujus causam in præsentī nobis adesse imaginamur, fortior est quam si eandem non adesse imaginaremur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Imaginatio est idea qua mens rem ut præsentem contemplatur (vide ejus definitionem in scholio propositionis 17 partis II) quæ tamen magis corporis humani constitutionem quam rei externæ naturam indicat (per corollarium II propositionis 16 partis II). Est igitur affectus (per generalem affectuum definitionem) imaginatio quatenus corporis constitutionem indicat. At imaginatio (per propositionem 17 partis II) intensior est quamdiu nihil imaginamur quod rei externæ præsentem existentiam secludit; ergo etiam affectus cujus causam in præsentī nobis adesse imaginamur, intensior seu fortior est quam si eandem non adesse imaginaremur. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Cum supra in propositione 18 partis III dixerim nos ex rei futuræ vel præteritæ imagine eodem affectu affici ac si res quam imaginamur

præsens esset, expresse monui id verum esse quatenus ad solam ipsius rei imaginem attendimus; est enim ejusdem naturæ sive res ut præsentes imaginati simus sive non simus sed non negavi eandem debiliorem reddi quando alias res nobis præsentes contemplamur quæ rei futuræ præsentem existentiam secludunt, quod tum monere neglexi quia in hac parte de affectuum viribus agere constitueram.

COROLLARIUM : Imago rei futuræ vel præteritæ hoc est rei quam cum relatione ad tempus futurum vel præteritum secluso præsentem contemplamur, cæteris paribus debilior est imagine rei præsentis et consequenter affectus erga rem futuram vel præteritam cæteris paribus remissior est affectu erga rem præsentem.

PROPOSITIO X : Erga rem futuram quam cito affuturam imaginamur, intensius afficimur quam si ejus existendi tempus longius a præsentem distare imaginaremur et memoria rei quam non diu præteriisse imaginamur, intensius etiam afficimur quam si eandem diu præteriisse imaginaremur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Quatenus enim rem cito affuturam vel non diu præteriisse imaginamur, eo ipso aliquid imaginamur quod rei præsentiam minus secludit quam si ejusdem futurum existendi tempus longius a præsentem distare vel quod dudum præterierit, imaginaremur (ut per se notum) adeoque (per præcedentem propositionem) eatenus intensius erga eandem afficiemur. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Ex iis quæ ad definitionem 6 hujus partis notavimus, sequitur nos erga objecta quæ a præsentem longiore temporis intervallo distant quam quod imaginando determinare possumus quamvis ab invicem longo temporis intervallo distare intelligamus, æque tamen remisse affici.

PROPOSITIO XI : Affectus erga rem quam ut necessariam imaginamur, cæteris paribus intensior est quam erga possibilem vel contingentem sive non necessariam.

DEMONSTRATIO : Quatenus rem aliquam necessariam esse imaginamur eatenus ejus existentiam affirmamus et contra rei existentiam negamus quatenus eandem non necessariam esse imaginamur (per scholium I propositionis 33 partis

I) ac proinde (per propositionem 9 hujus) affectus erga rem necessariam cæteris paribus intensior est quam erga non necessariam. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XII : Affectus erga rem quam scimus in præsentem non existere et quam ut possibilem imaginamur, cæteris paribus intensior est quam erga contingentem.

DEMONSTRATIO : Quatenus rem ut contingentem imaginamur, nulla alterius rei imagine afficimur quæ rei existentiam ponat (per definitionem 3 hujus) sed contra (secundum hypothesin) quædam imaginamur quæ ejusdem præsentem existentiam secludunt. At quatenus rem in futurum possibilem esse imaginamur eatenus quædam imaginamur quæ ejusdem existentiam ponunt (per definitionem 4 hujus) hoc est (per propositionem 18 partis III) quæ spem vel metum foveant atque adeo affectus erga rem possibilem vehementior est. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Affectus erga rem quam scimus in præsentem non existere et quam ut contingentem imaginamur, multo remissior est quam si rem in præsentem nobis adesse imaginaremur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Affectus erga rem quam in præsentem existere imaginamur, intensior est quam si eandem ut futuram imaginaremur (per corollarium propositionis 9 hujus) et multo vehementior est quam si tempus futurum a præsentem multum distare imaginaremur (per propositionem 10 hujus). Est itaque affectus erga rem cujus existendi tempus longe a præsentem distare imaginamur, multo remissior quam si eandem ut præsentem imaginaremur et nihilominus (per propositionem præcedentem) intensior est quam si eandem rem ut contingentem imaginaremur atque adeo affectus erga rem contingentem multo remissior erit quam si rem in præsentem nobis adesse imaginaremur. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XIII : Affectus erga rem contingentem quam scimus in præsentem non existere, cæteris paribus remissior est quam affectus erga rem præteritam.

DEMONSTRATIO : Quatenus rem ut contingentem imaginamur, nulla alterius rei imagine afficimur quæ rei existentiam ponat (per definitionem 3 hujus). Sed contra (secundum hypothesin) quædam imaginamur quæ ejusdem præsentem existentiam secludunt. Verum quatenus eandem cum relatione ad tempus

præteritum imaginamur eatenus aliquid imaginari supponimur quod ipsam ad memoriam redigit sive quod rei imaginem excitat (vide propositionem 18 partis II cum ejusdem scholio) ac proinde eatenus efficit ut ipsam ac si præsens esset, contemplemur (per corollarium propositionis 17 partis II) atque adeo (per propositionem 9 hujus) affectus erga rem contingentem quam scimus in præsentia non existere, cæteris paribus remissior erit quam affectus erga rem præteritam. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XIV : Vera boni et mali cognitio quatenus vera nullum affectum coercere potest sed tantum quatenus ut affectus consideratur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Affectus est idea qua mens majorem vel minorem sui corporis existendi vim quam antea affirmat (per generalem affectuum definitionem) atque adeo (per propositionem 1 hujus) nihil positivum habet quod præsentia veri tolli possit et consequenter vera boni et mali cognitio quatenus vera nullum affectum coercere potest. At quatenus affectus est (vide propositionem 8 hujus) si fortior affectu coercendo sit, eatenus tantum (per propositionem 7 hujus) affectum coercere poterit. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XV : Cupiditas quæ ex vera boni et mali cognitione oritur, multis aliis cupiditatibus quæ ex affectibus quibus conflictamur oriuntur, restringi vel coerceri potest.

DEMONSTRATIO : Ex vera boni et mali cognitione quatenus hæc (per propositionem 8 hujus) affectus est, oritur necessario cupiditas (per 1 affectuum definitionem) quæ eo est major quo affectus ex quo oritur major est (per propositionem 37 partis III). Sed quia hæc cupiditas (per hypothesin) ex eo quod aliquid vere intelligimus, oritur, sequitur ergo ipsa in nobis quatenus agimus (per propositionem 3 partis III) atque adeo per solam nostram essentiam debet intelligi (per definitionem 2 partis III) et consequenter (per propositionem 7 partis III) ejus vis et incrementum sola humana potentia definiri debet. Porro cupiditates quæ ex affectibus quibus conflictamur oriuntur, eo etiam majores sunt quo hi affectus vehementiores erunt atque adeo earum vis et incrementum (per propositionem 5 hujus) potentia causarum externarum definiri debet quæ, si cum nostra

comparetur, nostram potentiam indefinite superat (per propositionem 3 hujus) atque adeo cupiditates quæ ex similibus affectibus oriuntur, vehementiores esse possunt illa quæ ex vera boni et mali cognitione oritur ac proinde (per propositionem 7 hujus) eandem coercere vel restringere poterunt. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XVI : Cupiditas quæ ex cognitione boni et mali quatenus hæc cognitio futurum respicit, oritur, facilius rerum cupiditate quæ in præsentia suaves sunt, coerceri vel restringi potest.

DEMONSTRATIO : Affectus erga rem quam futuram imaginamur, remissior est quam erga præsentem (per corollarium propositionis 9 hujus). At cupiditas quæ ex vera boni et mali cognitione oritur, tametsi hæc cognitio circa res quæ in præsentia bonæ sunt, versetur, restringi vel coerceri potest aliqua temeraria cupiditate (per propositionem præcedentem cujus demonstratio universalis est); ergo cupiditas quæ ex eadem cognitione quatenus hæc futurum respicit, oritur, facilius coerceri vel restringi poterit etc. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XVII : Cupiditas quæ oritur ex vera boni et mali cognitione quatenus hæc circa res contingentes versatur, multo adhuc facilius coerceri potest cupiditate rerum quæ præsentis sunt.

DEMONSTRATIO : Propositio hæc eodem modo ac propositio præcedens demonstratur ex corollario propositionis 12 hujus.

SCHOLIUM : His me causam ostendisse credo cur homines opinione magis quam vera ratione commoveantur et cur vera boni et mali cognitio animi commotiones excitet et sæpe omni libidinis generi cedat; unde illud poetæ natum : video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor. Quod idem etiam Ecclesiastes in mente habuisse videtur cum dixit : qui auget scientiam, auget dolorem. Atque hæc non eum in finem dico ut inde concludam præstabilius esse ignorare quam scire vel quod stulto intelligens in moderandis affectibus nihil intersit sed ideo quia necesse est nostræ naturæ tam potentiam quam impotentiam noscere ut determinare possimus quid ratio in moderandis affectibus possit et quid non possit et in hac parte de sola humana impotentia me acturum dixi. Nam de rationis in affectus potentia separatim agere constitui.

PROPOSITIO XVIII : Cupiditas quæ ex lætitia oritur, cæteris paribus fortior est cupiditate quæ ex tristitia oritur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Cupiditas est ipsa hominis essentia (per 1 affectuum definitionem) hoc est (per propositionem 7 partis III) conatus quo homo in suo esse perseverare conatur. Quare cupiditas quæ ex lætitia oritur, ipso lætitiae affectu (per definitionem lætitiae, quam vide in scholio propositionis 11 partis III) juvatur vel augetur; quæ autem contra ex tristitia oritur, ipso tristitiæ affectu (per idem scholium) minuitur vel coercetur atque adeo vis cupiditatis quæ ex lætitia oritur, potentia humana simul et potentia causæ externæ, quæ autem ex tristitia sola humana potentia definiri debet ac proinde hac illa fortior est. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : His paucis humanæ impotentiae et inconstantiae causas et cur homines rationis præcepta non servant, explicui. Superest jam ut ostendam quid id sit quod ratio nobis præscribit et quinam affectus cum rationis humanæ regulis conveniant, quinam contra iisdem contrarii sint. Sed antequam hæc prolixo nostro geometrico ordine demonstrare incipiam, lubet ipsa rationis dictamina hic prius breviter ostendere ut ea quæ sentio facilius ab unoquoque percipiantur. Cum ratio nihil contra naturam postulet, postulat ergo ipsa ut unusquisque seipsum amet, suum utile, quod revera utile est, quærat et id omne quod hominem ad majorem perfectionem revera ducit, appetat et absolute ut unusquisque suum esse quantum in se est, conservare conetur. Quod quidem tam necessario verum est quam quod totum sit sua parte majus (vide propositionem 4 partis III). Deinde quandoquidem virtus (per definitionem 8 hujus) nihil aliud est quam ex legibus propriæ naturæ agere et nemo suum esse (per propositionem 7 partis III) conservare conetur nisi ex propriæ suæ naturæ legibus, hinc sequitur primo virtutis fundamentum esse ipsum conatum proprium esse conservandi et felicitatem in eo consistere quod homo suum esse conservare potest. Secundo sequitur virtutem propter se esse appetendam nec quicquam quod ipsa præstabilius aut quod utilius nobis sit, dari, cujus causa deberet appeti. Tertio denique sequitur eos qui se interficiunt animo esse impotentes eosque a causis externis suæ naturæ repugnantibus prorsus vinci. Porro ex postulato 4 partis II sequitur nos efficere nunquam posse ut nihil extra

nos indigeamus ad nostrum esse conservandum et ut ita vivamus ut nullum commercium cum rebus quæ extra nos sunt, habeamus et si præterea nostram mentem spectemus, sane noster intellectus imperfectior esset si mens sola esset nec quicquam præter se ipsam intelligeret. Multa igitur extra nos dantur quæ nobis utilia quæque propterea appetenda sunt. Ex his nulla præstantiora excogitari possunt quam ea quæ cum nostra natura prorsus conveniunt. Si enim duo exempli gratia ejusdem prorsus naturæ individua invicem junguntur, individuum componunt singulo duplo potentius. Homini igitur nihil homine utilius; nihil inquam homines præstantius ad suum esse conservandum optare possunt quam quod omnes in omnibus ita conveniant ut omnium mentes et corpora unam quasi mentem unumque corpus componant et omnes simul quantum possunt suum esse conservare conentur omnesque simul omnium commune utile sibi quærant; ex quibus sequitur homines qui ratione gubernantur hoc est homines qui ex ductu rationis suum utile quærent, nihil sibi appetere quod reliquis hominibus non cupiant atque adeo eosdem justos, fidos atque honestos esse.

Hæc illa rationis dictamina sunt quæ hic paucis ostendere proposueram antequam eadem prolixiore ordine demonstrare inciperem, quod ea de causa feci ut, si fieri posset, eorum attentionem mihi conciliarem qui credunt hoc principium, quod scilicet unusquisque suum utile quærere tenetur, impietatis, non autem virtutis et pietatis esse fundamentum. Postquam igitur rem sese contra habere breviter ostenderim, pergo ad eandem eadem via qua huc usque progressi sumus, demonstrandum.

PROPOSITIO XIX : Id unusquisque ex legibus suæ naturæ necessario appetit vel aversatur quod bonum vel malum esse judicat.

DEMONSTRATIO : Boni et mali cognitio est (per propositionem 8 hujus) ipse lætitiæ vel tristitiæ affectus quatenus ejusdem sumus conscii ac proinde (per propositionem 28 partis III) id unusquisque necessario appetit quod bonum et contra id aversatur quod malum esse judicat. Sed hic appetitus nihil aliud est quam ipsa hominis essentia seu natura (per definitionem appetitus, quam vide in

scholio propositionis 9 partis III et 1 affectuum definitionem). Ergo unusquisque ex solis suæ naturæ legibus id necessario appetit vel aversatur etc. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XX : Quo magis unusquisque suum utile quærere hoc est suum esse conservare conatur et potest eo magis virtute præditus est et contra quatenus unusquisque suum utile hoc est suum esse conservare negligit eatenus est impotens.

DEMONSTRATIO : Virtus est ipsa humana potentia quæ sola hominis essentia definitur (per definitionem 8 hujus) hoc est (per propositionem 7 partis III) quæ solo conatu quo homo in suo esse perseverare conatur, definitur. Quo ergo unusquisque magis suum esse conservare conatur et potest eo magis virtute præditus est et consequenter (per propositiones 4 et 6 partis III) quatenus aliquis suum esse conservare negligit eatenus est impotens. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Nemo igitur nisi a causis externis et suæ naturæ contrariis victus suum utile appetere sive suum esse conservare negligit. Nemo inquam ex necessitate suæ naturæ sed a causis externis coactus alimenta aversatur vel se ipsum interficit, quod multis modis fieri potest nempe interficit aliquis se ipsum coactus ab alio qui ejus dexteram qua ensem casu prehenderat, contorquet et cogit versus cor ipsum gladium dirigere vel quod ex mandato tyranni ut Seneca cogatur venas aperire suas hoc est majus malum minore vitare cupiat vel denique ex eo quod causæ latentes externæ ejus imaginationem ita disponunt et corpus ita afficiunt ut id aliam naturam priori contrariam induat et cujus idea in mente dari nequit (per propositionem 10 partis III). At quod homo ex necessitate suæ naturæ conetur non existere vel in aliam formam mutari, tam est impossibile quam quod ex nihilo aliquid fiat, ut unusquisque mediocri meditatione videre potest.

PROPOSITIO XXI : Nemo potest cupere beatum esse, bene agere et bene vivere qui simul non cupiat esse, agere et vivere hoc est actu existere.

DEMONSTRATIO : Hujus propositionis demonstratio seu potius res ipsa per se patet et etiam ex cupiditatis definitione. Est enim cupiditas (per 1 affectuum definitionem) beate seu bene vivendi, agendi etc. ipsa hominis essentia hoc est

(per propositionem 7 partis III) conatus quo unusquisque suum esse conservare conatur. Ergo nemo potest cupere etc. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXII : Nulla virtus potest prior hac (nempe conatu sese conservandi) concipi.

DEMONSTRATIO : Conatus sese conservandi est ipsa rei essentia (per propositionem 7 partis III). Si igitur aliqua virtus posset hac nempe hoc conatu prior concipi, conciperetur ergo (per definitionem 8 hujus) ipsa rei essentia se ipsa prior, quod (ut per se notum) est absurdum. Ergo nulla virtus etc. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Conatus sese conservandi primum et unicum virtutis est fundamentum. Nam hoc principio nullum aliud potest prius concipi (per propositionem præcedentem) et absque ipso (per propositionem 21 hujus) nulla virtus potest concipi.

PROPOSITIO XXIII : Homo quatenus ad aliquid agendum determinatur ex eo quod ideas habet inadæquatas, non potest absolute dici ex virtute agere sed tantum quatenus determinatur ex eo quod intelligit.

DEMONSTRATIO : Quatenus homo ad agendum determinatur ex eo quod inadæquatas habet ideas eatenus (per propositionem 1 partis III) patitur hoc est (per definitiones 1 et 2 partis III) aliquid agit quod per solam ejus essentiam non potest percipi hoc est (per definitionem 8 hujus) quod ex ipsius virtute non sequitur. At quatenus ad aliquid agendum determinatur ex eo quod intelligit eatenus (per eandem propositionem 1 partis III) agit hoc est (per definitionem 2 partis III) aliquid agit quod per solam ipsius essentiam percipitur sive (per definitionem 8 hujus) quod ex ipsius virtute adæquate sequitur. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXIV : Ex virtute absolute agere nihil aliud in nobis est quam ex ductu rationis agere, vivere, suum esse conservare (hæc tria idem significant) idque ex fundamento proprium utile quærendi.

DEMONSTRATIO : Ex virtute absolute agere nihil aliud est (per definitionem 8 hujus) quam ex legibus propriæ naturæ agere. At nos eatenus tantummodo agimus quatenus intelligimus (per propositionem 3 partis III). Ergo ex virtute agere nihil aliud in nobis est quam ex ductu rationis agere, vivere, suum esse

conservare idque (per corollarium propositionis 22 hujus) ex fundamento suum utile quærendi. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXV : Nemo suum esse alterius rei causa conservare conatur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Conatus quo unaquæque res in suo esse perseverare conatur, sola ipsius rei essentia definitur (per propositionem 7 partis III) eaque sola data, non autem ex alterius rei essentia necessario sequitur (per propositionem 6 partis III) ut unusquisque suum esse conservare conetur. Patet præterea hæc propositio ex corollario propositionis 22 hujus partis. Nam si homo alterius rei causa suum esse conservare conaretur, tum res illa primum esset virtutis fundamentum (ut per se notum) quod (per prædictum corollarium) est absurdum. Ergo nemo suum esse etc. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXVI : Quicquid ex ratione conamur, nihil aliud est quam intelligere nec mens quatenus ratione utitur, aliud sibi utile esse judicat nisi id quod ad intelligendum conducit.

DEMONSTRATIO : Conatus sese conservandi nihil est præter ipsius rei essentiam (per propositionem 7 partis III) quæ quatenus talis existit, vim habere concipitur ad perseverandum in existendo (per propositionem 6 partis III) et ea agendum quæ ex data sua natura necessario sequuntur (vide definitionem appetitus in scholio propositionis 9 partis III). At rationis essentia nihil aliud est quam mens nostra quatenus clare et distincte intelligit (vide ejus definitionem in II scholio propositionis 40 partis II). Ergo (per propositionem 40 partis II) quicquid ex ratione conamur, nihil aliud est quam intelligere. Deinde quoniam hic mentis conatus quo mens quatenus ratiocinatur suum esse conatur conservare, nihil aliud est quam intelligere (per primam partem hujus) est ergo hic intelligendi conatus (per corollarium propositionis 22 hujus) primum et unicum virtutis fundamentum nec alicujus finis causa (per propositionem 25 hujus) res intelligere conabimur sed contra mens quatenus ratiocinatur nihil sibi bonum esse concipere poterit nisi id quod ad intelligendum conducit (per definitionem 1 hujus). Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXVII : Nihil certo scimus bonum aut malum esse nisi id quod ad intelligendum revera conducit vel quod impedire potest quominus

intelligamus.

DEMONSTRATIO : Mens quatenus ratiocinatur nihil aliud appetit quam intelligere nec aliud sibi utile esse judicat nisi id quod ad intelligendum conducit (per propositionem præcedentem). At mens (per propositiones 41 et 43 partis II, cujus etiam scholium vide) rerum certitudinem non habet nisi quatenus ideas habet adæquatas sive (quod per scholia propositionis 40 partis II idem est) quatenus ratiocinatur; ergo nihil certo scimus bonum esse nisi id quod ad intelligendum revera conducit et contra id malum quod impedire potest quominus intelligamus. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXVIII : Summum mentis bonum est Dei cognitio et summa mentis virtus Deum cognoscere.

DEMONSTRATIO : Summum quod mens intelligere potest, Deus est hoc est (per definitionem 6 partis I) Ens absolute infinitum et sine quo (per propositionem 15 partis I) nihil esse neque concipi potest adeoque (per propositiones 26 et 27 hujus) summum mentis utile sive (per definitionem 1 hujus) bonum est Dei cognitio. Deinde mens quatenus intelligit eatenus tantum agit (per propositiones 1 et 3 partis III) et eatenus tantum (per propositionem 23 hujus) potest absolute dici quod ex virtute agit. Est igitur mentis absoluta virtus intelligere. At summum quod mens intelligere potest, Deus est (ut jam jam demonstravimus). Ergo mentis summa virtus est Deum intelligere seu cognoscere. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXIX : Res quæcunque singularis cujus natura a nostra prorsus est diversa, nostram agendi potentiam nec juvare nec coercere potest et absolute res nulla potest nobis bona aut mala esse nisi commune aliquid nobiscum habeat.

DEMONSTRATIO : Cujuscunque rei singularis et consequenter (per corollarium propositionis 10 partis II) hominis potentia qua existit et operatur, non determinatur nisi ab alia re singulari (per propositionem 28 partis I) cujus natura (per propositionem 6 partis II) per idem attributum debet intelligi per quod natura humana concipitur. Nostra igitur agendi potentia quomodocunque ea concipiatur, determinari et consequenter juvari vel coerceri potest potentia alterius rei singularis quæ aliquid commune nobiscum habet et non potentia rei cujus natura a

nostra prorsus est diversa et quia id bonum aut malum vocamus quod causa est lætitiæ aut tristitiæ (per propositionem 8 hujus) hoc est (per scholium propositionis 11 partis III) quod nostram agendi potentiam auget vel minuit, juvat vel coercet, ergo res cujus natura a nostra prorsus est diversa nobis neque bona neque mala esse potest. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXX : Res nulla per id quod cum nostra natura commune habet, potest esse mala sed quatenus nobis mala est eatenus est nobis contraria.

DEMONSTRATIO : Id malum vocamus quod causa est tristitiæ (per propositionem 8 hujus) hoc est (per ejus definitionem, quam vide in scholio propositionis 11 partis III) quod nostram agendi potentiam minuit vel coercet. Si igitur res aliqua per id quod nobiscum habet commune, nobis esset mala, posset ergo res id ipsum quod nobiscum commune habet, minuere vel coercere, quod (per propositionem 4 partis III) est absurdum. Nulla igitur res per id quod nobiscum commune habet, potest nobis esse mala sed contra quatenus mala est hoc est (ut jam jam ostendimus) quatenus nostram agendi potentiam minuere vel coercere potest eatenus (per propositionem 5 partis III) nobis est contraria. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXXI : Quatenus res aliqua cum nostra natura convenit eatenus necessario bona est.

DEMONSTRATIO : Quatenus enim res aliqua cum nostra natura convenit, non potest (per propositionem præcedentem) esse mala. Erit ergo necessario vel bona vel indifferens. Si hoc ponatur nempe quod neque bona sit neque mala, nihil ergo (per definitionem 1 hujus) ex ipsius natura sequetur quod nostræ naturæ conservationi inservit hoc est (per hypothesin) quod ipsius rei naturæ conservationi inservit sed hoc est absurdum (per propositionem 6 partis III); erit ergo quatenus cum nostra natura convenit, necessario bona. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Hinc sequitur quod quo res aliqua magis cum nostra natura convenit, eo nobis est utilior seu magis bona et contra quo res aliqua nobis est utilior, eatenus cum nostra natura magis convenit. Nam quatenus cum nostra natura non convenit, erit necessario a nostra natura diversa vel eidem contraria. Si diversa, tum (per propositionem 29 hujus) neque bona neque mala esse poterit; si

autem contraria, erit ergo etiam ei contraria quæ cum nostra natura convenit hoc est (per propositionem præcedentem) contraria bono seu mala. Nihil igitur nisi quatenus cum nostra natura convenit, potest esse bonum atque adeo quo res aliqua magis cum nostra natura convenit, eo est utilior et contra. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXXII : Quatenus homines passionibus sunt obnoxii, non possunt eatenus dici quod natura conveniant.

DEMONSTRATIO : Quæ natura convenire dicuntur, potentia convenire intelliguntur (per propositionem 7 partis III) non autem impotentia seu negatione et consequenter (vide scholium propositionis 3 partis III) neque etiam passione; quare homines quatenus passionibus sunt obnoxii, non possunt dici quod natura conveniant. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Res etiam per se patet; qui enim ait album et nigrum in eo solummodo convenire quod neutrum sit rubrum, is absolute affirmat album et nigrum nulla in re convenire. Sic etiam si quis ait lapidem et hominem in hoc tantum convenire quod uterque sit finitus, impotens vel quod ex necessitate suæ naturæ non existit vel denique quod a potentia causarum externarum indefinite superatur, is omnino affirmat lapidem et hominem nulla in re convenire; quæ enim in sola negatione sive in eo quod non habent conveniunt, ea revera nulla in re conveniunt.

PROPOSITIO XXXIII : Homines natura discrepare possunt quatenus affectibus qui passiones sunt, conflictantur et eatenus etiam unus idemque homo varius est et inconstans.

DEMONSTRATIO : Affectuum natura seu essentia non potest per solam nostram essentiam seu naturam explicari (per definitiones 1 et 2 partis III) sed potentia hoc est (per propositionem 7 partis III) natura causarum externarum cum nostra comparata definiri debet; unde fit ut uniuscujusque affectus tot species dentur quot sunt species objectorum a quibus afficimur (vide propositionem 56 partis III) et ut homines ab uno eodemque objecto diversimode afficiantur (vide propositionem 51 partis III) atque eatenus natura discrepent et denique ut unus

idemque homo (per eandem propositionem 51 partis III) erga idem objectum diversimode afficiatur atque eatenus varius sit etc. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXXIV : Quatenus homines affectibus qui passiones sunt, conflictantur, possunt invicem esse contrarii.

DEMONSTRATIO : Homo exempli gratia Petrus potest esse causa ut Paulus contristetur propterea quod aliquid habet simile rei quam Paulus odit (per propositionem 16 partis III) vel propterea quod Petrus solus re aliqua potitur quam ipse Paulus etiam amat (vide propositionem 32 partis III cum ejusdem scholio) vel ob alias causas (harum præcipuas vide in scholio propositionis 55 partis III) atque adeo inde fiet (per definitionem 7 affectuum) ut Paulus Petrum odio habeat et consequenter facile fiet (per propositionem 40 partis III cum ejus scholio) ut Petrus Paulum contra odio habeat atque adeo (per propositionem 39 partis III) ut invicem malum inferre conentur hoc est (per propositionem 30 hujus) ut invicem sint contrarii. At affectus tristitiæ semper passio est (per propositionem 59 partis III); ergo homines quatenus conflictantur affectibus qui passiones sunt, possunt invicem esse contrarii. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Dixi quod Paulus odio Petrum habeat quia imaginatur id eundem possidere quod ipse Paulus etiam amat; unde prima fronte videtur sequi quod hi duo ex eo quod idem amant et consequenter ex eo quod natura conveniunt, sibi invicem damno sint atque adeo si hoc verum est, falsæ essent propositio 30 et 31 hujus partis. Sed si rem æqua lance examinare velimus, hæc omnia convenire omnino videbimus. Nam hi duo non sunt invicem molesti quatenus natura conveniunt hoc est quatenus uterque idem amat, sed quatenus ab invicem discrepant. Nam quatenus uterque idem amat, eo ipso utriusque amor fovetur (per propositionem 31 partis III) hoc est (per definitionem 6 affectuum) eo ipso utriusque lætitia fovetur. Quare longe abest ut quatenus idem amant et natura conveniunt, invicem molesti sint. Sed hujus rei causa ut dixi nulla alia est quam quia natura discrepare supponuntur. Supponimus namque Petrum ideam habere rei amatæ jam possessæ et Paulum contra ideam rei amatæ amissæ. Unde fit ut hic tristitia et ille contra lætitia afficiatur atque eatenus invicem contrarii sint. Et

ad hunc modum ostendere facile possumus reliquas odii causas ab hoc solo pendere quod homines natura discrepant et non ab eo in quo conveniunt.

PROPOSITIO XXXV : Quatenus homines ex ductu rationis vivunt eatenus tantum natura semper necessario conveniunt.

DEMONSTRATIO : Quatenus homines affectibus qui passiones sunt, conflictantur, possunt esse natura diversi (per propositionem 33 hujus) et invicem contrarii (per propositionem præcedentem). Sed eatenus homines tantum agere dicuntur quatenus ex ductu rationis vivunt (per propositionem 3 partis III) atque adeo quicquid ex humana natura quatenus ratione definitur, sequitur id (per definitionem 2 partis III) per solam humanam naturam tanquam per proximam suam causam debet intelligi. Sed quia unusquisque ex suæ naturæ legibus id appetit quod bonum et id amovere conatur quod malum esse judicat (per propositionem 19 hujus) et cum præterea id quod ex dictamine rationis bonum aut malum esse judicamus, necessario bonum aut malum sit (per propositionem 41 partis II). Ergo homines quatenus ex ductu rationis vivunt eatenus tantum ea necessario agunt quæ humanæ naturæ et consequenter unicuique homini necessario bona sunt hoc est (per corollarium propositionis 31 hujus) quæ cum natura uniuscujusque hominis conveniunt atque adeo homines etiam inter se quatenus ex ductu rationis vivunt, necessario semper conveniunt. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM I : Nihil singulare in rerum natura datur quod homini sit utilius quam homo qui ex ductu rationis vivit. Nam id homini utilissimum est quod cum sua natura maxime convenit (per corollarium propositionis 31 hujus) hoc est (ut per se notum) homo. At homo ex legibus suæ naturæ absolute agit quando ex ductu rationis vivit (per definitionem 2 partis III) et eatenus tantum cum natura alterius hominis necessario semper convenit (per propositionem præcedentem); ergo homini nihil inter res singulares utilius datur quam homo etc. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM II : Cum maxime unusquisque homo suum sibi utile quærit, tum maxime homines sunt sibi invicem utiles. Nam quo magis unusquisque suum utile quærit et se conservare conatur eo magis virtute præditus est (per

propositionem 20 hujus) sive quod idem est (per definitionem 8 hujus) eo majore potentia præditus est ad agendum ex suæ naturæ legibus hoc est (per propositionem 3 partis III) ad vivendum ex ductu rationis. At homines tum maxime natura conveniunt cum ex ductu rationis vivunt (per propositionem præcedentem); ergo (per præcedens corollarium) tum maxime homines erunt sibi invicem utiles cum maxime unusquisque suum utile sibi quærit. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Quæ modo ostendimus, ipsa etiam experientia quotidie tot tamque luculentis testimoniis testatur ut omnibus fere in ore sit : hominem homini Deum esse. Fit tamen raro ut homines ex ductu rationis vivant sed cum iis ita comparatum est ut plerumque invidi atque invicem molesti sint. At nihilominus vitam solitariam vix transigere queunt ita ut plerisque illa definitio quod homo sit animal sociale, valde arriserit et revera res ita se habet ut ex hominum communi societate multo plura commoda oriantur quam damna. Rideant igitur quantum velint res humanas satyrici easque detestentur theologi et laudent quantum possunt melancholici vitam incultam et agrestem hominesque contemnant et admirentur bruta; experientur tamen homines mutuo auxilio ea quibus indigent multo facilius sibi parare et non nisi junctis viribus pericula quæ ubique imminet, vitare posse; ut jam taceam quod multo præstabilius sit et cognitione nostra magis dignum hominum quam brutorum facta contemplari. Sed de his alias prolixius.

PROPOSITIO XXXVI : Summum bonum eorum qui virtutem sectantur, omnibus commune est eoque omnes æque gaudere possunt.

DEMONSTRATIO : Ex virtute agere est ex ductu rationis agere (per propositionem 24 hujus) et quicquid ex ratione conamur agere, est intelligere (per propositionem 26 hujus) atque adeo (per propositionem 28 hujus) summum bonum eorum qui virtutem sectantur, est Deum cognoscere hoc est (per propositionem 47 partis II et ejusdem scholium) bonum quod omnibus hominibus commune est et ab omnibus hominibus quatenus ejusdem sunt naturæ, possideri æque potest. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Si quis autem roget quid si summum bonum eorum qui virtutem sectantur, non esset omnibus commune? an non inde ut supra (vide propositionem 34 hujus) sequeretur quod homines qui ex ductu rationis vivunt hoc est (per propositionem 35 hujus) homines quatenus natura conveniunt, essent invicem contrarii? Is hoc sibi responsum habeat non ex accidenti sed ex ipsa natura rationis oriri ut hominis summum bonum omnibus sit commune, nimirum quia ex ipsa humana essentia quatenus ratione definitur, deducitur et quia homo nec esse nec concipi posset si potestatem non haberet gaudendi hoc summo bono. Pertinet namque (per propositionem 47 partis II) ad mentis humanæ essentiam adæquatam habere cognitionem æternæ et infinitæ essentiæ Dei.

PROPOSITIO XXXVII : Bonum quod unusquisque qui sectatur virtutem, sibi appetit, reliquis hominibus etiam cupiet et eo magis quo majorem Dei habuerit cognitionem.

DEMONSTRATIO : Homines quatenus ex ductu rationis vivunt, sunt homini utilissimi (per corollarium I propositionis 35 hujus) atque adeo (per propositionem 19 hujus) ex ductu rationis conabimur necessario efficere ut homines ex ductu rationis vivant. At bonum quod unusquisque qui ex rationis dictamine vivit hoc est (per propositionem 24 hujus) qui virtutem sectatur, sibi appetit, est intelligere (per propositionem 26 hujus); ergo bonum quod unusquisque qui virtutem sectatur, sibi appetit, reliquis hominibus etiam cupiet. Deinde cupiditas quatenus ad mentem refertur, est ipsa mentis essentia (per 1 affectuum definitionem); mentis autem essentia in cognitione consistit (per propositionem 11 partis II) quæ Dei cognitionem involvit (per propositionem 47 partis II) et sine qua (per propositionem 15 partis I) nec esse nec concipi potest adeoque quo mentis essentia majorem Dei cognitionem involvit, eo cupiditas qua is qui virtutem sectatur, bonum quod sibi appetit, alteri cupit, etiam major erit. Q.E.D.

ALITER : Bonum quod homo sibi appetit et amat, constantius amabit si viderit alios idem amare (per propositionem 31 partis III) atque adeo (per corollarium ejusdem propositionis) conabitur ut reliqui idem ament et quia hoc bonum (per

propositionem præcedentem) omnibus commune est eoque omnes gaudere possunt, conabitur ergo (per eandem rationem) ut omnes eodem gaudeant et (per propositionem 37 partis III) eo magis quo hoc bono magis fruetur. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM I : Qui ex solo affectu conatur ut reliqui ament quod ipse amat et ut reliqui ex suo ingenio vivant, solo impetu agit et ideo odiosus est præcipue iis quibus alia placent quique propterea etiam student et eodem impetu conantur ut reliqui contra ex ipsorum ingenio vivant. Deinde quoniam summum quod homines ex affectu appetunt bonum sæpe tale est ut unus tantum ejus possit esse compos, hinc fit ut qui amant mente sibi non constant et dum laudes rei quam amant narrare gaudent, timeant credi. At qui reliquos conatur ratione ducere, non impetu sed humaniter et benigne agit et sibi mente maxime constat. Porro quicquid cupimus et agimus cujus causa sumus quatenus Dei habemus ideam sive quatenus Deum cognoscimus, ad religionem refero. Cupiditatem autem bene faciendi quæ eo ingeneratur quod ex rationis ductu vivimus, pietatem voco. Cupiditatem deinde qua homo qui ex ductu rationis vivit, tenetur ut reliquos sibi amicitia jungat, honestatem voco et id honestum quod homines qui ex ductu rationis vivunt, laudant et id contra turpe quod conciliandæ amicitiae repugnat. Præter hæc civitatis etiam quænam sint fundamenta ostendi. Differentia deinde inter veram virtutem et impotentiam facile ex supra dictis percipitur nempe quod vera virtus nihil aliud sit quam ex solo rationis ductu vivere atque adeo impotentia in hoc solo consistit quod homo a rebus quæ extra ipsum sunt, duci se patiatur et ab iis ad ea agendum determinetur quæ rerum externarum communis constitutio, non autem ea quæ ipsa ipsius natura in se sola considerata postulat. Atque hæc illa sunt quæ in scholio propositionis 18 hujus partis demonstrare promisi, ex quibus apparet legem illam de non mactandis brutis magis vana superstitione et muliebri misericordia quam sana ratione fundatam esse. Docet quidem ratio nostrum utile quærendi necessitudinem cum hominibus jungere sed non cum brutis aut rebus quarum natura a natura humana est diversa sed idem jus quod illa in nos habent, nos in ea habere. Imo quia uniuscujusque jus virtute seu potentia uniuscujusque definitur, longe majus homines in bruta quam hæc in homines jus habent. Nec

tamen nego bruta sentire sed nego quod propterea non liceat nostræ utilitati consulere et iisdem ad libitum uti eademque tractare prout nobis magis convenit quandoquidem nobiscum natura non conveniunt et eorum affectus ab affectibus humanis sunt natura diversi (vide scholium propositionis 57 partis III). Superest ut explicem quid justum, quid injustum, quid peccatum et quid denique meritum sit. Sed de his vide sequens scholium.

SCHOLIUM II : In appendice partis primæ explicare promisi quid laus et vituperium, quid meritum et peccatum, quid justum et injustum sit. Laudem et vituperium quod attinet, in scholio propositionis 29 partis III explicui; de reliquis autem hic jam erit dicendi locus. Sed prius pauca de statu hominis naturali et civili dicenda sunt.

Existit unusquisque summo naturæ jure et consequenter summo naturæ jure unusquisque ea agit quæ ex suæ naturæ necessitate sequuntur atque adeo summo naturæ jure unusquisque judicat quid bonum, quid malum sit suæque utilitati ex suo ingenio consulit (vide propositiones 19 et 20 hujus) seseque vindicat (vide corollarium II propositionis 40 partis III) et id quod amat, conservare et id quod odio habet, destruere conatur (vide propositionem 28 partis III). Quod si homines ex ductu rationis viverent, potiretur unusquisque (per corollarium I propositionis 35 hujus) hoc suo jure absque ullo alterius damno. Sed quia affectibus sunt obnoxii (per corollarium propositionis 4 hujus) qui potentiam seu virtutem humanam longe superant (per propositionem 6 hujus) ideo sæpe diversi trahuntur (per propositionem 33 hujus) atque sibi invicem sunt contrarii (per propositionem 34 hujus) mutuo dum auxilio indigent (per scholium propositionis 35 hujus). Ut igitur homines concorditer vivere et sibi auxilio esse possint, necesse est ut jure suo naturali cedant et se invicem securos reddant se nihil acturos quod possit in alterius damnum cedere. Qua autem ratione hoc fieri possit ut scilicet homines qui affectibus necessario sunt obnoxii (per corollarium propositionis 4 hujus) atque inconstantes et varii (per propositionem 33 hujus) possint se invicem securos reddere et fidem invicem habere, patet ex propositione 7 hujus partis et propositione 39 partis III. Nempe quod nullus affectus coerceri potest nisi affectu

fortiore et contrario affectui coercendo et quod unusquisque ab inferendo damno abstinet timore majoris damni. Hac igitur lege societas firmari poterit si modo ipsa sibi vindicet jus quod unusquisque habet sese vindicandi et de bono et malo judicandi quæque adeo potestatem habeat communem vivendi rationem præscribendi legesque ferendi easque non ratione quæ affectus coercere nequit (per scholium propositionis 17 hujus) sed minis firmandi. Hæc autem societas legibus et potestate sese conservandi firmata civitas appellatur et qui ipsius jure defenduntur, cives; ex quibus facile intelligimus nihil in statu naturali dari quod ex omnium consensu bonum aut malum sit quandoquidem unusquisque qui in statu est naturali suæ tantummodo utilitati consulit et ex suo ingenio et quatenus suæ utilitatis tantum habet rationem quid bonum quidve malum sit, decernit et nemini nisi sibi soli obtemperare lege ulla tenetur atque adeo in statu naturali peccatum concipi nequit. At quidem in statu civili ubi et communi consensu decernitur quid bonum quidve malum sit et unusquisque civitati obtemperare tenetur. Est itaque peccatum nihil aliud quam inobedientia quæ propterea solo civitatis jure punitur et contra obedientia civi meritum ducitur quia eo ipso dignus judicatur qui civitatis commodis gaudeat. Deinde in statu naturali nemo ex communi consensu alicujus rei est dominus nec in Natura aliquid datur quod possit dici hujus hominis esse et non illius sed omnia omnium sunt ac proinde in statu naturali nulla potest concipi voluntas unicuique suum tribuendi aut alicui id quod ejus sit eripiendi hoc est in statu naturali nihil fit quod justum aut injustum possit dici; at quidem in statu civili ubi ex communi consensu decernitur quid hujus quidve illius sit. Ex quibus apparet justum et injustum, peccatum et meritum notiones esse extrinsecas, non autem attributa quæ mentis naturam explicant. Sed de his satis.

PROPOSITIO XXXVIII : Id quod corpus humanum ita disponit ut pluribus modis possit affici vel quod idem aptum reddit ad corpora externa pluribus modis afficiendum, homini est utile et eo utilius quo corpus ab eo aptius redditur ut pluribus modis afficiatur aliaque corpora afficiat et contra id noxium est quod corpus ad hæc minus aptum reddit.

DEMONSTRATIO : Quo corpus ad hæc aptius redditur, eo mens aptior ad percipiendum redditur (per propositionem 14 partis II) adeoque id quod corpus hac ratione disponit aptumque ad hæc reddit, est necessario bonum seu utile (per propositiones 26 et 27 hujus) et eo utilius quo corpus ad hæc aptius potest reddere et contra (per eandem propositionem 14 partis II inversam et propositiones 26 et 27 hujus) noxium si corpus ad hæc minus aptum reddat. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXXIX : Quæ efficiunt ut motus et quietis ratio quam corporis humani partes ad invicem habent, conservetur, bona sunt et ea contra mala quæ efficiunt ut corporis humani partes aliam ad invicem motus et quietis habeant rationem.

DEMONSTRATIO : Corpus humanum indiget ut conservetur plurimis aliis corporibus (per postulatum 4 partis II). At id quod formam humani corporis constituit, in hoc consistit quod ejus partes motus suos certa quadam ratione sibi invicem communicent (per definitionem ante lemma 4, quam vide post propositionem 13 partis II). Ergo quæ efficiunt ut motus et quietis ratio quam corporis humani partes ad invicem habent, conservetur, eadem humani corporis formam conservant et consequenter efficiunt (per postulata 3 et 6 partis II) ut corpus humanum multis modis affici et ut idem corpora externa multis modis afficere possit adeoque (per propositionem præcedentem) bona sunt. Deinde quæ efficiunt ut corporis humani partes aliam motus et quietis rationem obtineant, eadem (per eandem definitionem partis II) efficiunt ut corpus humanum aliam formam induat hoc est (ut per se notum et in fine præfationis hujus partis monuimus) ut corpus humanum destruat et consequenter ut omnino ineptum reddatur ne possit pluribus modis affici ac proinde (per propositionem præcedentem) mala sunt. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Quantum hæc menti obesse vel prodesse possunt in quinta parte explicabitur. Sed hic notandum quod corpus tum mortem obire intelligam quando ejus partes ita disponuntur ut aliam motus et quietis rationem ad invicem obtineant. Nam negare non audeo corpus humanum retenta sanguinis circulatione et aliis propter quæ corpus vivere existimatur, posse nihilominus in aliam naturam

a sua prorsus diversam mutari. Nam nulla ratio me cogit ut statuam corpus non mori nisi mutetur in cadaver; quin ipsa experientia aliud suadere videtur. Fit namque aliquando ut homo tales patiatur mutationes ut non facile eundem illum esse dixerim, ut de quodam hispano poeta narrare audivi qui morbo correptus fuerat et quamvis ex eo convaluerit, mansit tamen præteritæ suæ vitæ tam oblitus ut fabulas et tragœdias quas fecerat suas non crediderit esse et sane pro infante adulto haberi potuisset si vernaculæ etiam linguæ fuisset oblitus. Et si hoc incredibile videtur, quid de infantibus dicemus? Quorum naturam homo provectæ ætatis a sua tam diversam esse credit ut persuaderi non posset se unquam infantem fuisse nisi ex aliis de se conjecturam faceret. Sed ne superstitiosis materiam suppeditem movendi novas quæstiones, malo hæc in medio relinquere.

PROPOSITIO XL : Quæ ad hominum communem societatem conducunt sive quæ efficiunt ut homines concorditer vivant, utilia sunt et illa contra mala quæ discordiam in civitatem inducunt.

DEMONSTRATIO : Nam quæ efficiunt ut homines concorditer vivant, simul efficiunt ut ex ductu rationis vivant (per propositionem 35 hujus) atque adeo (per propositiones 26 et 27 hujus) bona sunt et (per eandem rationem) illa contra mala sunt quæ discordias concitant. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XLI : Lætitia directe mala non est sed bona; tristitia autem contra directe est mala.

DEMONSTRATIO : Lætitia (per propositionem 11 partis III cum ejusdem scholio) est affectus quo corporis agendi potentia augetur vel juvatur; tristitia autem contra est affectus quo corporis agendi potentia minuitur vel coercetur adeoque (per propositionem 38 hujus) lætitia directe bona est etc. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XLII : Hilaritas excessum habere nequit sed semper bona est et contra melancholia semper mala.

DEMONSTRATIO : Hilaritas (vide ejus definitionem in scholio propositionis 11 partis III) est lætitia quæ quatenus ad corpus refertur, in hoc consistit quod corporis omnes partes pariter sint affectæ hoc est (per propositionem 11 partis III) quod corporis agendi potentia augetur vel juvatur ita ut omnes ejus partes eandem

ad invicem motus et quietis rationem obtineant atque adeo (per propositionem 39 hujus) hilaritas semper est bona nec excessum habere potest. At melancholia (cujus etiam definitionem vide in scholio propositionis 11 partis III) est tristitia quæ quatenus ad corpus refertur, in hoc solo consistit quod corporis agendi potentia absolute minuitur vel coercetur adeoque (per propositionem 38 hujus) semper est mala. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XLIII : Titillatio excessum habere potest et mala esse; dolor autem eatenus potest esse bonus quatenus titillatio seu lætitia est mala.

DEMONSTRATIO : Titillatio est lætitia quæ quatenus ad corpus refertur, in hoc consistit quod una vel aliquot ejus partes præ reliquis afficiuntur (vide ejus definitionem in scholio propositionis 11 partis III) cujus affectus potentia tanta esse potest ut reliquas corporis actiones superet (per propositionem 6 hujus) eique pertinaciter adhæreat atque adeo impediat quominus corpus aptum sit ut plurimis aliis modis afficiatur adeoque (per propositionem 38 hujus) mala esse potest. Deinde dolor qui contra tristitia est, in se solo consideratus non potest esse bonus (per propositionem 41 hujus). Verum quia ejus vis et incrementum definitur potentia causæ externæ cum nostra comparata (per propositionem 5 hujus) possumus ergo hujus affectus infinitos virium concipere gradus et modos (per propositionem 3 hujus) atque adeo eundem talem concipere qui titillationem possit coercere ut excessum non habeat et eatenus (per primam partem propositionis hujus) efficere ne corpus minus aptum reddatur ac proinde eatenus erit bonus. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XLIV : Amor et cupiditas excessum habere possunt.

DEMONSTRATIO : Amor est lætitia (per definitionem 6 affectuum) concomitante idea causæ externæ; titillatio igitur (per scholium propositionis 11 partis III) concomitante idea causæ externæ amor est atque adeo amor (per propositionem præcedentem) excessum habere potest. Deinde cupiditas eo est major quo affectus ex quo oritur major est (per propositionem 37 partis III). Quare ut affectus (per propositionem 6 hujus) reliquas hominis actiones superare potest, sic etiam cupiditas quæ ex eodem affectu oritur, reliquas cupiditates

superare ac proinde eundem excessum habere poterit quem in præcedenti propositione titillationem habere ostendimus. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Hilaritas quam bonam esse dixi, concipitur facilius quam observatur. Nam affectus quibus quotidie conflictamur, referuntur plerumque ad aliquam corporis partem quæ præ reliquis afficitur ac proinde affectus ut plurimum excessum habent et mentem in sola unius objecti contemplatione ita detinent ut de aliis cogitare nequeat et quamvis homines pluribus affectibus obnoxii sint atque adeo rari reperiantur qui semper uno eodemque affectu conflictentur, non desunt tamen quibus unus idemque affectus pertinaciter adhæreat. Videmus enim homines aliquando ab uno objecto ita affici ut quamvis præsens non sit, ipsum tamen coram habere credant, quod quando homini non dormienti accidit, eundem delirare dicimus vel insanire nec minus insanire creduntur qui amore ardent quique noctes atque dies solam amasiam vel meretricem somniant quia risum movere solent. At cum avarus de nulla alia re quam de lucro vel de nummis cogitet et ambitiosus de gloria etc. hi non creduntur delirare quia molesti solent esse et odio digni æstimantur. Sed revera avaritia, ambitio, libido etc. delirii species sunt quamvis inter morbos non numerentur.

PROPOSITIO XLV : Odium nunquam potest esse bonum.

DEMONSTRATIO : Hominem quem odimus destruere conamur (per propositionem 39 partis III) hoc est (per propositionem 37 hujus) aliquid conamur quod malum est. Ergo etc. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Nota me hic et in sequentibus per odium illud tantum intelligere quod est erga homines.

COROLLARIUM I : Invidia, irrisio, contemptus, ira, vindicta et reliqui affectus qui ad odium referuntur vel ex eodem oriuntur, mali sunt, quod etiam ex propositione 39 partis III et propositione 37 hujus patet.

COROLLARIUM II : Quicquid ex eo quod odio affecti sumus, appetimus, turpe et in civitate injustum est. Quod etiam patet ex propositione 39 partis III et ex definitione turpis et injusti, quas vide in scholiis propositionis 37 hujus.

SCHOLIUM : Inter irrisionem (quam in I corollario malam esse dixi) et risum magnam agnosco differentiam. Nam risus ut et jocus mera est lætitia adeoque modo excessum non habeat, per se bonus est (per propositionem 41 hujus). Nihil profecto nisi torva et tristis superstitio delectari prohibet. Nam qui magis decet famem et sitim extinguere quam melancholiam expellere? Mea hæc est ratio et sic animum induxi meum. Nullum numen nec alius nisi invidus mea impotentia et incommodo delectatur nec nobis lacrimas, singultus, metum et alia hujusmodi quæ animi impotentis sunt signa, virtuti ducit sed contra quo majore lætitia afficimur eo ad majorem perfectionem transimus hoc est eo nos magis de natura divina participare necesse est. Rebus itaque uti et iis quantum fieri potest delectari (non quidem ad nauseam usque nam hoc delectari non est) viri est sapientis. Viri inquam sapientis est moderato et suavi cibo et potu se reficere et recreare ut et odoribus, plantarum virentium amœnitate, ornatu, musica, ludis exercitatoriis, theatris et aliis hujusmodi quibus unusquisque absque ullo alterius damno uti potest. Corpus namque humanum ex plurimis diversæ naturæ partibus componitur quæ continuo novo alimento indigent et vario ut totum corpus ad omnia quæ ex ipsius natura sequi possunt, æque aptum sit et consequenter ut mens etiam æque apta sit ad plura simul intelligendum. Hoc itaque vivendi institutum et cum nostris principiis et cum communi praxi optime convenit; quare si quæ alia, hæc vivendi ratio optima est et omnibus modis commendanda nec opus est de his clarius neque prolixius agere.

PROPOSITIO XLVI : Qui ex ductu rationis vivit, quantum potest conatur alterius in ipsum odium, iram, contemptum etc. amore contra sive generositate compensare.

DEMONSTRATIO : Omnes odii affectus mali sunt (per corollarium I præcedentis propositionis) adeoque qui ex ductu rationis vivit, quantum potest conabitur efficere ne odii affectibus conflictetur (per propositionem 19 hujus) et consequenter (per propositionem 37 hujus) conabitur ne etiam alius eosdem patiatur affectus. At odium odio reciproco augetur et amore contra extingui potest (per propositionem 43 partis III) ita ut odium in amorem transeat (per

propositionem 44 partis III). Ergo qui ex ductu rationis vivit, alterius odium etc. amore contra compensare conabitur hoc est generositate (cujus definitionem vide in scholio propositionis 59 partis III). Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Qui injurias reciproco odio vindicare vult, misere profecto vivit. At qui contra studet odium amore expugnare, ille sane lætus et secure pugnat; æque facile pluribus hominibus ac uni resistit et fortunæ auxilio quam minime indiget. Quos vero vincit, ii læti cedunt, non quidem ex defectu sed ex incremento virium; quæ omnia adeo clare ex solis amoris et intellectus definitionibus sequuntur ut opus non sit eadem sigillatim demonstrare.

PROPOSITIO XLVII : Spei et metus affectus non possunt esse per se boni.

DEMONSTRATIO : Spei et metus affectus sine tristitia non dantur. Nam metus est (per 13 affectuum definitionem) tristitia et spes (vide explicationem 12 et 13 affectuum definitionum) non datur sine metu ac proinde (per propositionem 41 hujus) hi affectus non possunt esse per se boni sed tantum quatenus lætitiæ excessum coercere possunt (per propositionem 43 hujus) Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Huc accedit quod hi affectus cognitionis defectum et mentis impotentiam indicant et hac de causa etiam securitas, desperatio, gaudium et conscientiae morsus animi impotentis sunt signa. Nam quamvis securitas et gaudium affectus sint lætitiæ, tristitiam tamen eosdem præcessisse supponunt nempe spem et metum. Quo itaque magis ex ductu rationis vivere conamur eo magis spe minus pendere et metu nosmet liberare et fortunæ quantum possumus imperare conamur nostrasque actiones certo rationis consilio dirigere.

PROPOSITIO XLVIII : Affectus existimationis et despectus semper mali sunt.

DEMONSTRATIO : Hi enim affectus (per 21 et 22 affectuum definitiones) rationi repugnant adeoque (per propositiones 26 et 27 hujus) mali sunt. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XLIX : Existimatio facile hominem qui existimatur superbum reddit.

DEMONSTRATIO : Si videmus aliquem de nobis plus justo præ amore sentire, facile gloriabimur (per scholium propositionis 41 partis III) sive lætitia afficiemur (per 30 affectuum definitionem) et id boni quod de nobis prædicari

audimus, facile credemus (per propositionem 25 partis III) atque adeo de nobis præ amore nostri plus justo sentiemus hoc est (per definitionem 28 affectuum) facile superbiemus. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO L : Commiseratio in homine qui ex ductu rationis vivit, per se mala et inutilis est.

DEMONSTRATIO : Commiseratio enim (per 18 affectuum definitionem) tristitia est ac proinde (per propositionem 41 hujus) per se mala; bonum autem quod ex ea sequitur, quod scilicet hominem cuius nos miseret, a miseria liberare conamur (per corollarium III propositionis 27 partis III) ex solo rationis dictamine facere cupimus (per propositionem 37 hujus) nec nisi ex solo rationis dictamine aliquid quod certo scimus bonum esse, agere possumus (per propositionem 27 hujus) atque adeo commiseratio in homine qui ex ductu rationis vivit, per se mala est et inutilis. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Hinc sequitur quod homo qui ex dictamine rationis vivit, conatur quantum potest efficere ne commiseratione tangatur.

SCHOLIUM : Qui recte novit omnia ex naturæ divinæ necessitate sequi et secundum æternas naturæ leges et regulas fieri, is sane nihil reperiet quod odio, risu aut contemptu dignum sit nec cuiusquam miserebitur sed quantum humana fert virtus, conabitur bene agere ut aiunt et lætari. Huc accedit quod is qui commiserationis affectu facile tangitur et alterius miseria vel lacrimis movetur, sæpe aliquid agit cuius postea ipsum pœnitet tam quia ex affectu nihil agimus quod certo scimus bonum esse quam quia facile falsis lacrimis decipimur. Atque hic expresse loquor de homine qui ex ductu rationis vivit. Nam qui nec ratione nec commiseratione movetur ut aliis auxilio sit, is recte inhumanus appellatur. Nam (per propositionem 27 partis III) homini dissimilis esse videtur.

PROPOSITIO LI : Favor rationi non repugnat sed cum eadem convenire et ab eadem oriri potest.

DEMONSTRATIO : Est enim favor amor erga illum qui alteri benefecit (per 19 affectuum definitionem) atque adeo ad mentem referri potest quatenus hæc

agere dicitur (per propositionem 59 partis III) hoc est (per propositionem 3 partis III) quatenus intelligit ac proinde cum ratione convenit etc. Q.E.D.

ALITER : Qui ex ductu rationis vivit, bonum quod sibi appetit alteri etiam cupit (per propositionem 37 hujus); quare ex eo quod ipse aliquem videt alteri benefacere, ipsius benefaciendi conatus juvatur hoc est (per scholium propositionis 11 partis III) lætabitur idque (ex hypothesi) concomitante idea illius qui alteri benefecit ac proinde (per 19 affectuum definitionem) ei favet. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Indignatio prout ipsa a nobis definitur (vide 20 affectuum definitionem) est necessario mala (per propositionem 45 hujus) sed notandum quod quando summa potestas desiderio quo tenetur tutandæ pacis, civem punit qui alteri injuriam fecit, eandem civi indignari non dico quia non odio percita ad perdendum civem sed pietate mota eundem punit.

PROPOSITIO LII : Acquiescentia in se ipso ex ratione oriri potest et ea sola acquiescentia quæ ex ratione oritur, summa est quæ potest dari.

DEMONSTRATIO : Acquiescentia in se ipso est lætitia orta ex eo quod homo se ipsum suamque agendi potentiam contemplatur (per 25 affectuum definitionem). At vera hominis agendi potentia seu virtus est ipsa ratio (per propositionem 3 partis III) quam homo clare et distincte contemplatur (per propositiones 40 et 43 partis II). Ergo acquiescentia in se ipso ex ratione oritur. Deinde nihil homo dum se ipsum contemplatur, clare et distincte sive adæquate percipit nisi ea quæ ex ipsius agendi potentia sequuntur (per definitionem 2 partis III) hoc est (per propositionem 3 partis III) quæ ex ipsius intelligendi potentia sequuntur adeoque ex sola hac contemplatione summa quæ dari potest acquiescentia oritur. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Est revera acquiescentia in se ipso summum quod sperare possumus. Nam (ut propositione 25 hujus ostendimus) nemo suum esse alicujus finis causa conservare conatur et quia hæc acquiescentia magis magisque fovetur et corroboratur laudibus (per corollarium propositionis 53 partis III) et contra (per corollarium propositionis 55 partis III) vituperio magis magisque turbatur, ideo gloria maxime ducimur et vitam cum probro vix ferre possumus.

PROPOSITIO LIII : Humilitas virtus non est sive ex ratione non oritur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Humilitas est tristitia quæ ex eo oritur quod homo suam impotentiam contemplatur (per 26 affectuum definitionem). Quatenus autem homo se ipsum vera ratione cognoscit eatenus suam essentiam intelligere supponitur hoc est (per propositionem 7 partis III) suam potentiam. Quare si homo dum se ipsum contemplatur, aliquam suam impotentiam percipit, id non ex eo est quod se intelligit sed (ut propositione 55 partis III ostendimus) ex eo quod ipsius agendi potentia coercetur. Quod si supponamus hominem suam impotentiam concipere ex eo quod aliquid se potentius intelligit cujus cognitione suam agendi potentiam determinat, tum nihil aliud concipimus quam quod homo se ipsum distincte intelligit sive (per propositionem 26 hujus) quod ipsius agendi potentia juvatur. Quare humilitas seu tristitia quæ ex eo oritur quod homo suam impotentiam contemplatur, non ex vera contemplatione seu ratione oritur nec virtus sed passio est. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO LIV : Pœnitentia virtus non est sive ex ratione non oritur sed is quem facti pœnitet, bis miser seu impotens est.

DEMONSTRATIO : Hujus prima pars demonstratur ut præcedens propositio. Secunda autem ex sola hujus affectus definitione (vide 27 affectuum definitionem) patet. Nam primo prava cupiditate, dein tristitia vinci se patitur.

SCHOLIUM : Quia homines raro ex dictamine rationis vivunt, ideo hi duo affectus nempe humilitas et pœnitentia et præter hos spes et metus plus utilitatis quam damni afferunt atque adeo quandoquidem peccandum est, in istam partem potius peccandum. Nam si homines animo impotentes æque omnes superbirent, nullius rei ipsos pueret nec ipsi quicquam metuerent, qui vinculis conjungi constringique possent? Terret vulgus nisi metuat; quare non mirum quod prophetæ qui non paucorum sed communi utilitati consuluerunt, tantopere humilitatem, pœnitentiam et reverentiam commendaverint. Et revera qui hisce affectibus sunt obnoxii, multo facilius quam alii duci possunt ut tandem ex ductu rationis vivant hoc est ut liberi sint et beatorum vita fruuntur.

PROPOSITIO LV : Maxima superbia vel abjectio est maxima sui ignorantia.

DEMONSTRATIO : Patet ex definitionibus 28 et 29 affectuum.

PROPOSITIO LVI : Maxima superbia vel abjectio maximam animi impotentiam indicat.

DEMONSTRATIO : Primum virtutis fundamentum est suum esse conservare (per corollarium propositionis 22 hujus) idque ex ductu rationis (per propositionem 24 hujus). Qui igitur se ipsum ignorat, omnium virtutum fundamentum et consequenter omnes virtutes ignorat. Deinde ex virtute agere nihil aliud est quam ex ductu rationis agere (per propositionem 24 hujus) et qui ex ductu rationis agit, scire necessario debet se ex ductu rationis agere (per propositionem 43 partis II); qui itaque se ipsum et consequenter (ut jam jam ostendimus) omnes virtutes maxime ignorat, is minime ex virtute agit hoc est (ut ex definitione 8 hujus patet) maxime animo est impotens atque adeo (per propositionem præcedentem) maxima superbia vel abjectio maximam animi impotentiam indicat. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Hinc clare sequitur superbos et abjectos maxime affectibus esse obnoxios.

SCHOLIUM : Abjectio tamen facilius corrigi potest quam superbia quandoquidem hæc lætitiæ, illa autem tristitiæ est affectus atque adeo (per propositionem 18 hujus) hæc illa fortior est.

PROPOSITIO LVII : Superbus parasitorum seu adulatorum præsentiam amat, generosorum autem odit.

DEMONSTRATIO : Superbia est lætitia orta ex eo quod homo de se plus justo sentit (per definitiones 28 et 6 affectuum) quam opinionem homo superbus quantum potest fovere conabitur (vide scholium propositionis 13 partis III) adeoque superbi parasitorum vel adulatorum (horum definitiones omisi quia nimis noti sunt) præsentiam amabunt et generosorum qui de ipsis ut par est, sentiunt, fugient. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Nimis longum foret hic omnia superbiæ mala enumerare quandoquidem omnibus affectibus obnoxii sunt superbi sed nullis minus quam affectibus amoris et misericordiæ. Sed hic minime tacendum est quod ille etiam

superbus vocetur qui de reliquis minus justo sentit atque adeo hoc sensu superbia definienda est quod sit lætitia orta ex falsa opinione quod homo se supra reliquos esse putat. Et abjectio huic superbiæ contraria definienda esset tristitia orta ex falsa opinione quod homo se infra reliquos esse credit. At hoc posito facile concipimus superbum necessario esse invidum (vide scholium propositionis 55 partis III) et eos maxime odio habere qui maxime ob virtutes laudantur nec facile eorum odium amore aut beneficio vinci (vide scholium propositionis 41 partis III) et eorum tantummodo præsentia delectari qui animo ejus impotenti morem gerunt et ex stulto insanum faciunt.

Abjectio quamvis superbiæ sit contraria, est tamen abjectus superbo proximus. Nam quandoquidem ejus tristitia ex eo oritur quod suam impotentiam ex aliorum potentia seu virtute judicat, levabitur ergo ejus tristitia hoc est lætabitur si ejus imaginatio in alienis vitiis contemplandis occupetur, unde illud proverbium natum : solamen miseris socios habuisse malorum; et contra eo magis contristabitur quo se magis infra reliquos esse crediderit; unde fit ut nulli magis ad invidiam sint proni quam abjecti et ut isti maxime hominum facta observare conentur ad carpendum magis quam ad eadem corrigendum et ut tandem solam abjectionem laudent eaque gloriantur sed ita ut tamen abjecti videantur. Atque hæc ex hoc affectu tam necessario sequuntur quam ex natura trianguli quod ejus tres anguli æquales sint duobus rectis et jam dixi me hos et similes affectus malos vocare quatenus ad solam humanam utilitatem attendo. Sed naturæ leges communem naturæ ordinem cujus homo pars est, respiciunt; quod hic in transitu monere volui ne quis putaret me hic hominum vitia et absurda facta narrare, non autem rerum naturam et proprietates demonstrare voluisse. Nam ut in præfatione partis tertiæ dixi, humanos affectus eorumque proprietates perinde considero ac reliqua naturalia. Et sane humani affectus si non humanam, naturæ saltem potentiam et artificium non minus indicant quam multa alia quæ admiramur quorumque contemplatione delectamur. Sed pergo de affectibus ea notare quæ hominibus utilitatem adferunt vel quæ iisdem damnum inferunt.

PROPOSITIO LVIII : Gloria rationi non repugnat sed ab ea oriri potest.

DEMONSTRATIO : Patet ex 30 affectuum definitione et ex definitione honesti, quam vide in scholio I propositionis 37 hujus.

SCHOLIUM : Vana quæ dicitur gloria est acquiescentia in se ipso quæ sola vulgi opinione fovetur eaque cessante cessat ipsa acquiescentia hoc est (per scholium propositionis 52 hujus) summum bonum quod unusquisque amat; unde fit ut qui vulgi opinione gloriatur, quotidiana cura anxius nitatur, faciat, experiatur ut famam conservet. Est namque vulgus varius et inconstans atque adeo nisi conservetur fama, cito abolebit; imo quia omnes vulgi captare applausus cupiunt, facile unusquisque alterius famam reprimit, ex quo quandoquidem de summo quod æstimatur bono certatur, ingens libido oritur se invicem quocunque modo opprimendi et qui tandem victor evadit, gloriatur magis quod alteri obfuit quam quod sibi profuit. Est igitur hæc gloria seu acquiescentia revera vana quia nulla est.

Quæ de pudore notanda sunt, colliguntur facile ex iis quæ de misericordia et pœnitentia diximus. Hoc tantum addo quod ut commiseratio sic etiam pudor quamvis non sit virtus, bonus tamen est quatenus indicat homini qui pudore suffunditur, cupiditatem inesse honeste vivendi, sicut dolor qui eatenus bonus dicitur quatenus indicat partem læsam nondum esse putrefactam; quare quamvis homo quem facti alicujus pudet, revera sit tristis, est tamen perfectior impudenti qui nullam habet honeste vivendi cupiditatem. Atque hæc sunt quæ de affectibus lætitiæ et tristitiæ notare suscepimus. Ad cupiditates quod attinet, hæc sane bonæ aut malæ sunt quatenus ex bonis aut malis affectibus oriuntur. Sed omnes revera quatenus ex affectibus qui passiones sunt in nobis ingenerantur, cæcæ sunt (ut facile colligitur ex iis quæ in scholio propositionis 44 hujus diximus) nec ullius usus essent si homines facile duci possent ut ex solo rationis dictamine viverent, ut jam paucis ostendam.

PROPOSITIO LIX : Ad omnes actiones ad quas ex affectu qui passio est, determinamur, possumus absque eo a ratione determinari.

DEMONSTRATIO : Ex ratione agere nihil aliud est (per propositionem 3 et definitionem 2 partis III) quam ea agere quæ ex necessitate nostræ naturæ in se

sola consideratae sequuntur. At tristitia eatenus mala est quatenus hanc agendi potentiam minuit vel coercet (per propositionem 41 hujus); ergo ex hoc affectu ad nullam actionem possumus determinari quam non possemus agere si ratione duceremur. Præterea lætitia eatenus mala est quatenus impedit quominus homo ad agendum sit aptus (per propositiones 41 et 43 hujus) atque adeo eatenus etiam ad nullam actionem determinari possumus quam non possemus agere si ratione duceremur. Denique quatenus lætitia bona est eatenus cum ratione convenit (consistit enim in eo quod hominis agendi potentia augetur vel juvatur) nec passio est nisi quatenus hominis agendi potentia non eo usque augetur ut se suasque actiones adæquate concipiat (per propositionem 3 partis III cum ejus scholio). Quare si homo lætitia affectus ad tantam perfectionem duceretur ut se suasque actiones adæquate conciperet, ad easdem actiones ad quas jam ex affectibus qui passiones sunt, determinatur, aptus, imo aptior esset. At omnes affectus ad lætitiā, tristitiā vel cupiditatem referuntur (vide explicationem quartæ affectuum definitionis) et cupiditas (per 1 affectuum definitionem) nihil aliud est quam ipse agendi conatus; ergo ad omnes actiones ad quas ex affectu qui passio est, determinamur, possumus absque eo sola ratione duci. Q.E.D.

ALITER : Actio quæcunque eatenus dicitur mala quatenus ex eo oritur quod odio aut aliquo malo affectu affecti sumus (vide corollarium I propositionis 45 hujus). At nulla actio in se sola considerata bona aut mala est (ut in præfatione hujus ostendimus) sed una eademque actio jam bona jam mala est; ergo ad eandem actionem quæ jam mala est sive quæ ex aliquo malo affectu oritur, ratione duci possumus (per propositionem 19 hujus). Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Explicantur hæc clarius exemplo. Nempe verberandi actio quatenus physice consideratur et ad hoc tantum attendimus quod homo brachium tollit, manum claudit totumque brachium vi deorsum movet, virtus est quæ ex corporis humani fabrica concipitur. Si itaque homo ira vel odio commotus determinatur ad claudendam manum vel brachium movendum, id ut in parte secunda ostendimus, fit quia una eademque actio potest jungi quibuscunque rerum imaginibus atque adeo tam ex iis imaginibus rerum quas confuse quam

quas clare et distincte concipimus, ad unam eandemque actionem determinari possumus. Apparet itaque quod omnis cupiditas quæ ex affectu qui passio est, oritur, nullius esset usus si homines ratione duci possent. Videamus jam cur cupiditas quæ ex affectu qui passio est, oritur, cæca a nobis appellatur.

PROPOSITIO LX : Cupiditas quæ oritur ex lætitia vel tristitia quæ ad unam vel ad aliquot, non autem ad omnes corporis partes refertur, rationem utilitatis totius hominis non habet.

DEMONSTRATIO : Ponatur exempli gratia corporis pars A vi alicujus causæ externæ ita corroborari ut reliquis prævaleat (per propositionem 6 hujus); hæc pars vires suas amittere propterea non conabitur ut reliquæ corporis partes suo fungantur officio. Deberet enim vim seu potentiam habere vires suas amittendi, quod (per propositionem 6 partis III) est absurdum. Conabitur itaque illa pars et consequenter (per propositiones 7 et 12 partis III) mens etiam illum statum conservare adeoque cupiditas quæ ex tali affectu lætitiae oritur, rationem totius non habet. Quod si contra supponatur pars A coerceri ut reliquæ prævaleant, eodem modo demonstratur quod nec cupiditas quæ ex tristitia oritur, rationem totius habeat. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Cum itaque lætitia plerumque (per scholium propositionis 44 hujus) ad unam corporis partem referatur, cupimus ergo plerumque nostrum esse conservare nulla habita ratione integræ nostræ valetudinis : ad quod accedit quod cupiditates quibus maxime tenemur (per corollarium propositionis 9 hujus) temporis tantum præsentis, non autem futuri habent rationem.

PROPOSITIO LXI : Cupiditas quæ ex ratione oritur, excessum habere nequit.

DEMONSTRATIO : Cupiditas (per 1 affectuum definitionem) absolute considerata est ipsa hominis essentia quatenus quocunque modo determinata concipitur ad aliquid agendum adeoque cupiditas quæ ex ratione oritur hoc est (per propositionem 3 partis III) quæ in nobis ingeneratur quatenus agimus, est ipsa hominis essentia seu natura quatenus determinata concipitur ad agendum ea quæ per solam hominis essentiam adæquate concipiuntur (per definitionem 2 partis III) : si itaque hæc cupiditas excessum habere posset, posset ergo humana

natura in se sola considerata se ipsam excedere sive plus posset quam potest, quod manifesta est contradictio ac proinde hæc cupiditas excessum habere nequit. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO LXII : Quatenus mens ex rationis dictamine res concipit, æque afficitur sive idea sit rei futuræ vel præteritæ sive præsentis.

DEMONSTRATIO : Quicquid mens ducente ratione concipit, id omne sub eadem æternitatis seu necessitatis specie concipit (per corollarium II propositionis 44 partis II) eademque certitudine afficitur (per propositionem 43 partis II et ejus scholium). Quare sive idea sit rei futuræ vel præteritæ sive præsentis, mens eadem necessitate rem concipit eademque certitudine afficitur et sive idea sit rei futuræ vel præteritæ sive præsentis, erit nihilominus æque vera (per propositionem 41 partis II) hoc est (per definitionem 4 partis II) habebit nihilominus semper easdem ideæ adæquatæ proprietates atque adeo quatenus mens ex rationis dictamine res concipit, eodem modo afficitur sive idea sit rei futuræ vel præteritæ sive præsentis. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Si nos de rerum duratione adæquatam cognitionem habere earumque existendi tempora ratione determinare possemus, eodem affectu res futuras ac præsentis contemplaremur et bonum quod mens ut futurum conciperet, perinde ac præsens appeteret et consequenter bonum præsens minus pro majore bono futuro necessario negligeret et quod in præsentis bonum esset sed causa futuri alicujus mali, minime appeteret, ut mox demonstrabimus. Sed nos de duratione rerum (per propositionem 31 partis II) non nisi admodum inadæquatam cognitionem habere possumus et rerum existendi tempora (per scholium propositionis 44 partis II) sola imaginatione determinamus quæ non æque afficitur imagine rei præsentis ac futuræ; unde fit ut vera boni et mali cognitio quam habemus non nisi abstracta sive universalis sit et iudicium quod de rerum ordine et causarum nexu facimus ut determinare possimus quid nobis in præsentis bonum aut malum sit, sit potius imaginarium quam reale atque adeo mirum non est si cupiditas quæ ex boni et mali cognitione quatenus hæc futurum prospicit, oritur,

facilius rerum cupiditate quæ in præsentia suaves sunt, coerceri potest, de quo vide propositionem 16 hujus partis.

PROPOSITIO LXIII : Qui metu ducitur et bonum ut malum vitet, agit, is ratione non ducitur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Omnes affectus qui ad mentem quatenus agit hoc est (per propositionem 3 partis III) qui ad rationem referuntur, nulli alii sunt quam affectus lætitiæ et cupiditatis (per propositionem 59 partis III) atque adeo (per 13 affectuum definitionem) qui metu ducitur et bonum timore mali agit, is ratione non ducitur. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Superstitiosi qui vitia exprobrare magis quam virtutes docere norunt et qui homines non ratione ducere sed metu ita continere student ut malum potius fugiant quam virtutes ament, nil aliud intendunt quam ut reliqui æque ac ipsi fiant miseri et ideo non mirum si plerumque molesti et odiosi sint hominibus.

COROLLARIUM : Cupiditate quæ ex ratione oritur, bonum directe sequimur et malum indirecte fugimus.

DEMONSTRATIO : Nam cupiditas quæ ex ratione oritur, ex solo lætitiæ affectu quæ passio non est, oriri potest (per propositionem 59 partis III) hoc est ex lætitia quæ excessum habere nequit (per propositionem 61 hujus) non autem ex tristitia ac proinde hæc cupiditas (per propositionem 8 hujus) ex cognitione boni, non autem mali oritur atque adeo ex ductu rationis bonum directe appetimus et eatenus tantum malum fugimus. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Explicatur hoc corollarium exemplo ægri et sani. Comedit æger id quod aversatur timore mortis; sanus autem cibo gaudet et vita sic melius fruitur quam si mortem timeret eamque directe vitare cuperet. Sic judex qui non odio aut ira etc. sed solo amore salutis publicæ reum mortis damnat, sola ratione ducitur.

PROPOSITIO LXIV : Cognitionis mali cognitio est inadæquata.

DEMONSTRATIO : Cognitionis mali (per propositionem 8 hujus) est ipsa tristitia quatenus ejusdem sumus conscii. Tristitia autem est transitio ad minorem perfectionem (per 3 affectuum definitionem) quæ propterea per ipsam hominis essentiam intelligi nequit (per propositiones 6 et 7 partis III) ac proinde (per

definitionem 2 partis III) passio est quæ (per propositionem 3 partis III) ab ideis inadæquatis pendet et consequenter (per propositionem 29 partis II) ejus cognitio nempe mali cognitio est inadæquata. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Hinc sequitur quod si mens humana non nisi adæquatas haberet ideas, nullam mali formaret notionem.

PROPOSITIO LXV : De duobus bonis majus et de duobus malis minus ex rationis ductu sequemur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Bonum quod impedit quominus majore bono fruamur, est revera malum; malum enim et bonum (ut in præfatione hujus ostendimus) de rebus dicitur quatenus easdem ad invicem comparamus et (per eandem rationem) malum minus revera bonum est; quare (per corollarium propositionis 63 hujus) ex rationis ductu bonum tantum majus et malum minus appetemus seu sequemur. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Malum minus pro majore bono ex rationis ductu sequemur et bonum minus quod causa est majoris mali, negligemus. Nam malum quod hic dicitur minus, revera bonum est et bonum contra malum; quare (per corollarium propositionis 63 hujus) illud appetemus et hoc negligemus. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO LXVI : Bonum majus futurum præ minore præsentis et malum præsens minus præ majore futuro ex rationis ductu appetemus.

DEMONSTRATIO : Si mens rei futuræ adæquatam posset habere cognitionem, eodem affectu erga rem futuram ac erga præsentem afficeretur (per propositionem 62 hujus); quare quatenus ad ipsam rationem attendimus, ut in hac propositione nos facere supponimus, res eadem est sive majus bonum vel malum futurum sive præsens supponatur ac proinde (per propositionem 65 hujus) bonum futurum majus præ minore præsentis etc. appetemus. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Malum præsens minus quod est causa majoris futuri boni, ex rationis ductu appetemus et bonum præsens minus quod causa est majoris futuri mali, negligemus. Hoc corollarium se habet ad præcedentem propositionem ut corollarium propositionis 65 ad ipsam propositionem 65.

SCHOLIUM : Si igitur hæc cum iis conferantur quæ in hac parte usque ad propositionem 18 de affectuum viribus ostendimus, facile videbimus quid homo qui solo affectu seu opinione homini qui ratione ducitur, intersit. Ille enim velit nolit ea quæ maxime ignorat, agit; hic autem nemini nisi sibi morem gerit et ea tantum agit quæ in vita prima esse novit quæque propterea maxime cupit et ideo illum servum, hunc autem liberum voco, de cujus ingenio et vivendi ratione pauca adhuc notare libet.

PROPOSITIO LXVII : Homo liber de nulla re minus quam de morte cogitat et ejus sapientia non mortis sed vitæ meditatio est.

DEMONSTRATIO : Homo liber hoc est qui ex solo rationis dictamine vivit, mortis metu non ducitur (per propositionem 63 hujus) sed bonum directe cupit (per corollarium ejusdem propositionis) hoc est (per propositionem 24 hujus) agere, vivere, suum esse conservare ex fundamento proprium utile quærendi atque adeo nihil minus quam de morte cogitat sed ejus sapientia vitæ est meditatio. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO LXVIII : Si homines liberi nascerentur, nullum boni et mali formarent conceptum quamdiu liberi essent.

DEMONSTRATIO : Illum liberum esse dixi qui sola ducitur ratione; qui itaque liber nascitur et liber manet, non nisi adæquatas ideas habet ac proinde mali conceptum habet nullum (per corollarium propositionis 64 hujus) et consequenter (nam bonum et malum correlata sunt) neque boni. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Hujus propositionis hypothesin falsam esse nec posse concipi nisi quatenus ad solam naturam humanam seu potius ad Deum attendimus, non quatenus infinitus sed quatenus tantummodo causa est cur homo existat, patet ex 4 propositione hujus partis. Atque hoc et alia quæ jam demonstravimus, videntur a Mose significari in illa primi hominis historia. In ea enim nulla alia Dei potentia concipitur quam illa qua hominem creavit hoc est potentia qua hominis solummodo utilitati consuluit atque eatenus narratur quod Deus homini libero prohibuerit ne de arbore cognitionis boni et mali comederet et quod simulac de ea comederet, statim mortem metueret potius quam vivere cuperet. Deinde quod

inventa ab homine uxore quæ cum sua natura prorsus conveniebat, cognovit nihil posse in natura dari quod ipsi posset illa esse utilius sed quod postquam bruta sibi similia esse credidit, statim eorum affectus imitari inceperit (vide propositionem 27 partis III) et libertatem suam amittere quam Patriarchæ postea recuperaverunt ducti spiritu Christi hoc est Dei idea a qua sola pendet ut homo liber sit et ut bonum quod sibi cupit, reliquis hominibus cupiat, ut supra (per propositionem 37 hujus) demonstravimus.

PROPOSITIO LXIX : Hominis liberi virtus æque magna cernitur in declinandis quam in superandis periculis.

DEMONSTRATIO : Affectus coerceri nec tolli potest nisi affectu contrario et fortiore affectu coercendo (per propositionem 7 hujus). At cæca audacia et metus affectus sunt qui æque magni possunt concipi (per propositiones 5 et 3 hujus). Ergo æque magna animi virtus seu fortitudo (hujus definitionem vide in scholio propositionis 59 partis III) requiritur ad audaciam quam ad metum coercendum hoc est (per definitiones 40 et 41 affectuum) homo liber eadem animi virtute pericula declinat qua eadem superare tentat. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Homini igitur libero æque magnæ animositati fuga in tempore ac pugna ducitur sive homo liber eadem animositate seu animi præsentia qua certamen fugam eligit.

SCHOLIUM : Quid animositas sit vel quid per ipsam intelligam, in scholio propositionis 59 partis III explicui. Per periculum autem id omne intelligo quod potest esse causa alicujus mali nempe tristitiæ, odii, discordiæ etc.

PROPOSITIO LXX : Homo liber qui inter ignaros vivit, eorum quantum potest beneficia declinare studet.

DEMONSTRATIO : Unusquisque ex suo ingenio judicat quid bonum sit (vide scholium propositionis 39 partis III); ignarus igitur qui in aliquem beneficium contulit, id ex suo ingenio æstimabit et si minoris ab eo cui datum est æstimari videt, contristabitur (per propositionem 42 partis III). At homo liber reliquos homines amicitia sibi jungere (per propositionem 37 hujus) nec paria hominibus beneficia ex eorum affectu referre sed se et reliquos libero rationis judicio ducere

et ea tantum agere studet quæ ipse prima esse novit : ergo homo liber ne ignaris odio sit et ne eorum appetitui sed soli rationi obsequatur, eorum beneficia quantum potest declinare conabitur. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Dico “quantum potest”. Nam quamvis homines ignari sint, sunt tamen homines qui in necessitatibus humanum auxilium quo nullum præstabilius est, adferre queunt atque adeo sæpe fit ut necesse sit ab iisdem beneficium accipere et consequenter iisdem contra ex eorum ingenio congratulari; ad quod accedit quod etiam in declinandis beneficiis, cautio esse debet ne videamur eosdem contemnere vel præ avaritia remunerationem timere atque ita dum eorum odium fugimus, eo ipso in eorum offensionem incurramus. Quare in declinandis beneficiis ratio utilis et honesti habenda est.

PROPOSITIO LXXI : Soli homines liberi erga invicem gratissimi sunt.

DEMONSTRATIO : Soli homines liberi sibi invicem utilissimi sunt et maxima amicitiae necessitudine invicem junguntur (per propositionem 35 hujus et I ejus corollarium) parique amoris studio sibi invicem benefacere conantur (per propositionem 37 hujus) adeoque (per 34 affectuum definitionem) soli homines liberi erga se invicem gratissimi sunt. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Gratia quam homines qui cæca cupiditate ducuntur, invicem habent, mercatura seu aucupium potius quam gratia plerumque est. Porro ingratitude affectus non est. Est tamen ingratitude turpis quia plerumque hominem nimio odio, ira vel superbia vel avaritia etc. affectum esse indicat. Nam qui præ stultitia dona compensare nescit, ingratus non est et multo minus ille qui donis non movetur meretricis ut ipsius libidini inserviat nec furis ut ipsius furta celet vel alterius similis. Nam hic contra animum habere constantem ostendit qui scilicet se nullis donis ad suam vel communem perniciem patitur corrumpi.

PROPOSITIO LXXII : Homo liber nunquam dolo malo sed semper cum fide agit.

DEMONSTRATIO : Si liber homo quicquam dolo malo quatenus liber est, ageret, id ex dictamine rationis ageret (nam eatenus tantum liber a nobis appellatur) atque adeo dolo malo agere virtus esset (per propositionem 24 hujus)

et consequenter (per eandem propositionem) unicuique ad suum esse conservandum consultius esset dolo malo agere hoc est (ut per se notum) hominibus consultius esset verbis solummodo convenire, re autem invicem esse contrarios, quod (per corollarium propositionis 31 hujus) est absurdum. Ergo homo liber etc. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Si jam quærat quid si homo se perfidia a præsentis mortis periculo posset liberare, an non ratio suum esse conservandi omnino suadet ut perfidus sit? Respondebitur eodem modo quod si ratio id suadeat, suadet ergo id omnibus hominibus atque adeo ratio omnino suadet hominibus ne nisi dolo malo paciscantur vires conjungere et jura habere communia hoc est ne revera jura habeant communia, quod est absurdum.

PROPOSITIO LXXIII : Homo qui ratione ducitur magis in civitate ubi ex communi decreto vivit quam in solitudine ubi sibi soli obtemperat, liber est.

DEMONSTRATIO : Homo qui ratione ducitur, non ducitur metu ad obtemperandum (per propositionem 63 hujus) sed quatenus suum esse ex rationis dictamine conservare conatur hoc est (per scholium propositionis 66 hujus) quatenus libere vivere conatur, communis vitæ et utilitatis rationem tenere (per propositionem 37 hujus) et consequenter (ut in scholio II propositionis 37 hujus ostendimus) ex communi civitatis decreto vivere cupit. Cupit ergo homo qui ratione ducitur, ut liberius vivat, communia civitatis jura tenere. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Hæc et similia quæ de vera hominis libertate ostendimus, ad fortitudinem hoc est (per scholium propositionis 59 partis III) ad animositatem et generositatem referuntur. Nec operæ pretium duco omnes fortitudinis proprietates hic separatim demonstrare et multo minus quod vir fortis neminem odio habeat, nemini irascatur, invideat, indignetur, neminem despiciat minimeque superbiat. Nam hæc et omnia quæ ad veram vitam et religionem spectant, facile ex propositione 37 et 46 hujus partis convincuntur nempe quod odium amore contra vincendum sit et quod unusquisque qui ratione ducitur, bonum quod sibi appetit, reliquis etiam ut sit, cupiat. Ad quod accedit id quod in scholio propositionis 50 hujus partis et aliis in locis notavimus quod scilicet vir fortis hoc apprime

consideret nempe quod omnia ex necessitate divinæ naturæ sequantur ac proinde quicquid molestum et malum esse cogitat et quicquid præterea impium, horrendum, injustum et turpe videtur, ex eo oritur quod res ipsas perturbate, mutilate et confuse concipit et hac de causa apprime conatur res ut in se sunt, concipere et veræ cognitionis impedimenta amovere ut sunt odium, ira, invidia, irrisio, superbia et reliqua hujusmodi quæ in præcedentibus notavimus atque adeo quantum potest conatur uti diximus bene agere et lætari. Quousque autem humana virtus ad hæc consequenda se extendat et quid possit in sequenti parte demonstrabo.

APPENDIX : Quæ in hac parte de recta vivendi ratione tradidi, non sunt ita disposita ut uno aspectu videri possint sed disperse a me demonstrata sunt prout scilicet unum ex alio facilius deducere potuerim. Eadem igitur hic recolligere et ad summa capita redigere proposui.

CAPUT I : Omnes nostri conatus seu cupiditates ex necessitate nostræ naturæ ita sequuntur ut vel per ipsam solam tanquam per proximam suam causam possint intelligi vel quatenus naturæ sumus pars quæ per se absque aliis individuis non potest adæquate concipi.

CAPUT II : Cupiditates quæ ex nostra natura ita sequuntur ut per ipsam solam possit intelligi, sunt illæ quæ ad mentem referuntur quatenus hæc ideis adæquatis constare concipitur; reliquæ vero cupiditates ad mentem non referuntur nisi quatenus res inadæquate concipit et quarum vis et incrementum non humana sed rerum quæ extra nos sunt potentia definiri debet et ideo illæ recte actiones, hæ autem passiones vocantur; illæ namque nostram potentiam semper indicant et hæ contra nostram impotentiam et mutilatam cognitionem.

CAPUT III : Nostræ actiones hoc est cupiditates illæ quæ hominis potentia seu ratione definiuntur, semper bonæ sunt, reliquæ autem tam bonæ quam malæ possunt esse.

CAPUT IV : In vita itaque apprime utile est intellectum seu rationem quantum possumus perficere et in hoc uno summa hominis felicitas seu beatitudo consistit; quippe beatitudo nihil aliud est quam ipsa animi acquiescentia quæ ex Dei

intuitiva cognitione oritur : at intellectum perficere nihil etiam aliud est quam Deum Deique attributa et actiones quæ ex ipsius naturæ necessitate consequuntur, intelligere. Quare hominis qui ratione ducitur finis ultimus hoc est summa cupiditas qua reliquas omnes moderari studet, est illa qua fertur ad se resque omnes quæ sub ipsius intelligentiam cadere possunt, adæquate concipiendum.

CAPUT V : Nulla igitur vita rationalis est sine intelligentia et res eatenus tantum bonæ sunt quatenus hominem juvant ut mentis vita fruatur quæ intelligentia definitur. Quæ autem contra impediunt quominus homo rationem perficere et rationali vita frui possit, eas solummodo malas esse dicimus.

CAPUT VI : Sed quia omnia illa quorum homo efficiens est causa, necessario bona sunt, nihil ergo mali homini evenire potest nisi a causis externis nempe quatenus pars est totius naturæ cujus legibus humana natura obtemperare et cui infinitis modis pene sese accommodare cogitur.

CAPUT VII : Nec fieri potest ut homo non sit naturæ pars et communem ejus ordinem non sequatur sed si inter talia individua versetur quæ cum ipsius hominis natura conveniunt, eo ipso hominis agendi potentia juvabitur et fovebitur. At si contra inter talia sit quæ cum ipsius natura minime conveniunt, vix absque magna ipsius mutatione iisdem sese accommodare poterit.

CAPUT VIII : Quicquid in rerum natura datur quod judicamus malum esse sive posse impedire quominus existere et vita rationali frui queamus, id a nobis remove ea via quæ securior videtur, licet et quicquid contra datur quod judicamus bonum sive utile esse ad nostrum esse conservandum et vita rationali fruendum, id ad nostrum usum capere et eo quocunque modo uti nobis licet et absolute id unicuique summo naturæ jure facere licet quod ad ipsius utilitatem conferre judicat.

CAPUT IX : Nihil magis cum natura alicujus rei convenire potest quam reliqua ejusdem speciei individua adeoque (per caput 7) nihil homini ad suum esse conservandum et vita rationali fruendum utilius datur quam homo qui ratione ducitur. Deinde quia inter res singulares nihil novimus quod homine qui ratione ducitur, sit præstantius, nulla ergo re magis potest unusquisque ostendere quantum

arte et ingenio valeat quam in hominibus ita educandis ut tandem ex proprio rationis imperio vivant.

CAPUT X : Quatenus homines invidia aut aliquo odii affectu in se invicem feruntur eatenus invicem contrarii sunt et consequenter eo magis timendi quo plus possunt quam reliqua naturæ individua.

CAPUT XI : Animi tamen non armis sed amore et generositate vincuntur.

CAPUT XII : Hominibus apprime utile est consuetudines jungere seseque iis vinculis astringere quibus aptius de se omnibus unum efficiant et absolute ea agere quæ firmandis amicitiiis inserviunt.

CAPUT XIII : Sed ad hæc ars et vigilantia requiritur. Sunt enim homines varii (nam rari sunt qui ex rationis præscripto vivunt) et tamen plerumque invidi et magis ad vindictam quam ad misericordiam proclives. Unumquemque igitur ex ipsius ingenio ferre et sese continere ne eorum affectus imitetur, singularis animi potentiæ opus est. At qui contra homines carpere et vitia potius exprobrare quam virtutes docere et hominum animos non firmare sed frangere norunt, ii et sibi et reliquis molesti sunt; unde multi præ nimia scilicet animi impatientia falsoque religionis studio inter bruta potius quam inter homines vivere maluerunt ut pueri vel adolescentes qui parentum jurgia æquo animo ferre nequeunt, militatum confugiunt et incommoda belli et imperium tyrannidis præ domesticis commodis et paternis admonitionibus eligunt et quidvis oneris sibi imponi patiuntur dummodo parentes ulciscantur.

CAPUT XIV : Quamvis igitur homines omnia plerumque ex sua libidine moderentur, ex eorum tamen communi societate multo plura commoda quam damna sequuntur. Quare satius est eorum injurias æquo animo ferre et studium iis adhibere quæ concordiae et amicitiae conciliandæ inserviunt.

CAPUT XV : Quæ concordiam gignunt sunt illa quæ ad justitiam, æquitatem et honestatem referuntur. Nam homines præter id quod injustum et iniquum est, etiam ægre ferunt quod turpe habetur sive quod aliquis receptos civitatis mores aspernatur. Amori autem conciliando illa apprime necessaria sunt quæ ad

religionem et pietatem spectant. De quibus vide scholia I et II propositionis 37 et scholium propositionis 46 et scholium propositionis 73 partis IV.

CAPUT XVI : Solet præterea concordia ex metu plerumque gigni sed sine fide. Adde quod metus ex animi impotentia oritur et propterea ad rationis usum non pertinet ut nec commiseratio quamvis pietatis speciem præ se ferre videatur.

CAPUT XVII : Vincuntur præterea homines etiam largitate, præcipue ii qui non habent unde comparare possint illa quæ ad vitam sustentandam necessaria sunt. Attamen unicuique indigenti auxilium ferre vires et utilitatem viri privati longe superat. Divitiæ namque viri privati longe impares sunt ad id suppeditandum. Unius præterea viri facultas limitatior est quam ut omnes sibi possit amicitia jungere; quare pauperum cura integræ societati incumbit et ad communem tantum utilitatem spectat.

CAPUT XVIII : In beneficiis accipiendis et gratia referenda alia prorsus debet esse cura, de qua vide scholium propositionis 70 et scholium propositionis 71 partis IV.

CAPUT XIX : Amor præterea meretricius hoc est generandi libido quæ ex forma oritur et absolute omnis amor qui aliam causam præter animi libertatem agnoscit, facile in odium transit nisi, quod pejus est, species delirii sit atque tum magis discordia quam concordia fovetur. Vide scholium propositionis 31 partis III.

CAPUT XX : Ad matrimonium quod attinet, certum est ipsum cum ratione convenire si cupiditas miscendi corpora non ex sola forma sed etiam ex amore liberos procreandi et sapienter educandi, ingeneretur et præterea si utriusque, viri scilicet et fœminæ amor non solam formam sed animi præcipue libertatem pro causa habeat.

CAPUT XXI : Gignit præterea adulatio concordiam sed fœdo servitutis crimine vel perfidia; nulli quippe magis adulatione capiuntur quam superbi qui primi esse volunt nec sunt.

CAPUT XXII : Abjectioni falsa pietatis et religionis species inest. Et quamvis abjectio superbiæ sit contraria, est tamen abjectus superbo proximus. Vide

scholium propositionis 57 partis IV.

CAPUT XXIII : Confert præterea concordiae pudor in iis tantum quæ celari non possunt. Deinde quia ipse pudor species est tristitiæ, ad rationis usum non spectat.

CAPUT XXIV : Cæteri tristitiæ erga homines affectus directe justitiæ, æquitati, honestati, pietati et religioni opponuntur et quamvis indignatio æquitatis speciem præ se ferre videatur, ibi tamen sine lege vivitur ubi unicuique de factis alterius iudicium ferre et suum vel alterius jus vindicare licet.

CAPUT XXV : Modestia hoc est cupiditas hominibus placendi quæ ex ratione determinatur, ad pietatem (ut in scholio I propositionis 37 partis IV diximus) refertur. Sed si ex affectu oriatur, ambitio est sive cupiditas qua homines falsa pietatis imagine plerumque discordias et seditiones concitant. Nam qui reliquos consilio aut re juvare cupit ut simul summo fruantur bono, is apprime studebit eorum sibi amorem conciliare; non autem eos in admirationem traducere ut disciplina ex ipso habeat vocabulum nec ullas absolute invidiæ causas dare. In communibus deinde colloquiis cavebit hominum vitia referre et de humana impotentia non nisi parce loqui curabit : at largiter de humana virtute seu potentia et qua via possit perfici ut sic homines non ex metu aut aversione sed solo lætitiæ affectu, moti ex rationis præscripto quantum in se est, contentur vivere.

CAPUT XXVI : Præter homines nihil singulare in natura novimus cujus mente gaudere et quod nobis amicitia aut aliquo consuetudinis genere jungere possumus adeoque quicquid in rerum natura extra homines datur, id nostræ utilitatis ratio conservare non postulat sed pro ejus vario usu conservare, destruere vel quocunque modo ad nostrum usum adaptare nos docet.

CAPUT XXVII : Utilitas quam ex rebus quæ extra nos sunt, capimus, est præter experientiam et cognitionem quam acquirimus ex eo quod easdem observamus et ex his formis in alias mutamus, præcipua corporis conservatio et hac ratione res illæ imprimis utiles sunt quæ corpus ita alere et nutrire possunt ut ejus omnes partes officio suo recte fungi queant. Nam quo corpus aptius est ut pluribus modis possit affici et corpora externa pluribus modis afficere, eo mens ad

cogitandum est aptior (vide propositiones 38 et 39 partis IV). At hujus notæ perpauca in natura esse videntur; quare ad corpus ut requiritur nutriendum necesse est multis naturæ diversæ alimentis uti. Quippe humanum corpus ex plurimis diversæ naturæ partibus componitur quæ continuo alimento indigent et vario ut totum corpus ad omnia quæ ex ipsius natura sequi possunt, æque aptum sit et consequenter ut mens etiam æque apta sit ad plura concipiendum.

CAPUT XXVIII : Ad hæc autem comparandum vix uniuscujusque vires sufficerent nisi homines operas mutuas traderent. Verum omnium rerum compendium pecunia attulit, unde factum ut ejus imago mentem vulgi maxime occupare soleat quia vix ullam lætitiæ speciem imaginari possunt nisi concomitante nummorum idea tanquam causa.

CAPUT XXIX : Sed hoc vitium eorum tantum est qui non ex indigentia nec propter necessitates nummos quærunt sed quia lucri artes didicerunt quibus se magnifice efferunt. Cæterum corpus ex consuetudine pascunt sed parce quia tantum de suis bonis se perdere credunt quantum sui corporis conservationi impendunt. At qui verum nummorum usum norunt et divitiarum modum ex sola indigentia moderantur, paucis contenti vivunt.

CAPUT XXX : Cum igitur res illæ sint bonæ quæ corporis partes juvant ut suo officio fungantur et lætitia in eo consistat quod hominis potentia quatenus mente et corpore constat, juvatur vel augetur, sunt ergo illa omnia quæ lætitiā afferunt, bona. Attamen quoniam contra non eum in finem res agunt ut nos lætitia afficiant nec earum agendi potentia ex nostra utilitate temperatur et denique quoniam lætitia plerumque ad unam corporis partem potissimum refertur, habent ergo plerumque lætitiæ affectus (nisi ratio et vigilantia adsit) et consequenter cupiditates etiam quæ ex iisdem generantur, excessum; ad quod accedit quod ex affectu id primum habeamus quod in præsentia suave est nec futura æquali animi affectu æstimare possumus. Vide scholium propositionis 44 et scholium propositionis 60 partis IV.

CAPUT XXXI : At superstitio id contra videtur statuere bonum esse quod tristitiam et id contra malum quod lætitiā affert. Sed ut jam diximus (vide

scholium propositionis 45 partis IV) nemo nisi invidus mea impotentia et incommodo delectatur. Nam quo majore lætitia afficimur, eo ad majorem perfectionem transimus et consequenter eo magis de natura divina participamus nec lætitia unquam mala esse potest quam nostræ utilitatis vera ratio moderatur. At qui contra metu ducitur et bonum ut malum vitet, agit, is ratione non ducitur.

CAPUT XXXII : Sed humana potentia admodum limitata est et a potentia causarum externarum infinite superatur atque adeo potestatem absolutam non habemus res quæ extra nos sunt, ad nostrum usum aptandi. Attamen ea quæ nobis eveniunt contra id quod nostræ utilitatis ratio postulat æquo animo feremus si conscii simus nos functos nostro officio fuisse et potentiam quam habemus non potuisse se eo usque extendere ut eadem vitare possemus nosque partem totius naturæ esse cujus ordinem sequimur. Quod si clare et distincte intelligamus, pars illa nostri quæ intelligentia definitur hoc est pars melior nostri, in eo plane acquiescet et in ea acquiescentia perseverare conabitur. Nam quatenus intelligimus nihil appetere nisi id quod necessarium est nec absolute nisi in veris acquiescere possumus adeoque quatenus hæc recte intelligimus eatenus conatus melioris partis nostri cum ordine totius naturæ convenit.

Finis quartæ partis

PARS QUINTA. DE POTENTIA INTELLECTUS SEU DE LIBERTATE HUMANA

PRÆFATIO



TRANSEO TANDEM AD alteram Ethices partem quæ est de modo sive via quæ ad libertatem ducit. In hac ergo de potentia rationis agam ostendens quid ipsa ratio in affectus possit et deinde quid mentis libertas seu beatitudo sit, ex quibus videbimus quantum sapiens potior sit ignaro. Quomodo autem et qua via debeat intellectus perfici et qua deinde arte corpus sit curandum ut possit suo officio recte fungi, huc non pertinet; hoc enim ad medicinam, illud autem ad logicam spectat. Hic igitur ut dixi de sola mentis seu rationis potentia agam et ante omnia quantum et quale imperium in affectus habeat ad eosdem coercendum et moderandum ostendam. Nam nos in ipsos imperium absolutum non habere jam supra demonstravimus. Stoici tamen putarunt eosdem a nostra voluntate absolute pendere nosque iis absolute imperare posse. Attamen ab experientia reclamante, non vero ex suis principiis coacti sunt fateri usum et studium non parvum requiri ad eosdem coercendum et moderandum; quod quidam exemplo duorum canum (si recte memini) unius scilicet domestici, alterius venatici conatus est ostendere nempe quia usu efficere tandem potuit ut domesticus venari, venaticus contra a leporibus sectandis abstinere assuesceret. Huic opinioni non parum favet Cartesius. Nam statuit animam seu mentem unitam præcipue esse cuidam parti cerebri, glandulæ scilicet pineali dictæ cujus ope mens motus omnes qui in corpore excitantur, et objecta externa sentit quamque mens eo solo quod vult, varie movere potest. Hanc glandulam in medio cerebri ita suspensam esse statuit ut minimo spirituum animalium motu possit moveri. Deinde statuit quod hæc glans tot variis modis in medio cerebro suspendatur quot variis modis spiritus

animales in eandem impingunt et quod præterea tot varia vestigia in eadem imprimantur quot varia objecta externa ipsos spiritus animales versus eandem propellunt, unde fit ut si glans postea ab animæ voluntate illam diversimode movente hoc aut illo modo suspendatur quo semel fuit suspensa a spiritibus hoc aut illo modo agitatis, tum ipsa glans ipsos spiritus animales eodem modo propellet et determinabit ac antea a simili glandulæ suspensione repulsi fuerant. Præterea statuit unamquamque mentis voluntatem natura esse unitam certo cuidam glandis motui. Exempli gratia si quis voluntatem habet objectum remotum intuendi, hæc voluntas efficiet ut pupilla dilatetur sed si de sola dilatanda pupilla cogitet, nihil proderit ejus rei habere voluntatem quia natura non junxit motum glandis qui inservit impellendis spiritibus versus nervum opticum modo conveniente dilatandæ vel contrahendæ pupillæ cum voluntate eandem dilatandi vel contrahendi sed demum cum voluntate intuendi objecta remota vel proxima. Denique statuit quod etsi unusquisque motus hujus glandulæ videatur connexus esse per naturam singulis ex nostris cogitationibus ab initio nostræ vitæ, aliis tamen per habitum possunt jungi, quod probare conatur articulo 50 partis I de passionibus animæ. Ex his concludit nullam esse tam imbecillem animam quæ non possit cum bene dirigitur, acquirere potestatem absolutam in suas passiones. Nam hæ ut ab eo definiuntur, sunt “perceptiones aut sensus aut commotiones animæ quæ ad eam speciatim referuntur quæque nota bene producantur, conservantur et corroborantur per aliquem motum spirituum” (vide articulum 27 partis I passionum animæ). At quandoquidem cuilibet voluntati possumus jungere motum quemcunque glandis et consequenter spirituum et determinatio voluntatis a sola nostra potestate pendet, si igitur nostram voluntatem certis et firmis judiciis secundum quæ nostræ vitæ actiones dirigere volumus, determinemus et motus passionum quas habere volumus, hisce judiciis jungamus, imperium acquiremus absolutum in nostras passiones. Hæc est clarissimi hujus viri sententia (quantum ex ipsius verbis conjicio) quam ego vix credidissem a tanto viro prolatam esse si minus acuta fuisset. Profecto mirari satis non possum quod vir philosophus qui firmiter statuerat nihil deducere nisi ex principiis per se notis et nihil affirmare

nisi quod clare et distincte perciperet et qui toties scholasticos reprehenderat quod per occultas qualitates res obscuras voluerint explicare, hypothesin sumat omni occulta qualitate occultiozem. Quid quæso per mentis et corporis unionem intelligit? Quem inquam clarum et distinctum conceptum habet cogitationis arctissime unitæ cuidam quantitatis portiunculæ? Vellem sane ut hanc unionem per proximam suam causam explicuisset. Sed ille mentem a corpore adeo distinctam conceperat ut nec hujus unionis nec ipsius mentis ullam singularem causam assignare potuerit sed necesse ipsi fuerit ad causam totius Universi hoc est ad Deum recurrere. Deinde pervelim scire quot motus gradus potest glandulæ isti pineali mens tribuere et quanta cum vi eandem suspensam tenere potest. Nam nescio an hæc glans tardius vel celerius a mente circumagatur quam a spiritibus animalibus et an motus passionum quos firmis judiciis arcte junximus, non possint ab iisdem iterum a causis corporeis disjungi; ex quo sequeretur ut quamvis mens firmiter proposuerit contra pericula ire atque huic decreto motus audaciæ junxerit, viso tamen periculo, glans ita suspendatur ut mens non nisi de fuga possit cogitare et sane cum nulla detur ratio voluntatis ad motum, nulla etiam datur comparatio inter mentis et corporis potentiam seu vires et consequenter hujus vires nequaquam viribus illius determinari possunt. His adde quod nec hæc glans ita in medio cerebro sita reperiatur ut tam facile totque modis circumagi possit et quod non omnes nervi ad cavitates usque cerebri protendantur. Denique omnia quæ de voluntate ejusque libertate asserit, omitto quandoquidem hæc falsa esse satis superque ostenderim. Igitur quia mentis potentia ut supra ostendi, sola intelligentia definitur, affectuum remedia quæ omnes experiri quidem sed non accurate observare nec distincte videre credo sola mentis cognitione, determinabimus et ex eadem illa omnia quæ ad ipsius beatitudinem spectant, deducemus.

AXIOMATA

I. Si in eodem subjecto duæ contrariæ actiones excitentur, debet necessario vel in utraque vel in una sola mutatio fieri donec desinant contrariæ esse.

II. Effectus potentia definitur potentia ipsius causæ quatenus ejus essentia per ipsius causæ essentiam explicatur vel definitur. Patet hoc axioma ex propositione 7 partis III.

PROPOSITIO I : Prout cogitationes rerumque ideæ ordinantur et concatenantur in mente, ita corporis affectiones seu rerum imagines ad amussim ordinantur et concatenantur in corpore.

DEMONSTRATIO : Ordo et connexio idearum idem est (per propositionem 7 partis II) ac ordo et connexio rerum et vice versa ordo et connexio rerum idem est (per corollaria propositionum 6 et 7 partis II) ac ordo et connexio idearum. Quare sicuti ordo et connexio idearum in mente fit secundum ordinem et concatenationem affectionum corporis (per propositionem 18 partis II) sic vice versa (per propositionem 2 partis III) ordo et connexio affectionum corporis fit prout cogitationes rerumque ideæ ordinantur et concatenantur in mente. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO II : Si animi commotionem seu affectum a causæ externæ cogitatione amoveamus et aliis jungamus cogitationibus, tum amor seu odium erga causam externam ut et animi fluctuationes quæ ex his affectibus oriuntur, destruentur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Id enim quod formam amoris vel odii constituit, est lætitia vel tristitia concomitante idea causæ externæ (per definitiones 6 et 7 affectuum); hac igitur sublata, amoris vel odii forma simul tollitur adeoque hi affectus et qui ex his oriuntur, destruuntur. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO III : Affectus qui passio est, desinit esse passio simulatque ejus claram et distinctam formamus ideam.

DEMONSTRATIO : Affectus qui passio est, idea est confusa (per generalem affectuum definitionem). Si itaque ipsius affectus claram et distinctam formemus ideam, hæc idea ab ipso affectu quatenus ad solam mentem refertur, non nisi ratione distinguetur (per propositionem 21 partis II cum ejusdem scholio) adeoque (per propositionem 3 partis III) affectus desinet esse passio. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Affectus igitur eo magis in nostra potestate est et mens ab eo minus patitur quo nobis est notior.

PROPOSITIO IV : Nulla est corporis affectio cujus aliquem clarum et distinctum non possumus formare conceptum.

DEMONSTRATIO : Quæ omnibus communia sunt, non possunt concipi nisi adæquate (per propositionem 38 partis II) adeoque (per propositionem 12 et lemma 2 quod habetur post scholium propositionis 13 partis II) nulla est corporis affectio cujus aliquem clarum et distinctum non possumus formare conceptum. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Hinc sequitur nullum esse affectum cujus non possumus aliquem clarum et distinctum formare conceptum. Est namque affectus corporis affectionis idea (per generalem affectuum definitionem) quæ propterea (per propositionem præcedentem) aliquem clarum et distinctum involvere debet conceptum.

SCHOLIUM : Quandoquidem nihil datur ex quo aliquis effectus non sequatur (per propositionem 36 partis I) et quicquid ex idea quæ in nobis est adæquata, sequitur, id omne clare et distincte intelligimus (per propositionem 40 partis II) hinc sequitur unumquemque potestatem habere se suosque affectus, si non absolute, ex parte saltem clare et distincte intelligendi et consequenter efficiendi ut ab iisdem minus patiat. Huic igitur rei præcipue danda est opera ut unumquemque affectum quantum fieri potest clare et distincte cognoscamus ut sic mens ex affectu ad illa cogitandum determinetur quæ clare et distincte percipit et in quibus plane acquiescit atque adeo ut ipse affectus a cogitatione causæ externæ separetur et veris jungatur cogitationibus; ex quo fiet ut non tantum amor, odium etc. destruantur (per propositionem 2 hujus) sed ut etiam appetitus seu cupiditates quæ ex tali affectu oriri solent, excessum habere nequeant (per propositionem 61 partis IV). Nam apprime notandum est unum eundemque esse appetitum per quem homo tam agere quam pati dicitur. Exempli gratia cum natura humana ita comparatum esse ostendimus ut unusquisque appetat ut reliqui ex ipsius ingenio vivant (vide corollarium propositionis 31 partis III) qui quidem appetitus in homine qui ratione non ducitur, passio est quæ ambitio vocatur nec multum a superbia discrepat et contra in homine qui ex rationis dictamine vivit, actio seu

virtus est quæ pietas appellatur (vide scholium I propositionis 37 partis IV et II demonstrationem ejusdem propositionis). Et hoc modo omnes appetitus seu cupiditates eatenus tantum passionibus sunt quatenus ex ideis inadæquatis oriuntur atque eadem virtuti accensentur quando ab ideis adæquatis excitantur vel generantur. Nam omnes cupiditates quibus ad aliquid agendum determinamur, tam oriri possunt ab adæquatis quam ab inadæquatis ideis (vide propositionem 59 partis IV). Atque hoc (ut eo unde digressus sum revertar) affectuum remedio quod scilicet in eorum vera cognitione consistit, nullum præstantius aliud quod a nostra potestate pendeat, excogitari potest quandoquidem nulla alia mentis potentia datur quam cogitandi et adæquatas ideas formandi, ut supra (per propositionem 3 partis III) ostendimus.

PROPOSITIO V : Affectus erga rem quam simpliciter et non ut necessariam neque ut possibilem neque ut contingentem imaginamur, cæteris paribus omnium est maximus.

DEMONSTRATIO : Affectus erga rem quam liberam esse imaginamur, major est quam erga necessariam (per propositionem 49 partis III) et consequenter adhuc major quam erga illam quam ut possibilem vel contingentem imaginamur (per propositionem 11 partis IV). At rem aliquam ut liberam imaginari nihil aliud esse potest quam quod rem simpliciter imaginamur dum causas a quibus ipsa ad agendum determinata fuit, ignoramus (per illa quæ in scholio propositionis 35 partis II ostendimus); ergo affectus erga rem quam simpliciter imaginamur, cæteris paribus major est quam erga necessariam, possibilem vel contingentem et consequenter maximus. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO VI : Quatenus mens res omnes ut necessarias intelligit eatenus majorem in affectus potentiam habet seu minus ab iisdem patitur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Mens res omnes necessarias esse intelligit (per propositionem 29 partis I) et infinito causarum nexu determinari ad existendum et operandum (per propositionem 28 partis I) adeoque (per propositionem præcedentem) eatenus efficit ut ab affectibus qui ex iis oriuntur, minus patiatur et (per propositionem 48 partis III) minus erga ipsas afficiatur. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Quo hæc cognitio quod scilicet res necessariæ sint, magis circa res singulares quas distinctius et magis vivide imaginamur, versatur, eo hæc mentis in affectus potentia major est, quod ipsa etiam experientia testatur. Videmus enim tristitiam boni alicujus quod periit mitigari simulac homo qui id perdidit, considerat bonum illud servari nulla ratione potuisse. Sic etiam videmus quod nemo miseretur infantis propterea quod nescit loqui, ambulare, ratiocinari et quod denique tot annos quasi sui inscius vivat. At si plerique adulti et unus aut alter infans nascerentur, tum unumquemque misereret infantum quia tum ipsam infantiam non ut rem naturalem et necessariam sed ut naturæ vitium seu peccatum consideraret et ad hunc modum plura alia notare possemus.

PROPOSITIO VII : Affectus qui ex ratione oriuntur vel excitantur, si ratio temporis habeatur, potentiores sunt iis qui ad res singulares referuntur quas ut absentes contemplamur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Rem aliquam ut absentem non contemplamur ex affectu quo eandem imaginamur sed ex eo quod corpus alio afficitur affectu qui ejusdem rei existentiam secludit (per propositionem 17 partis II). Quare affectus qui ad rem quam ut absentem contemplamur, refertur, ejus naturæ non est ut reliquas hominis actiones et potentiam superet (de quibus vide propositionem 6 partis IV) sed contra ejus naturæ est ut ab iis affectionibus quæ existentiam externæ ejus causæ secludunt, coerceri aliquo modo possit (per propositionem 9 partis IV). At affectus qui ex ratione oritur, refertur necessario ad communes rerum proprietates (vide rationis definitionem in II scholio propositionis 40 partis II) quas semper ut præsentem contemplamur (nam nihil dari potest quod earum præsentem existentiam secludat) et quas semper eodem modo imaginamur (per propositionem 38 partis II). Quare talis affectus idem semper manet et consequenter (per axioma 1 hujus) affectus qui eidem sunt contrarii quique a suis causis externis non foveantur, eidem magis magisque sese accommodare debebunt donec non amplius sint contrarii et eatenus affectus qui ex ratione oritur, est potentior. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO VIII : Quo affectus aliquis a pluribus causis simul concurrentibus excitatur, eo major est.

DEMONSTRATIO : Plures causæ simul plus possunt quam si pauciores essent (per propositionem 7 partis III) adeoque (per propositionem 5 partis IV) quo affectus aliquis a pluribus causis simul excitatur, eo fortior est. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Hæc propositio patet etiam ex aximate 2 hujus partis.

PROPOSITIO IX : Affectus qui ad plures et diversas causas refertur quas mens cum ipso affectu simul contemplatur, minus noxius est et minus per ipsum patimur et erga unamquamque causam minus afficimur quam alius æque magnus affectus qui ad unam solam vel pauciores causas refertur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Affectus eatenus tantum malus seu noxius est quatenus mens ab eo impeditur quominus possit cogitare (per propositiones 26 et 27 partis IV) adeoque ille affectus a quo mens ad plura simul objecta contemplandum determinatur, minus noxius est quam alius æque magnus affectus qui mentem in sola unius aut pauciorum objectorum contemplatione ita detinet ut de aliis cogitare nequeat, quod erat primum. Deinde quia mentis essentia hoc est (per propositionem 7 partis III) potentia in sola cogitatione consistit (per propositionem 11 partis II) ergo mens per affectum a quo ad plura simul contemplandum determinatur, minus patitur quam per æque magnum affectum qui mentem in sola unius aut pauciorum objectorum contemplatione occupatam tenet, quod erat secundum. Denique hic affectus (per propositionem 48 partis III) quatenus ad plures causas externas refertur, est etiam erga unamquamque minor. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO X : Quamdiu affectibus qui nostræ naturæ sunt contrarii, non conflictamur tamdiu potestatem habemus ordinandi et concatenandi corporis affectiones secundum ordinem ad intellectum.

DEMONSTRATIO : Affectus qui nostræ naturæ sunt contrarii hoc est (per propositionem 30 partis IV) qui mali sunt, eatenus mali sunt quatenus impediunt quominus mens intelligat (per propositionem 27 partis IV). Quamdiu igitur affectibus qui nostræ naturæ contrarii sunt, non conflictamur tamdiu mentis

potentia qua res intelligere conatur (per propositionem 26 partis IV) non impeditur atque adeo tamdiu potestatem habet claras et distinctas ideas formandi et alias ex aliis deducendi (vide II scholium propositionis 40 et scholium propositionis 47 partis II) et consequenter (per propositionem 1 hujus) tamdiu potestatem habemus ordinandi et concatenandi affectiones corporis secundum ordinem ad intellectum. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Hac potestate recte ordinandi et concatenandi corporis affectiones efficere possumus ut non facile malis affectibus afficiamur. Nam (per propositionem 7 hujus) major vis requiritur ad affectus secundum ordinem ad intellectum ordinatos et concatenatos coercendum quam incertos et vagos. Optimum igitur quod efficere possumus quamdiu nostrorum affectuum perfectam cognitionem non habemus, est rectam vivendi rationem seu certa vitæ dogmata concipere eaque memoriæ mandare et rebus particularibus in vita frequenter obviis continuo applicare ut sic nostra imaginatio late iisdem afficiatur et nobis in promptu sint semper. Exempli gratia inter vitæ dogmata posuimus (vide propositionem 46 partis IV cum ejusdem scholio) odium amore seu generositate vincendum, non autem reciproco odio compensandum. Ut autem hoc rationis præscriptum semper in promptu habeamus ubi usus erit, cogitandæ et sæpe meditandæ sunt communes hominum injuriæ et quomodo et qua via generositate optime propulsentur; sic enim imaginem injuriæ imaginationi hujus dogmatis jungemus et nobis (per propositionem 18 partis II) in promptu semper erit ubi nobis injuria afferetur. Quod si etiam in promptu habuerimus rationem nostri veri utilis ac etiam boni quod ex mutua amicitia et communi societate sequitur et præterea quod ex recta vivendi ratione summa animi acquiescentia oriatur (per propositionem 52 partis IV) et quod homines ut reliqua, ex naturæ necessitate agant, tum injuria sive odium quod ex eadem oriri solet, minimam imaginationis partem occupabit et facile superabitur; vel si ira quæ ex maximis injuriis oriri solet, non adeo facile superetur, superabitur tamen quamvis non sine animi fluctuatione, longe minore temporis spatio quam si hæc non ita præmeditata habuissemus, ut patet ex propositione 6, 7 et 8 hujus partis. De animositate ad

metum deponendum eodem modo cogitandum est; enumeranda scilicet sunt et sæpe imaginanda communia vitæ pericula et quomodo animi præsentia et fortitudine optime vitari et superari possunt. Sed notandum quod nobis in ordinandis nostris cogitationibus et imaginibus semper attendendum est (per corollarium propositionis 63 partis IV et propositionem 59 partis III) ad illa quæ in unaquaque re bona sunt ut sic semper ex lætitiæ affectu ad agendum determinemur. Exempli gratia si quis videt se nimis gloriam sectari, de ejus recto usu cogitet et in quem finem sectanda sit et quibus mediis acquiri possit sed non de ipsius abusu et vanitate et hominum inconstantia vel aliis hujusmodi de quibus nemo nisi ex animi ægritudine cogitat; talibus enim cogitationibus maxime ambitiosi se maxime affligunt quando de assequendo honore quem ambiunt desperant et dum iram evomunt, sapientes videri volunt. Quare certum est eos gloriæ maxime esse cupidos qui de ipsius abusu et mundi vanitate maxime clamant. Nec hoc ambitiosis proprium sed omnibus commune est quibus fortuna est adversa et qui animo impotentes sunt. Nam pauper etiam, avarus de abusu pecuniæ et divitum vitiis non cessat loqui, quo nihil aliud efficit quam se affligere et aliis ostendere se non tantum paupertatem suam sed etiam aliorum divitias iniquo animo ferre. Sic etiam qui male ab amasia excepti sunt, nihil aliud cogitant quam de mulierum inconstantia et fallaci animo et reliquis earundem decantatis vitiis quæ omnia statim oblivioni tradunt simulac ab amasia iterum recipiuntur. Qui itaque suos affectus et appetitus ex solo libertatis amore moderari studet, is quantum potest nitetur virtutes earumque causas noscere et animum gaudio quod ex earum vera cognitione oritur, implere; at minime hominum vitia contemplari hominesque obtrectare et falsa libertatis specie gaudere. Atque hæc qui diligenter observabit (neque enim difficilia sunt) et exercebit, næ ille brevi temporis spatio actiones suas ex rationis imperio plerumque dirigere poterit.

PROPOSITIO XI : Quo imago aliqua ad plures res refertur, eo frequentior est seu sæpius viget et mentem magis occupat.

DEMONSTRATIO : Quo enim imago seu affectus ad plures res refertur, eo plures dantur causæ a quibus excitari et foveri potest quas omnes mens (per

hypothesin) ex ipso affectu simul contemplatur atque adeo affectus eo frequentior est seu sæpius viget et (per propositionem 8 hujus) mentem magis occupat. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XII : Rerum imagines facilius imaginibus quæ ad res referuntur quas clare et distincte intelligimus, junguntur quam aliis.

DEMONSTRATIO : Res quas clare et distincte intelligimus, vel rerum communes proprietates sunt vel quæ ex iis deducuntur (vide rationis definitionem in II scholio propositionis 40 partis II) et consequenter sæpius (per propositionem præcedentem) in nobis excitantur adeoque facilius fieri potest ut res alias simul cum his quam cum aliis contemplemur et consequenter (per propositionem 18 partis II) ut facilius cum his quam cum aliis jungantur. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XIII : Quo imago aliqua pluribus aliis juncta est, eo sæpius viget.

DEMONSTRATIO : Nam quo imago aliqua pluribus aliis juncta est, eo (per propositionem 18 partis II) plures causæ dantur a quibus excitari potest. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XIV : Mens efficere potest ut omnes corporis affectiones seu rerum imagines ad Dei ideam referantur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Nulla est corporis affectio cujus aliquem clarum et distinctum non possit mens formare conceptum (per propositionem 4 hujus) adeoque efficere potest (per propositionem 15 partis I) ut omnes ad Dei ideam referuntur. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XV : Qui se suosque affectus clare et distincte intelligit, Deum amat et eo magis quo se suosque affectus magis intelligit.

DEMONSTRATIO : Qui se suosque affectus clare et distincte intelligit, lætatur (per propositionem 53 partis III) idque concomitante idea Dei (per propositionem præcedentem) atque adeo (per 6 affectuum definitionem) Deum amat et (per eandem rationem) eo magis quo se suosque affectus magis intelligit. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XVI : Hic erga Deum amor mentem maxime occupare debet.

DEMONSTRATIO : Est enim hic amor junctus omnibus corporis affectionibus (per propositionem 14 hujus) quibus omnibus fovetur (per propositionem 15

hujus) atque adeo (per propositionem 11 hujus) mentem maxime occupare debet. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XVII : Deus expers est passionum nec ullo lætitiæ aut tristitiæ affectu afficitur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Ideæ omnes quatenus ad Deum referuntur, veræ sunt (per propositionem 32 partis II) hoc est (per definitionem 4 partis II) adæquatae atque adeo (per affectuum generalem definitionem) Deus expers est passionum. Deinde Deus neque ad majorem neque ad minorem perfectionem transire potest (per II corollarium propositionis 20 partis I) adeoque (per 2 et 3 affectuum definitiones) nullo lætitiæ neque tristitiæ affectu afficitur. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Deus proprie loquendo neminem amat neque odio habet. Nam Deus (per propositionem præcedentem) nullo lætitiæ neque tristitiæ affectu afficitur et consequenter (per 6 et 7 affectuum definitiones) neminem etiam amat neque odio habet.

PROPOSITIO XVIII : Nemo potest Deum odio habere.

DEMONSTRATIO : Idea Dei quæ in nobis est, est adæquata et perfecta (per propositiones 46 et 47 partis II) adeoque quatenus Deum contemplamur eatenus agimus (per propositionem 3 partis III) et consequenter (per propositionem 59 partis III) nulla potest dari tristitia concomitante idea Dei hoc est (per 7 affectuum definitionem) nemo Deum odio habere potest. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Amor erga Deum in odium verti nequit.

SCHOLIUM : At objici potest quod dum Deum omnium rerum causam intelligimus, eo ipso Deum tristitiæ causam consideramus. Sed ad hoc respondeo quod quatenus tristitiæ causas intelligimus eatenus (per propositionem 3 hujus) ipsa desinit esse passio hoc est (per propositionem 59 partis III) eatenus desinit esse tristitia atque adeo quatenus Deum tristitiæ causam esse intelligimus eatenus lætamur.

PROPOSITIO XIX : Qui Deum amat, conari non potest ut Deus ipsum contra amet.

DEMONSTRATIO : Si homo id conaretur, cuperet ergo (per corollarium propositionis 17 hujus) ut Deus quem amat non esset Deus et consequenter (per propositionem 19 partis III) contristari cuperet, quod (per propositionem 28 partis III) est absurdum. Ergo qui Deum amat etc. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XX : Hic erga Deum amor neque invidiæ neque zelotypiæ affectu inquinari potest sed eo magis fovetur quo plures homines eodem amoris vinculo cum Deo junctos imaginamur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Hic erga Deum amor summum bonum est quod ex dictamine rationis appetere possumus (per propositionem 28 partis IV) et omnibus hominibus commune est (per propositionem 36 partis IV) et omnes ut eodem gaudeant cupimus (per propositionem 37 partis IV) atque adeo (per 23 affectuum definitionem) invidiæ affectu maculari nequit neque etiam (per propositionem 18 hujus et definitionem zelotypiæ, quam vide in scholio propositionis 35 partis III) zelotypiæ affectu sed contra (per propositionem 31 partis III) eo magis foveri debet quo plures homines eodem gaudere imaginamur. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Possumus hoc eodem modo ostendere nullum dari affectum qui huic amori directe sit contrarius, a quo hic ipse amor possit destrui atque adeo concludere possumus hunc erga Deum amorem omnium affectuum est constantissimum nec quatenus ad corpus refertur, posse destrui nisi cum ipso corpore. Cujus autem naturæ sit quatenus ad solam mentem refertur, postea videbimus. Atque his omnia affectuum remedia sive id omne quod mens in se sola considerata adversus affectus potest, comprehendere; ex quibus apparet mentis in affectus potentiam consistere I° in ipsa affectuum cognitione (vide scholium propositionis 4 hujus). II° in eo quod affectus a cogitatione causæ externæ quam confuse imaginamur, separat (vide propositionem 2 cum eodem scholio propositionis 4 hujus). III° in tempore quo affectiones quæ ad res quas intelligimus referuntur, illas superant quæ ad res referuntur quas confuse seu mutilate concipimus (vide propositionem 7 hujus). IV° in multitudine causarum a quibus affectiones quæ ad rerum communes proprietates vel ad Deum referuntur, foveantur (vide propositiones 9 et 11 hujus). V° denique in ordine quo mens suos

affectus ordinare et invicem concatenare potest (vide scholium propositionis 10 et insuper propositiones 12, 13 et 14 hujus). Sed ut hæc mentis in affectus potentia melius intelligatur, venit apprime notandum quod affectus a nobis magni appellantur quando unius hominis affectum cum affectu alterius comparamus et unum magis quam alium eodem affectu conflictari videmus; vel quando unius ejusdemque hominis affectus ad invicem comparamus eundemque uno affectu magis quam alio affici sive moveri comperimus. Nam (per propositionem 5 partis IV) vis cujuscunque affectus definitur potentia causæ externæ cum nostra comparata. At mentis potentia sola cognitione definitur; impotentia autem seu passio a sola cognitionis privatione hoc est ab eo per quod ideæ dicuntur inadæquatae, æstimatur; ex quo sequitur mentem illam maxime pati cujus maximam partem ideæ inadæquatae constituunt ita ut magis per id quod patitur quam per id quod agit dignoscatur et illam contra maxime agere cujus maximam partem ideæ adæquatae constituunt ita ut quamvis huic tot inadæquatae ideæ quam illi insint, magis tamen per illas quæ humanæ virtuti tribuuntur quam per has quæ humanam impotentiam arguunt, dignoscatur. Deinde notandum animi ægritudines et infortunia potissimum originem trahere ex nimio amore erga rem quæ multis variationibus est obnoxia et cujus nunquam compotes esse possumus. Nam nemo de re ulla nisi quam amat sollicitus anxiusve est neque injuriæ, suspensiones, inimicitiae etc. oriuntur nisi ex amore erga res quarum nemo potest revera esse compos. Ex his itaque facile concipimus quid clara et distincta cognitio et præcipue tertium illud cognitionis genus (de quo vide scholium propositionis 47 partis II) cujus fundamentum est ipsa Dei cognitio, in affectus potest quos nempe quatenus passionibus sunt, si non absolute tollit (vide propositionem 3 cum scholio propositionis 4 hujus) saltem efficit ut minimam mentis partem constituent (vide propositionem 14 hujus). Deinde amorem gignit erga rem immutabilem et æternam (vide propositionem 15 hujus) et cujus revera sumus compotes (vide propositionem 45 partis II) et qui propterea nullis vitiis quæ in communi amore insunt, inquinari sed semper major ac major esse potest (per propositionem 15 hujus) et mentis maximam partem occupare (per propositionem 16 hujus) lateque

afficere. Atque his omnia quæ præsentem hanc vitam spectant, absolvi. Nam quod in hujus scholii principio dixi me his paucis omnia affectuum remedia amplexum esse, facile poterit unusquisque videre qui ad hæc quæ in hoc scholio diximus et simul ad mentis ejusque affectuum definitiones et denique ad propositiones 1 et 3 partis III attenderit. Tempus igitur jam est ut ad illa transeam quæ ad mentis durationem sine relatione ad corpus pertinent.

PROPOSITIO XXI : Mens nihil imaginari potest neque rerum præteritarum recordari nisi durante corpore.

DEMONSTRATIO : Mens actualement sui corporis existentiam non exprimit neque etiam corporis affectiones ut actuales concipit nisi durante corpore (per corollarium propositionis 8 partis II) et consequenter (per propositionem 26 partis II) nullum corpus ut actu existens concipit nisi durante suo corpore ac proinde nihil imaginari (vide imaginationis definitionem in scholio propositionis 17 partis II) neque rerum præteritarum recordari potest nisi durante corpore (vide definitionem memoriæ in scholio propositionis 18 partis II). Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXII : In Deo tamen datur necessario idea quæ hujus et illius corporis humani essentiam sub æternitatis specie exprimit.

DEMONSTRATIO : Deus non tantum est causa hujus et illius corporis humani existentiae sed etiam essentiae (per propositionem 25 partis I) quæ propterea per ipsam Dei essentiam necessario debet concipi (per axioma 4 partis I) idque æterna quadam necessitate (per propositionem 16 partis I) qui quidem conceptus necessario in Deo dari debet (per propositionem 3 partis II). Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXIII : Mens humana non potest cum corpore absolute destrui sed ejus aliquid remanet quod æternum est.

DEMONSTRATIO : In Deo datur necessario conceptus seu idea quæ corporis humani essentiam exprimit (per propositionem præcedentem) quæ propterea aliquid necessario est quod ad essentiam mentis humanæ pertinet (per propositionem 13 partis II). Sed menti humanæ nullam durationem quæ tempore definiri potest, tribuimus nisi quatenus corporis actualement existentiam quæ per durationem explicatur et tempore definiri potest, exprimit hoc est (per corollarium

propositionis 8 partis II) ipsi durationem non tribuimus nisi durante corpore. Cum tamen aliquid nihilominus sit id quod æterna quadam necessitate per ipsam Dei essentiam concipitur (per propositionem præcedentem) erit necessario hoc aliquid quod ad mentis essentiam pertinet, æternum. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Est uti diximus hæc idea quæ corporis essentiam sub specie æternitatis exprimit, certus cogitandi modus qui ad mentis essentiam pertinet quique necessario æternus est. Nec tamen fieri potest ut recordemur nos ante corpus exstitisse quandoquidem nec in corpore ulla ejus vestigia dari nec æternitas tempore definiri nec ullam ad tempus relationem habere potest. At nihilominus sentimus experimurque nos æternos esse. Nam mens non minus res illas sentit quas intelligendo concipit quam quas in memoria habet. Mentis enim oculi quibus res videt observatque, sunt ipsæ demonstrationes. Quamvis itaque non recordemur nos ante corpus exstitisse, sentimus tamen mentem nostram quatenus corporis essentiam sub æternitatis specie involvit, æternam esse et hanc ejus existentiam tempore definiri sive per durationem explicari non posse. Mens igitur nostra eatenus tantum potest dici durare ejusque existentia certo tempore definiri potest quatenus actualement corporis existentiam involvit et eatenus tantum potentiam habet rerum existentiam tempore determinandi easque sub duratione concipiendi.

PROPOSITIO XXIV : Quo magis res singulares intelligimus eo magis Deum intelligimus.

DEMONSTRATIO : Patet ex corollario propositionis 25 partis I.

PROPOSITIO XXV : Summus mentis conatus summaque virtus est res intelligere tertio cognitionis genere.

DEMONSTRATIO : Tertium cognitionis genus procedit ab adæquata idea quorundam Dei attributorum ad adæquatam cognitionem essentiæ rerum (vide hujus definitionem in II scholio propositionis 40 partis II) et quo magis hoc modo res intelligimus eo magis (per propositionem præcedentem) Deum intelligimus ac proinde (per propositionem 28 partis IV) summa mentis virtus hoc est (per

definitionem 8 partis IV) mentis potentia seu natura sive (per propositionem 7 partis III) summus conatus est res intelligere tertio cognitionis genere. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXVI : Quo mens aptior est ad res tertio cognitionis genere intelligendum, eo magis cupit res eodem hoc cognitionis genere intelligere.

DEMONSTRATIO : Patet. Nam quatenus concipimus mentem aptam esse ad res hoc cognitionis genere intelligendum eatenus eandem determinatam concipimus ad res eodem cognitionis genere intelligendum et consequenter (per 1 affectuum definitionem) quo mens ad hoc aptior est, eo magis hoc cupit. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXVII : Ex hoc tertio cognitionis genere summa quæ dari potest mentis acquiescentia, oritur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Summa mentis virtus est Deum cognoscere (per propositionem 28 partis IV) sive res tertio cognitionis genere intelligere (per propositionem 25 hujus); quæ quidem virtus eo major est quo mens hoc cognitionis genere magis res cognoscit (per propositionem 24 hujus) adeoque qui res hoc cognitionis genere cognoscit, is ad summam humanam perfectionem transit et consequenter (per 2 affectuum definitionem) summa lætitia afficitur idque (per propositionem 43 partis II) concomitante idea sui suæque virtutis ac proinde (per 25 affectuum definitionem) ex hoc cognitionis genere summa quæ dari potest oritur acquiescentia. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXVIII : Conatus seu cupiditas cognoscendi res tertio cognitionis genere oriri non potest ex primo, at quidem ex secundo cognitionis genere.

DEMONSTRATIO : Hæc propositio per se patet. Nam quicquid clare et distincte intelligimus, id vel per se vel per aliud quod per se concipitur, intelligimus hoc est ideæ quæ in nobis claræ et distinctæ sunt sive quæ ad tertium cognitionis genus referuntur (vide II scholium propositionis 40 partis II) non possunt sequi ex ideis mutilatis et confusis quæ (per idem scholium) ad primum cognitionis genus referuntur sed ex ideis adæquatis sive (per idem scholium) ex secundo et tertio cognitionis genere ac proinde (per 1 affectuum definitionem)

cupiditas cognoscendi res tertio cognitionis genere non potest oriri ex primo, at quidem ex secundo. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXIX : Quicquid mens sub specie æternitatis intelligit, id ex eo non intelligit quod corporis præsentem actualem existentiam concipit sed ex eo quod corporis essentiam concipit sub specie æternitatis.

DEMONSTRATIO : Quatenus mens præsentem sui corporis existentiam concipit eatenus durationem concipit quæ tempore determinari potest et eatenus tantum potentiam habet concipiendi res cum relatione ad tempus (per propositionem 21 hujus et propositionem 26 partis II). At æternitas per durationem explicari nequit (per definitionem 8 partis I et ipsius explicationem). Ergo mens eatenus potestatem non habet concipiendi res sub specie æternitatis sed quia de natura rationis est res sub specie æternitatis concipere (per II corollarium propositionis 44 partis II) et ad mentis naturam etiam pertinet corporis essentiam sub specie æternitatis concipere (per propositionem 23 hujus) et præter hæc duo nihil aliud ad mentis essentiam pertinet (per propositionem 13 partis II) ergo hæc potentia concipiendi res sub specie æternitatis ad mentem non pertinet nisi quatenus corporis essentiam sub specie æternitatis concipit. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Res duobus modis a nobis ut actuales concipiuntur vel quatenus easdem cum relatione ad certum tempus et locum existere vel quatenus ipsas in Deo contineri et ex naturæ divinæ necessitate consequi concipimus. Quæ autem hoc secundo modo ut veræ seu reales concipiuntur, eas sub æternitatis specie concipimus et earum ideæ æternam et infinitam Dei essentiam involvunt, ut propositione 45 partis II ostendimus, cujus etiam scholium vide.

PROPOSITIO XXX : Mens nostra quatenus se et corpus sub æternitatis specie cognoscit eatenus Dei cognitionem necessario habet scitque se in Deo esse et per Deum concipi.

DEMONSTRATIO : Æternitas est ipsa Dei essentia quatenus hæc necessariam involvit existentiam (per definitionem 8 partis I). Res igitur sub specie æternitatis concipere est res concipere quatenus per Dei essentiam ut entia realia concipiuntur sive quatenus per Dei essentiam involvunt existentiam adeoque

mens nostra quatenus se et corpus sub specie æternitatis concipit eatenus Dei cognitionem necessario habet scitque etc. Q.E.D.

PROPOSITIO XXXI : Tertium cognitionis genus pendet a mente tanquam a formali causa quatenus mens ipsa æterna est.

DEMONSTRATIO : Mens nihil sub æternitatis specie concipit nisi quatenus sui corporis essentiam sub æternitatis specie concipit (per propositionem 29 hujus) hoc est (per propositiones 21 et 23 hujus) nisi quatenus æterna est adeoque (per propositionem præcedentem) quatenus æterna est, Dei habet cognitionem, quæ quidem cognitio est necessario adæquata (per propositionem 46 partis II) ac proinde mens quatenus æterna est, ad illa omnia cognoscendum est apta quæ ex data hac Dei cognitione consequi possunt (per propositionem 40 partis II) hoc est ad res tertio cognitionis genere cognoscendum (vide hujus definitionem in II scholio propositionis 40 partis II) cujus propterea mens (per definitionem 1 partis III) quatenus æterna est, causa est adæquata seu formalis. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Quo igitur unusquisque hoc cognitionis genere plus pollet, eo melius sui et Dei conscius est hoc est eo est perfectior et beatior, quod adhuc clarius ex sequentibus patebit. Sed hic notandum quod tametsi jam certi sumus mentem æternam esse quatenus res sub æternitatis specie concipit, nos tamen, ut ea quæ ostendere volumus facilius explicentur et melius intelligantur, ipsam tanquam jam inciperet esse et res sub æternitatis specie intelligere jam inciperet, considerabimus, ut huc usque fecimus; quod nobis absque ullo erroris periculo facere licet modo nobis cautio sit nihil concludere nisi ex perspicuis præmissis.

PROPOSITIO XXXII : Quicquid intelligimus tertio cognitionis genere, eo delectamur et quidem concomitante idea Dei tanquam causa.

DEMONSTRATIO : Ex hoc cognitionis genere summa quæ dari potest mentis acquiescentia (per propositionem 27 hujus) hoc est (per 25 affectuum definitionem) lætitia oritur eaque concomitante idea sui et consequenter (per propositionem 30 hujus) concomitante etiam idea Dei tanquam causa. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Ex tertio cognitionis genere oritur necessario amor Dei intellectualis. Nam ex hoc cognitionis genere oritur (per propositionem

præcedentem) lætitia concomitante idea Dei tanquam causa hoc est (per 6 affectuum definitionem) amor Dei non quatenus ipsum ut præsentem imaginamur (per propositionem 29 hujus) sed quatenus Deum æternum esse intelligimus et hoc est quod amorem Dei intellectualem voco.

PROPOSITIO XXXIII : Amor Dei intellectualis qui ex tertio cognitionis genere oritur, est æternus.

DEMONSTRATIO : Tertium enim cognitionis genus (per propositionem 31 hujus et axioma 3 partis I) est æternum adeoque (per idem axioma partis I) amor qui ex eodem oritur, est etiam necessario æternus. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Quamvis hic erga Deum amor principium non habuerit (per propositionem præcedentem) habet tamen omnes amoris perfectiones perinde ac si ortus fuisset, sicut in corollario propositionis præcedentis finximus. Nec ulla hic est differentia nisi quod mens easdem has perfectiones quas eidem jam accedere finximus æternas habuerit idque concomitante idea Dei tanquam causa æterna. Quod si lætitia in transitione ad maiorem perfectionem consistit, beatitudo sane in eo consistere debet quod mens ipsa perfectione sit prædita.

PROPOSITIO XXXIV : Mens non nisi durante corpore obnoxia est affectibus qui ad passiones referuntur.

DEMONSTRATIO : Imaginatio est idea qua mens rem aliquam ut præsentem contemplatur (vide ejus definitionem in scholio propositionis 17 partis II) quæ tamen magis corporis humani præsentem constitutionem quam rei externæ naturam indicat (per II corollarium propositionis 16 partis II). Est igitur affectus (per generalem affectuum definitionem) imaginatio quatenus corporis præsentem constitutionem indicat atque adeo (per propositionem 21 hujus) mens non nisi durante corpore obnoxia est affectibus qui ad passiones referuntur. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Hinc sequitur nullum amorem præter amorem intellectualem esse æternum.

SCHOLIUM : Si ad hominum communem opinionem attendamus, videbimus eos suæ mentis æternitatis esse quidem conscios sed ipsos eandem cum duratione

confundere eamque imaginationi seu memoriæ tribuere quam post mortem remanere credunt.

PROPOSITIO XXXV : Deus se ipsum amore intellectuali infinito amat.

DEMONSTRATIO : Deus est absolute infinitus (per definitionem 6 partis I) hoc est (per definitionem 6 partis II) Dei natura gaudet infinita perfectione idque (per propositionem 3 partis II) concomitante idea sui hoc est (per propositionem 11 et definitionem 1 partis I) idea suæ causæ et hoc est quod in corollario propositionis 32 hujus amorem intellectualem esse diximus.

PROPOSITIO XXXVI : Mentis amor intellectualis erga Deum est ipse Dei amor quo Deus se ipsum amat, non quatenus infinitus est sed quatenus per essentiam humanæ mentis sub specie æternitatis consideratam explicari potest hoc est mentis erga Deum amor intellectualis pars est infiniti amoris quo Deus se ipsum amat.

DEMONSTRATIO : Hic mentis amor ad mentis actiones referri debet (per corollarium propositionis 32 hujus et per propositionem 3 partis III) qui proinde actio est qua mens se ipsam contemplatur concomitante idea Dei tanquam causa (per propositionem 32 hujus et ejus corollarium) hoc est (per corollarium propositionis 25 partis I et corollarium propositionis 11 partis II) actio qua Deus quatenus per mentem humanam explicari potest, seipsum contemplatur concomitante idea sui atque adeo (per propositionem præcedentem) hic mentis amor pars est infiniti amoris quo Deus seipsum amat. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Hinc sequitur quod Deus quatenus seipsum amat, homines amat et consequenter quod amor Dei erga homines et mentis erga Deum amor intellectualis unum et idem sit.

SCHOLIUM : Ex his clare intelligimus qua in re nostra salus seu beatitudo seu libertas consistit nempe in constanti et æterno erga Deum amore sive in amore Dei erga homines. Atque hic amor seu beatitudo in sacris codicibus gloria appellatur nec immerito. Nam sive hic amor ad Deum referatur sive ad mentem, recte animi acquiescentia quæ revera a gloria (per 25 et 30 affectuum definitiones) non distinguitur, appellari potest. Nam quatenus ad Deum refertur,

est (per propositionem 35 hujus) lætitia, liceat hoc adhuc vocabulo uti, concomitante idea sui ut et quatenus ad mentem refertur (per propositionem 27 hujus). Deinde quia nostræ mentis essentia in sola cognitione consistit cujus principium et fundamentum Deus est (per propositionem 15 partis I et scholium propositionis 47 partis II) hinc perspicuum nobis fit quomodo et qua ratione mens nostra secundum essentiam et existentiam ex natura divina sequatur et continuo a Deo pendeat; quod hic notare operæ pretium duxi ut hoc exemplo ostenderem quantum rerum singularium cognitio quam intuitivam sive tertii generis appellavi (vide II scholium propositionis 40 partis II) polleat potiorque sit cognitione universali quam secundi generis esse dixi. Nam quamvis in prima parte generaliter ostenderim omnia (et consequenter mentem etiam humanam) a Deo secundum essentiam et existentiam pendere, illa tamen demonstratio tametsi legitima sit et extra dubitationis aleam posita, non ita tamen mentem nostram afficit quam quando id ipsum ex ipsa essentia rei cujuscunque singularis quam a Deo pendere dicimus, concluditur.

PROPOSITIO XXXVII : Nihil in natura datur quod huic amori intellectuali sit contrarium sive quod ipsum possit tollere.

DEMONSTRATIO : Hic intellectualis amor ex mentis natura necessario sequitur quatenus ipsa ut æterna veritas per Dei naturam consideratur (per propositiones 33 et 29 hujus). Si quid ergo daretur quod huic amori esset contrarium, id contrarium esset vero et consequenter id quod hunc amorem posset tollere, efficeret ut id quod verum est, falsum esset, quod (ut per se notum) est absurdum. Ergo nihil in natura datur etc. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Partis quartæ axioma res singulares respicit quatenus cum relatione ad certum tempus et locum considerantur, de quo neminem dubitare credo.

PROPOSITIO XXXVIII : Quo plures res secundo et tertio cognitionis genere mens intelligit, eo minus ipsa ab affectibus qui mali sunt, patitur et mortem minus timet.

DEMONSTRATIO : Mentis essentia in cognitione consistit (per propositionem 11 partis II); quo igitur mens plures res cognoscit secundo et tertio cognitionis genere, eo major ejus pars remanet (per propositiones 23 et 29 hujus) et consequenter (per propositionem præcedentem) eo major ejus pars non tangitur ab affectibus qui nostræ naturæ sunt contrarii hoc est (per propositionem 30 partis IV) qui mali sunt. Quo itaque mens plures res secundo et tertio cognitionis genere intelligit, eo major ejus pars illæsa manet et consequenter minus ab affectibus patitur etc. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Hinc intelligimus id quod in scholio propositionis 39 partis IV attigi et quod in hac parte explicare promisi nempe quod mors eo minus est noxia quo mentis clara et distincta cognitio major est et consequenter quo mens magis Deum amat. Deinde quia (per propositionem 27 hujus) ex tertio cognitionis genere summa quæ dari potest oritur acquiescentia, hinc sequitur mentem humanam posse ejus naturæ esse ut id quod ejus cum corpore perire ostendimus (vide propositionem 21 hujus) in respectu ad id quod ipsius remanet, nullius sit momenti. Sed de his mox proluxius.

PROPOSITIO XXXIX : Qui corpus ad plurima aptum habet, is mentem habet cujus maxima pars est æterna.

DEMONSTRATIO : Qui corpus ad plurima agendum aptum habet, is minime affectibus qui mali sunt, conflictatur (per propositionem 38 partis IV) hoc est (per propositionem 30 partis IV) affectibus qui naturæ nostræ sunt contrarii atque adeo (per propositionem 10 hujus) potestatem habet ordinandi et concatenandi corporis affectiones secundum ordinem ad intellectum et consequenter efficiendi (per propositionem 14 hujus) ut omnes corporis affectiones ad Dei ideam referantur, ex quo fiet (per propositionem 15 hujus) ut erga Deum afficiatur amore qui (per propositionem 16 hujus) mentis maximam partem occupare sive constituere debet ac proinde (per propositionem 33 hujus) mentem habet cujus maxima pars est æterna. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Quia corpora humana ad plurima apta sunt, non dubium est quin ejus naturæ possint esse ut ad mentes referantur quæ magnam sui et Dei habeant

cognitionem et quarum maxima seu præcipua pars est æterna atque adeo ut mortem vix timeant. Sed ut hæc clarius intelligantur, animadvertendum hic est quod nos in continua vivimus variatione et prout in melius sive in pejus mutamur, eo felices aut infelices dicimur. Qui enim ex infante vel puero in cadaver transiit, infelix dicitur et contra id felicitati tribuitur, quod totum vitæ spatium mente sana in corpore sano percurrere potuerimus. Et revera qui corpus habet ut infans vel puer ad paucissima aptum et maxime pendens a causis externis, mentem habet quæ in se sola considerata nihil fere sui nec Dei nec rerum sit conscia et contra qui corpus habet ad plurima aptum, mentem habet quæ in se sola considerata multum sui et Dei et rerum sit conscia. In hac vita igitur apprime conamur ut corpus infantia in aliud quantum ejus natura patitur eique conducit, mutetur quod ad plurima aptum sit quodque ad mentem referatur quæ sui et Dei et rerum plurimum sit conscia atque ita ut id omne quod ad ipsius memoriam vel imaginationem refertur, in respectu ad intellectum vix alicujus sit momenti, ut in scholio propositionis præcedentis jam dixi.

PROPOSITIO XL : Quo unaquæque res plus perfectionis habet, eo magis agit et minus patitur et contra quo magis agit, eo perfectior est.

DEMONSTRATIO : Quo unaquæque res perfectior est, eo plus habet realitatis (per definitionem 6 partis II) et consequenter (per propositionem 3 partis III cum ejus scholio) eo magis agit et minus patitur; quæ quidem demonstratio inverso ordine eodem modo procedit, ex quo sequitur ut res contra eo sit perfectior quo magis agit. Q.E.D.

COROLLARIUM : Hinc sequitur partem mentis quæ remanet quantacunque ea sit, perfectiorem esse reliqua. Nam pars mentis æterna (per propositiones 23 et 29 hujus) est intellectus per quem solum nos agere dicimur (per propositionem 3 partis III); illa autem quam perire ostendimus, est ipsa imaginatio (per propositionem 21 hujus) per quam solam dicimur pati (per propositionem 3 partis III et generalem affectuum definitionem) atque adeo (per propositionem præcedentem) illa quantacunque ea sit, hac est perfectior. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Hæc sunt quæ de mente quatenus sine relatione ad corporis existentiam consideratur, ostendere constitueram; ex quibus et simul ex propositione 21 partis I et aliis apparet quod mens nostra quatenus intelligit æternus cogitandi modus sit qui alio cogitandi modo determinatur et hic iterum ab alio et sic in infinitum ita ut omnes simul Dei æternum et infinitum intellectum constituent.

PROPOSITIO XLI : Quamvis nesciremus mentem nostram æternam esse, pietatem tamen et religionem et absolute omnia quæ ad animositatem et generositatem referri ostendimus in quarta parte, prima haberemus.

DEMONSTRATIO : Primum et unicum virtutis seu recte vivendi rationis fundamentum (per corollarium propositionis 22 et per propositionem 24 partis IV) est suum utile quærere. Ad illa autem determinandum quæ ratio utilia esse dictat, nullam rationem habuimus mentis æternitatis quam demum in hac quinta parte novimus. Quamvis igitur tum temporis ignoraverimus mentem esse æternam, illa tamen quæ ad animositatem et generositatem referri ostendimus, prima habuimus atque adeo quamvis etiam nunc hoc ipsum ignoraremus, eadem tamen præscripta prima haberemus. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : Communis vulgi persuasio alia videtur esse. Nam plerique videntur credere se eatenus liberos esse quatenus libidini parere licet et eatenus de suo jure cedere quatenus ex legis divinæ præscripto vivere tenentur. Pietatem igitur et religionem et absolute omnia quæ ad animi fortitudinem referuntur, onera esse credunt quæ post mortem deponere et pretium servitutis nempe pietatis et religionis accipere sperant nec hac spe sola sed etiam et præcipue metu ne diris scilicet suppliciis post mortem puniantur, inducuntur ut ex legis divinæ præscripto quantum eorum fert tenuitas et impotens animus, vivant et nisi hæc spes et metus hominibus inessent, at contra si crederent mentes cum corpore interire nec restare miseris pietatis onere confectis vivere longius, ad ingenium redirent et ex libidine omnia moderari et fortunæ potius quam sibi parere vellent. Quæ mihi non minus absurda videntur quam si quis propterea quod non credit se posse bonis alimentis corpus in æternum nutrire, venenis potius et lethiferis se exsaturare vellet vel quia

videt mentem non esse æternam seu immortalem, ideo amens mavult esse et sine ratione vivere : quæ adeo absurda sunt ut vix recenseri mereantur.

PROPOSITIO XLII : Beatitudo non est virtutis præmium sed ipsa virtus nec eadem gaudemus quia libidines coercemus sed contra quia eadem gaudemus, ideo libidines coercere possumus.

DEMONSTRATIO : Beatitudo in amore erga Deum consistit (per propositionem 36 hujus et ejus scholium) qui quidem amor ex tertio cognitionis genere oritur (per corollarium propositionis 32 hujus) atque adeo hic amor (per propositiones 59 et 3 partis III) ad mentem quatenus agit referri debet ac proinde (per definitionem 8 partis IV) ipsa virtus est, quod erat primum. Deinde quo mens hoc amore divino seu beatitudine magis gaudet, eo plus intelligit (per propositionem 32 hujus) hoc est (per corollarium propositionis 3 hujus) eo majorem in affectus habet potentiam et (per propositionem 38 hujus) eo minus ab affectibus qui mali sunt, patitur atque adeo ex eo quod mens hoc amore divino seu beatitudine gaudet, potestatem habet libidines coercendi et quia humana potentia ad coercendos affectus in solo intellectu consistit, ergo nemo beatitudine gaudet quia affectus coercuit sed contra potestas libidines coercendi ex ipsa beatitudine oritur. Q.E.D.

SCHOLIUM : His omnia quæ de mentis in affectus potentia quæque de mentis libertate ostendere volueram, absolvi. Ex quibus apparet quantum sapiens polleat potiorque sit ignaro qui sola libidine agitur. Ignarus enim præterquam quod a causis externis multis modis agitur nec unquam vera animi acquiescentia potitur, vivit præterea sui et Dei et rerum quasi inscius et simulac pati desinit, simul etiam esse desinit. Cum contra sapiens quatenus ut talis consideratur, vix animo movetur sed sui et Dei et rerum æterna quadam necessitate conscius, nunquam esse desinit sed semper vera animi acquiescentia potitur. Si jam via quam ad hæc ducere ostendi, perardua videatur, inveniri tamen potest. Et sane arduum debet esse quod adeo raro reperitur. Qui enim posset fieri si salus in promptu esset et sine magno labore reperiri posset ut ab omnibus fere negligeretur? Sed omnia præclara tam difficilia quam rara sunt.

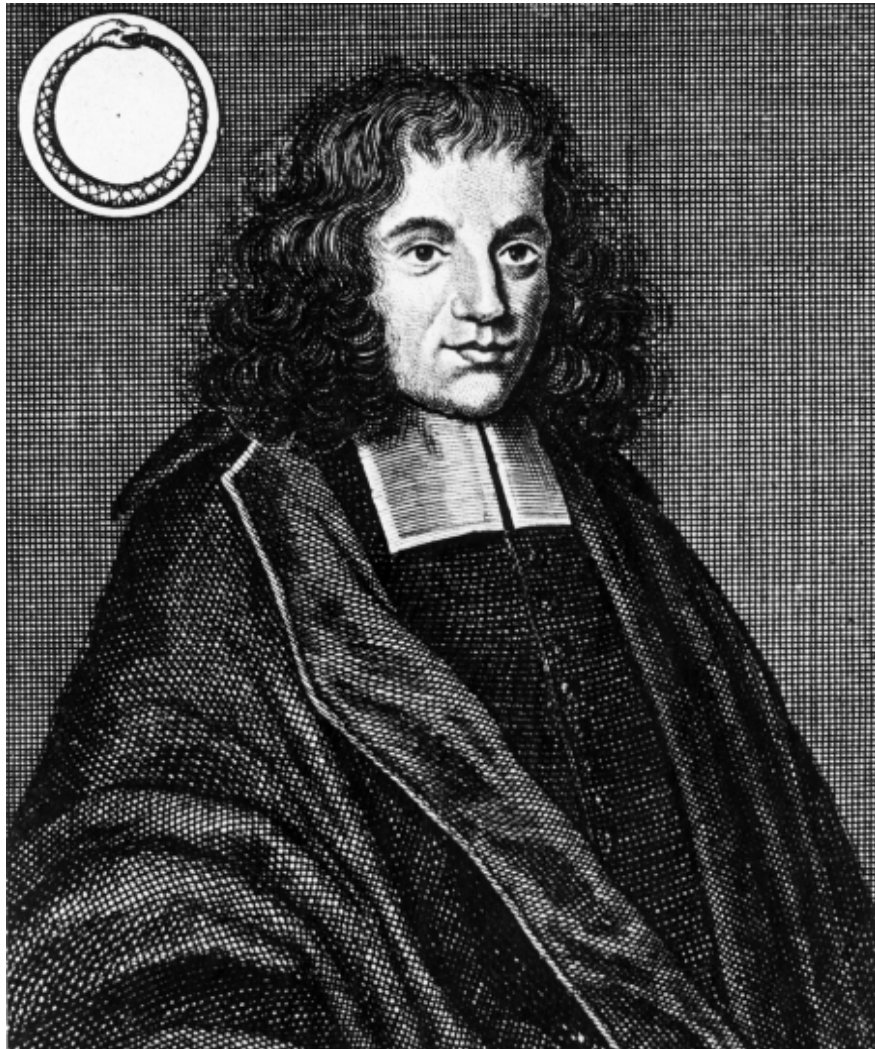
FINIS

Political Treatise



Translated by R. H. M. Elwes

Spinoza's *Tractatus politicus* was written between 1675 and 1676 and published posthumously in 1677. The treatise bears the subtitle, "In quo demonstratur, quomodo Societas, ubi Imperium Monarchicum locum habet, sicut et ea, ubi Optimi imperant, debet institui, ne in Tyrannidem labatur, et ut Pax, Libertasque civium inviolata maneat" (In which how a society, may be monarchy or oligarchy, can be best government, and not to fall into tyranny, and peace and liberty of citizen must not violated is demonstrated). Formed of eleven chapters, it is similar to Aristotle's *Politics*, as Spinoza analyses each form of government: monarchy, aristocracy and democracy, without affirming which he deems the best. Unlike Aristotle, Spinoza argues in the last chapter that democracy is not the "rule of majority", but freedom for all by the natural law. Although he affirms that women are not equal to men in ability, Spinoza suggests that the commonwealth could possibly be governed by both sexes.



An eighteenth century engraving of Spinoza



The “Spinoza House” in The Hague, where the philosopher lived from 1670 until his death

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**TRACTATUS
POLITICUS;**

In quo demonstratur, quomodo
Societas, ubi Imperium Monarchicum
locum habet, sicut & ea, ubi Optimi im-
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tasque civium inviolata
maucat.

The first edition's title page

Translation by R. H. M. Elwes

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Preface

From the Editor's Preface to the Posthumous Works of Benedict De Spinoza.



OUR AUTHOR COMPOSED the Political Treatise shortly before his death in 1677. Its reasonings are exact, its style clear. Abandoning the opinions of many political writers, he most firmly propounds therein his own judgment; and throughout draws his conclusions from his premisses. In the first five chapters, he treats of political science in general — in the sixth and seventh, of monarchy; in the eighth, ninth, and tenth, of aristocracy; lastly, the eleventh begins the subject of democratic government. But his untimely death was the reason that he did not finish this treatise, and that he did not deal with the subject of laws, nor with the various questions about politics, as may be seen from the following “Letter of the Author to a Friend, which may properly be prefixed to this Political Treatise, and serve it for a Preface:” —

“Dear Friend, — Your welcome letter was delivered to me yesterday. I heartily thank you for the kind interest you take in me. I would not miss this opportunity, were I not engaged in something, which I think more useful, and which, I believe, will please you more — that is, in preparing a Political Treatise, which I began some time since, upon your advice. Of this treatise, six chapters are already finished. The first contains a kind of introduction to the actual work; the second treats of natural right; the third, of the right of supreme authorities. In the fourth, I inquire, what political matters are subject to the direction of supreme authorities; in the fifth, what is the ultimate and highest end which a society can contemplate; and, in the sixth, how a monarchy should be ordered, so as not to lapse into a tyranny. I am at present writing the seventh chapter, wherein I make a regular demonstration of all the heads of my preceding sixth chapter, concerning the

ordering of a well-regulated monarchy. I shall afterwards pass to the subjects of aristocratic and popular dominion, and, lastly, to that of laws and other particular questions about politics. And so, farewell.”

The author’s aim appears clearly from this letter; but being hindered by illness, and snatched away by death, he was unable, as the reader will find for himself, to continue this work further than to the end of the subject of aristocracy.

Chapter I.

Introduction.



PHILOSOPHERS CONCEIVE OF the passions which harass us as vices into which men fall by their own fault, and, therefore, generally deride, bewail, or blame them, or execrate them, if they wish to seem unusually pious. And so they think they are doing something wonderful, and reaching the pinnacle of learning, when they are clever enough to bestow manifold praise on such human nature, as is nowhere to be found, and to make verbal attacks on that which, in fact, exists. For they conceive of men, not as they are, but as they themselves would like them to be. Whence it has come to pass that, instead of ethics, they have generally written satire, and that they have never conceived a theory of politics, which could be turned to use, but such as might be taken for a chimera, or might have been formed in Utopia, or in that golden age of the poets when, to be sure, there was least need of it. Accordingly, as in all sciences, which have a useful application, so especially in that of politics, theory is supposed to be at variance with practice; and no men are esteemed less fit to direct public affairs than theorists or philosophers.

2. But statesmen, on the other hand, are suspected of plotting against mankind, rather than consulting their interests, and are esteemed more crafty than learned. No doubt nature has taught them, that vices will exist, while men do. And so, while they study to anticipate human wickedness, and that by arts, which experience and long practice have taught, and which men generally use under the guidance more of fear than of reason, they are thought to be enemies of religion, especially by divines, who believe that supreme authorities should handle public affairs in accordance with the same rules of piety, as bind a private individual. Yet

there can be no doubt, that statesmen have written about politics far more happily than philosophers. For, as they had experience for their mistress, they taught nothing that was inconsistent with practice.

3. And, certainly, I am fully persuaded that experience has revealed all conceivable sorts of commonwealth, which are consistent with men's living in unity, and likewise the means by which the multitude may be guided or kept within fixed bounds. So that I do not believe that we can by meditation discover in this matter anything not yet tried and ascertained, which shall be consistent with experience or practice. For men are so situated, that they cannot live without some general law. But general laws and public affairs are ordained and managed by men of the utmost acuteness, or, if you like, of great cunning or craft. And so it is hardly credible, that we should be able to conceive of anything serviceable to a general society, that occasion or chance has not offered, or that men, intent upon their common affairs, and seeking their own safety, have not seen for themselves.

4. Therefore, on applying my mind to politics, I have resolved to demonstrate by a certain and undoubted course of argument, or to deduce from the very condition of human nature, not what is new and unheard of, but only such things as agree best with practice. And that I might investigate the subject-matter of this science with the same freedom of spirit as we generally use in mathematics, I have laboured carefully, not to mock, lament, or execrate, but to understand human actions; and to this end I have looked upon passions, such as love, hatred, anger, envy, ambition, pity, and the other perturbations of the mind, not in the light of vices of human nature, but as properties, just as pertinent to it, as are heat, cold, storm, thunder, and the like to the nature of the atmosphere, which phenomena, though inconvenient, are yet necessary, and have fixed causes, by means of which we endeavour to understand their nature, and the mind has just as much pleasure in viewing them aright, as in knowing such things as flatter the senses.

5. For this is certain, and we have proved its truth in our Ethics, 1 that men are of necessity liable to passions, and so constituted as to pity those who are ill, and

envy those who are well off; and to be prone to vengeance more than to mercy: and moreover, that every individual wishes the rest to live after his own mind, and to approve what he approves, and reject what he rejects. And so it comes to pass, that, as all are equally eager to be first, they fall to strife, and do their utmost mutually to oppress one another; and he who comes out conqueror is more proud of the harm he has done to the other, than of the good he has done to himself. And although all are persuaded, that religion, on the contrary, teaches every man to love his neighbour as himself, that is to defend another's right just as much as his own, yet we showed that this persuasion has too little power over the passions. It avails, indeed, in the hour of death, when disease has subdued the very passions, and man lies inert, or in temples, where men hold no traffic, but least of all, where it is most needed, in the law-court or the palace. We showed too, that reason can, indeed, do much to restrain and moderate the passions, but we saw at the same time, that the road, which reason herself points out, is very steep; ² so that such as persuade themselves, that the multitude or men distracted by politics can ever be induced to live according to the bare dictate of reason, must be dreaming of the poetic golden age, or of a stage-play.

6. A dominion then, whose well-being depends on any man's good faith, and whose affairs cannot be properly administered, unless those who are engaged in them will act honestly, will be very unstable. On the contrary, to insure its permanence, its public affairs should be so ordered, that those who administer them, whether guided by reason or passion, cannot be led to act treacherously or basely. Nor does it matter to the security of a dominion, in what spirit men are led to rightly administer its affairs. For liberality of spirit, or courage, is a private virtue; but the virtue of a state is its security.

7. Lastly, inasmuch as all men, whether barbarous or civilized, everywhere frame customs, and form some kind of civil state, we must not, therefore, look to proofs of reason for the causes and natural bases of dominion, but derive them from the general nature or position of mankind, as I mean to do in the next chapter.

¹
— Ethics, iv. 4, Coroll. iii. 31, note; 32, note.

²
— Ibid., v. 42, note.

Chapter II.

Of Natural Right.



IN OUR THEOLOGICO-POLITICAL Treatise we have treated of natural and civil right, ¹ and in our Ethics have explained the nature of wrong-doing, merit, justice, injustice, ² and lastly, of human liberty. ³ Yet, lest the readers of the present treatise should have to seek elsewhere those points, which especially concern it, I have determined to explain them here again, and give a deductive proof of them.

2. Any natural thing whatever can be just as well conceived, whether it exists or does not exist. As then the beginning of the existence of natural things cannot be inferred from their definition, so neither can their continuing to exist. For their ideal essence is the same, after they have begun to exist, as it was before they existed. As then their beginning to exist cannot be inferred from their essence, so neither can their continuing to exist; but they need the same power to enable them to go on existing, as to enable them to begin to exist. From which it follows, that the power, by which natural things exist, and therefore that by which they operate, can be no other than the eternal power of God itself. For were it another and a created power, it could not preserve itself, much less natural things, but it would itself, in order to continue to exist, have need of the same power which it needed to be created.

3. From this fact therefore, that is, that the power whereby natural things exist and operate is the very power of God itself, we easily understand what natural right is. For as God has a right to everything, and God's right is nothing else, but his very power, as far as the latter is considered to be absolutely free; it follows from this, that every natural thing has by nature as much right, as it has power to

exist and operate; since the natural power of every natural thing, whereby it exists and operates, is nothing else but the power of God, which is absolutely free.

4. And so by natural right I understand the very laws or rules of nature, in accordance with which everything takes place, in other words, the power of nature itself. And so the natural right of universal nature, and consequently of every individual thing, extends as far as its power: and accordingly, whatever any man does after the laws of his nature, he does by the highest natural right, and he has as much right over nature as he has power.

5. If then human nature had been so constituted, that men should live according to the mere dictate of reason, and attempt nothing inconsistent therewith, in that case natural right, considered as special to mankind, would be determined by the power of reason only. But men are more led by blind desire, than by reason: and therefore the natural power or right of human beings should be limited, not by reason, but by every appetite, whereby they are determined to action, or seek their own preservation. I, for my part, admit, that those desires, which arise not from reason, are not so much actions as passive affections of man. But as we are treating here of the universal power or right of nature, we cannot here recognize any distinction between desires, which are engendered in us by reason, and those which are engendered by other causes; since the latter, as much as the former, are effects of nature, and display the natural impulse, by which man strives to continue in existence. For man, be he learned or ignorant, is part of nature, and everything, by which any man is determined to action, ought to be referred to the power of nature, that is, to that power, as it is limited by the nature of this or that man. For man, whether guided by reason or mere desire, does nothing save in accordance with the laws and rules of nature, that is, by natural right. (Section 4.)

6. But most people believe, that the ignorant rather disturb than follow the course of nature, and conceive of mankind, in nature as of one dominion within another. For they maintain, that the human mind is produced by no natural causes, but created directly by God, and is so independent of other things, that it has an

absolute power to determine itself, and make a right use of reason. Experience, however, teaches us but too well, that it is no more in our power to have a sound mind, than a sound body. Next, inasmuch as everything whatever, as far as in it lies, strives to preserve its own existence, we cannot at all doubt, that, were it as much in our power to live after the dictate of reason, as to be led by blind desire, all would be led by reason, and order their lives wisely; which is very far from being the case. For

“Each is attracted by his own delight.”⁴

Nor do divines remove this difficulty, at least not by deciding, that the cause of this want of power is a vice or sin in human nature, deriving its origin from our first parents’ fall. For if it was even in the first man’s power as much to stand as to fall, and he was in possession of his senses, and had his nature unimpaired, how could it be, that he fell in spite of his knowledge and foresight? But they say, that he was deceived by the devil. Who then was it, that deceived the devil himself? Who, I say, so maddened the very being that excelled all other created intelligences, that he wished to be greater than God? For was not his effort too, supposing him of sound mind, to preserve himself and his existence, as far as in him lay? Besides, how could it happen, that the first man himself, being in his senses, and master of his own will, should be led astray, and suffer himself to be taken mentally captive? For if he had the power to make a right use of reason, it was not possible for him to be deceived, for as far as in him lay, he of necessity strove to preserve his existence and his soundness of mind. But the hypothesis is, that he had this in his power; therefore he of necessity maintained his soundness of mind, and could not be deceived. But this from his history, is known to be false. And, accordingly, it must be admitted, that it was not in the first man’s power to make a right use of reason, but that, like us, he was subject to passions.

7. But that man, like other beings, as far as in him lies, strives to preserve his existence, no one can deny. For if any distinction could be conceived on this point, it must arise from man’s having a free will. But the freer we conceived man to be, the more we should be forced to maintain, that he must of necessity

preserve his existence and be in possession of his senses; as anyone will easily grant me, that does not confound liberty with contingency. For liberty is a virtue, or excellence. Whatever, therefore, convicts a man of weakness cannot be ascribed to his liberty. And so man can by no means be called free, because he is able not to exist or not to use his reason, but only in so far as he preserves the power of existing and operating according to the laws of human nature. The more, therefore, we consider man to be free, the less we can say, that he can neglect to use reason, or choose evil in preference to good; and, therefore, God, who exists in absolute liberty, also understands and operates of necessity, that is, exists, understands, and operates according to the necessity of his own nature. For there is no doubt, that God operates by the same liberty whereby he exists. As then he exists by the necessity of his own nature, by the necessity of his own nature also he acts, that is, he acts with absolute liberty.

8. So we conclude, that it is not in the power of any man always to use his reason, and be at the highest pitch of human liberty, and yet that everyone always, as far as in him lies, strives to preserve his own existence; and that (since each has as much right as he has power) whatever anyone, be he learned or ignorant, attempts and does, he attempts and does by supreme natural right. From which it follows that the law and ordinance of nature, under which all men are born, and for the most part live, forbids nothing but what no one wishes or is able to do, and is not opposed to strifes, hatred, anger, treachery, or, in general, anything that appetite suggests. For the bounds of nature are not the laws of human reason, which do but pursue the true interest and preservation of mankind, but other infinite laws, which regard the eternal order of universal nature, whereof man is an atom; and according to the necessity of this order only are all individual beings determined in a fixed manner to exist and operate. Whenever, then, anything in nature seems to us ridiculous, absurd, or evil, it is because we have but a partial knowledge of things, and are in the main ignorant of the order and coherence of nature as a whole, and because we want everything to be arranged according to the dictate of our own reason; although, in fact, what our reason pronounces bad,

is not bad as regards the order and laws of universal nature, but only as regards the laws of our own nature taken separately.

9. Besides, it follows that everyone is so far rightfully dependent on another, as he is under that other's authority, and so far independent, as he is able to repel all violence, and avenge to his heart's content all damage done to him, and in general to live after his own mind.

10. He has another under his authority, who holds him bound, or has taken from him arms and means of defence or escape, or inspired him with fear, or so attached him to himself by past favour, that the man obliged would rather please his benefactor than himself, and live after his mind than after his own. He that has another under authority in the first or second of these ways, holds but his body, not his mind. But in the third or fourth way he has made dependent on himself as well the mind as the body of the other; yet only as long as the fear or hope lasts, for upon the removal of the feeling the other is left independent.

11. The judgment can be dependent on another, only as far as that other can deceive the mind; whence it follows that the mind is so far independent, as it uses reason aright. Nay, inasmuch as human power is to be reckoned less by physical vigour than by mental strength, it follows that those men are most independent whose reason is strongest, and who are most guided thereby. And so I am altogether for calling a man so far free, as he is led by reason; because so far he is determined to action by such causes, as can be adequately understood by his unassisted nature, although by these causes he be necessarily determined to action. For liberty, as we showed above (Sec. 7), does not take away the necessity of acting, but supposes it.

12. The pledging of faith to any man, where one has but verbally promised to do this or that, which one might rightfully leave undone, or *vice versa*, remains so long valid as the will of him that gave his word remains unchanged. For he that has authority to break faith has, in fact, bated nothing of his own right, but only made a present of words. If, then, he, being by natural right judge in his own case, comes to the conclusion, rightly or wrongly (for "to err is human"), that more

harm than profit will come of his promise, by the judgment of his own mind he decides that the promise should be broken, and by natural right (Sec. 9) he will break the same.

13. If two come together and unite their strength, they have jointly more power, and consequently more right over nature than both of them separately, and the more there are that have so joined in alliance, the more right they all collectively will possess.

14. In so far as men are tormented by anger, envy, or any passion implying hatred, they are drawn asunder and made contrary one to another, and therefore are so much the more to be feared, as they are more powerful, crafty, and cunning than the other animals. And because men are in the highest degree liable to these passions (Chap. I, Sec. 5), therefore men are naturally enemies. For he is my greatest enemy, whom I must most fear and be on my guard against.

15. But inasmuch as (Sec. 6) in the state of nature each is so long independent, as he can guard against oppression by another, and it is in vain for one man alone to try and guard against all, it follows hence that so long as the natural right of man is determined by the power of every individual, and belongs to everyone, so long it is a nonentity, existing in opinion rather than fact, as there is no assurance of making it good. And it is certain that the greater cause of fear every individual has, the less power, and consequently the less right, he possesses. To this must be added, that without mutual help men can hardly support life and cultivate the mind. And so our conclusion is, that that natural right, which is special to the human race, can hardly be conceived, except where men have general rights, and combine to defend the possession of the lands they inhabit and cultivate, to protect themselves, to repel all violence, and to live according to the general judgment of all. For (Sec. 18) the more there are that combine together, the more right they collectively possess. And if this is why the schoolmen want to call man a sociable animal — I mean because men in the state of nature can hardly be independent — I have nothing to say against them.

16. Where men have general rights, and are all guided, as it were, by one mind, it is certain (Sec. 13), that every individual has the less right the more the rest collectively exceed him in power; that is, he has, in fact, no right over nature but that which the common law allows him. But whatever he is ordered by the general consent, he is bound to execute, or may rightfully be compelled thereto (Sec. 4).

17. This right, which is determined by the power of a multitude, is generally called Dominion. And, speaking generally, he holds dominion, to whom are entrusted by common consent affairs of state — such as the laying down, interpretation, and abrogation of laws, the fortification of cities, deciding on war and peace, &c. But if this charge belong to a council, composed of the general multitude, then the dominion is called a democracy; if the council be composed of certain chosen persons, then it is an aristocracy; and if, lastly, the care of affairs of state and, consequently, the dominion rest with one man, then it has the name of monarchy.

18. From what we have proved in this chapter, it becomes clear to us that, in the state of nature, wrong-doing is impossible; or, if anyone does wrong, it is to himself, not to another. For no one by the law of nature is bound to please another, unless he chooses, nor to hold anything to be good or evil, but what he himself, according to his own temperament, pronounces to be so; and, to speak generally, nothing is forbidden by the law of nature, except what is beyond everyone's power (Secs. 5 and 8). But wrongdoing is action, which cannot lawfully be committed. But if men by the ordinance of nature were bound to be led by reason, then all of necessity would be so led. For the ordinances of nature are the ordinances of God (Secs. 2, 3), which God has instituted by the liberty, whereby he exists, and they follow, therefore, from the necessity of the divine nature (Sec. 7), and, consequently, are eternal, and cannot be broken. But men are chiefly guided by appetite, without reason; yet for all this they do not disturb the course of nature, but follow it of necessity. And, therefore, a man ignorant and

weak of mind, is no more bound by natural law to order his life wisely, than a sick man is bound to be sound of body.

19. Therefore wrong-doing cannot be conceived of, but under dominion — that is, where, by the general right of the whole dominion, it is decided what is good and what evil, and where no one does anything rightfully, save what he does in accordance with the general decree or consent (Sec. 16). For that, as we said in the last section, is wrong-doing, which cannot lawfully be committed, or is by law forbidden. But obedience is the constant will to execute that, which by law is good, and by the general decree ought to be done.

20. Yet we are accustomed to call that also wrong, which is done against the sentence of sound reason, and to give the name of obedience to the constant will to moderate the appetite according to the dictate of reason: a manner of speech which I should quite approve, did human liberty consist in the licence of appetite, and slavery in the dominion of reason. But as human liberty is the greater, the more man can be guided by reason, and moderate his appetite, we cannot without great impropriety call a rational life obedience, and give the name of wrong-doing to that which is, in fact, a weakness of the mind, not a licence of the mind directed against itself, and for which a man may be called a slave, rather than free (Secs. 7 and 11).

21. However, as reason teaches one to practise piety, and be of a calm and gentle spirit, which cannot be done save under dominion; and, further, as it is impossible for a multitude to be guided, as it were, by one mind, as under dominion is required, unless it has laws ordained according to the dictate of reason; men who are accustomed to live under dominion are not, therefore, using words so improperly, when they call that wrong-doing which is done against the sentence of reason, because the laws of the best dominion ought to be framed according to that dictate (Sec. 18). But, as for my saying (Sec. 18) that man in a state of nature, if he does wrong at all, does it against himself, see, on this point, Chap. IV., Secs. 4, 5, where is shown, in what sense we can say, that he who holds dominion and possesses natural right, is bound by laws and can do wrong.

22. As far as religion is concerned, it is further clear, that a man is most free and most obedient to himself when he most loves God, and worships him in sincerity. But so far as we regard, not the course of nature, which we do not understand, but the dictates of reason only, which respect religion, and likewise reflect that these dictates are revealed to us by God, speaking, as it were, within ourselves, or else were revealed to prophets as laws; so far, speaking in human fashion, we say that man obeys God when he worships him in sincerity, and, on the contrary, does wrong when he is led by blind desire. But, at the same time, we should remember that we are subject to God's authority, as clay to that of the potter, who of the same lump makes some vessels unto honour, and others unto dishonour. ⁵ And thus man can, indeed, act contrarily to the decrees of God, as far as they have been written like laws in the minds of ourselves or the prophets, but against that eternal decree of God, which is written in universal nature, and has regard to the course of nature as a whole, he can do nothing.

23. As, then, wrong-doing and obedience, in their strict sense, so also justice and injustice cannot be conceived of, except under dominion. For nature offers nothing that can be called this man's rather than another's; but under nature everything belongs to all — that is, they have authority to claim it for themselves. But under dominion, where it is by common law determined what belongs to this man, and what to that, he is called just who has a constant will to render to every man his own, but he unjust who strives, on the contrary, to make his own that which belongs to another.

24. But that praise and blame are emotions of joy and sadness, accompanied by an idea of human excellence or weakness as their cause, we have explained in our Ethics.

¹ Theologico-Political Treatise, Chap. xvi.

² Ethics, iv. 37, note 2.

³ Ibid., ii. 48, 49, note.

4 Virgil, Ecl. ii. 65.

5 Romans ix. 21.

Chapter III.

Of the Right of Supreme Authorities.



UNDER EVERY DOMINION the state is said to be Civil; but the entire body subject to a dominion is called a Commonwealth, and the general business of the dominion, subject to the direction of him that holds it, has the name of Affairs of State. Next we call men Citizens, as far as they enjoy by the civil law all the advantages of the commonwealth, and Subjects, as far as they are bound to obey its ordinances or laws. Lastly, we have already said that, of the civil state, there are three kinds — democracy, aristocracy, and monarchy (Chap. II. Sec. 17). Now, before I begin to treat of each kind separately, I will first deduce all the properties of the civil state in general. And of these, first of all comes to be considered the supreme right of the commonwealth, or the right of the supreme authorities.

2. From Chap. II. Sec. 15, it is clear that the right of the supreme authorities is nothing else than simple natural right, limited, indeed, by the power, not of every individual, but of the multitude, which is guided, as it were, by one mind — that is, as each individual in the state of nature, so the body and mind of a dominion have as much right as they have power. And thus each single citizen or subject has the less right, the more the commonwealth exceeds him in power (Chap. II. Sec. 16), and each citizen consequently does and has nothing, but what he may by the general decree of the commonwealth defend.

3. If the commonwealth grant to any man the right, and therewith the authority (for else it is but a gift of words, Chap. II. Sec. 12), to live after his own mind, by that very act it abandons its own right, and transfers the same to him, to whom it has given such authority. But if it has given this authority to two or more, I mean

authority to live each after his own mind, by that very act it has divided the dominion, and if, lastly, it has given this same authority to every citizen, it has thereby destroyed itself, and there remains no more a commonwealth, but everything returns to the state of nature; all of which is very manifest from what goes before. And thus it follows, that it can by no means be conceived, that every citizen should by the ordinance of the commonwealth live after his own mind, and accordingly this natural right of being one's own judge ceases in the civil state. I say expressly "by the ordinance of the commonwealth," for, if we weigh the matter aright, the natural right of every man does not cease in the civil state. For man, alike in the natural and in the civil state, acts according to the laws of his own nature, and consults his own interest. Man, I say, in each state is led by fear or hope to do or leave undone this or that; but the main difference between the two states is this, that in the civil state all fear the same things, and all have the same ground of security, and manner of life; and this certainly does not do away with the individual's faculty of judgment. For he that is minded to obey all the commonwealth's orders, whether through fear of its power or through love of quiet, certainly consults after his own heart his own safety and interest.

4. Moreover, we cannot even conceive, that every citizen should be allowed to interpret the commonwealth's decrees or laws. For were every citizen allowed this, he would thereby be his own judge, because each would easily be able to give a colour of right to his own deeds, which by the last section is absurd.

5. We see then, that every citizen depends not on himself, but on the commonwealth, all whose commands he is bound to execute, and has no right to decide, what is equitable or iniquitous, just or unjust. But, on the contrary, as the body of the dominion should, so to speak, be guided by one mind, and consequently the will of the commonwealth must be taken to be the will of all; what the state decides to be just and good must be held to be so decided by every individual. And so, however iniquitous the subject may think the commonwealth's decisions, he is none the less bound to execute them.

6. But (it may be objected) is it not contrary to the dictate of reason to subject one's self wholly to the judgment of another, and consequently, is not the civil state repugnant to reason? Whence it would follow, that the civil state is irrational, and could only be created by men destitute of reason, not at all by such as are led by it. But since reason teaches nothing contrary to nature, sound reason cannot therefore dictate, that every one should remain independent, so long as men are liable to passions (Chap. II. Sec. 15), that is, reason pronounces against such independence (Chap. I. Sec. 5). Besides, reason altogether teaches to seek peace, and peace cannot be maintained, unless the commonwealth's general laws be kept unbroken. And so, the more a man is guided by reason, that is (Chap. II. Sec. 11), the more he is free, the more constantly he will keep the laws of the commonwealth, and execute the commands of the supreme authority, whose subject he is. Furthermore, the civil state is naturally ordained to remove general fear, and prevent general sufferings, and therefore pursues above everything the very end, after which everyone, who is led by reason, strives, but in the natural state strives vainly (Chap. II. Sec. 15). Wherefore, if a man, who is led by reason, has sometimes to do by the commonwealth's order what he knows to be repugnant to reason, that harm is far compensated by the good, which he derives from the existence of a civil state. For it is reason's own law, to choose the less of two evils; and accordingly we may conclude, that no one is acting against the dictate of his own reason, so far as he does what by the law of the commonwealth is to be done. And this anyone will more easily grant us, after we have explained, how far the power and consequently the right of the commonwealth extends.

7. For, first of all, it must be considered, that, as in the state of nature the man who is led by reason is most powerful and most independent, so too that commonwealth will be most powerful and most independent, which is founded and guided by reason. For the right of the commonwealth is determined by the power of the multitude, which is led, as it were, by one mind. But this unity of mind can in no wise be conceived, unless the commonwealth pursues chiefly the very end, which sound reason teaches is to the interest of all men.

8. In the second place it comes to be considered, that subjects are so far dependent not on themselves, but on the commonwealth, as they fear its power or threats, or as they love the civil state (Chap. II. Sect. 10). Whence it follows, that such things, as no one can be induced to do by rewards or threats, do not fall within the rights of the commonwealth. For instance, by reason of his faculty of judgment, it is in no man's power to believe. For by what rewards or threats can a man be brought to believe, that the whole is not greater than its part, or that God does not exist, or that that is an infinite being, which he sees to be finite, or generally anything contrary to his sense or thought? So, too, by what rewards or threats can a man be brought to love one, whom he hates, or to hate one, whom he loves? And to this head must likewise be referred such things as are so abhorrent to human nature, that it regards them as actually worse than any evil, as that a man should be witness against himself, or torture himself, or kill his parents, or not strive to avoid death, and the like, to which no one can be induced by rewards or threats. But if we still choose to say, that the commonwealth has the right or authority to order such things, we can conceive of it in no other sense, than that in which one might say, that a man has the right to be mad or delirious. For what but a delirious fancy would such a right be, as could bind no one? And here I am speaking expressly of such things as cannot be subject to the right of a commonwealth and are abhorrent to human nature in general. For the fact, that a fool or madman can by no rewards or threats be induced to execute orders, or that this or that person, because he is attached to this or that religion, judges the laws of a dominion worse than any possible evil, in no wise makes void the laws of the commonwealth, since by them most of the citizens are restrained. And so, as those who are without fear or hope are so far independent (Chap. II. Sec. 10), they are, therefore, enemies of the dominion (Chap. II. Sec. 14), and may lawfully be coerced by force.

9. Thirdly and lastly, it comes to be considered, that those things are not so much within the commonwealth's right, which cause indignation in the majority. For it is certain, that by the guidance of nature men conspire together, either

through common fear, or with the desire to avenge some common hurt; and as the right of the commonwealth is determined by the common power of the multitude, it is certain that the power and right of the commonwealth are so far diminished, as it gives occasion for many to conspire together. There are certainly some subjects of fear for a commonwealth, and as every separate citizen or in the state of nature every man, so a commonwealth is the less independent, the greater reason it has to fear. So much for the right of supreme authorities over subjects. Now before I treat of the right of the said authorities as against others, we had better resolve a question commonly mooted about religion.

10. For it may be objected to us, Do not the civil state, and the obedience of subjects, such as we have shown is required in the civil state, do away with religion, whereby we are bound to worship God? But if we consider the matter, as it really is, we shall find nothing that can suggest a scruple. For the mind, so far as it makes use of reason, is dependent, not on the supreme authorities, but on itself (Chap. II. Sec. 11). And so the true knowledge and the love of God cannot be subject to the dominion of any, nor yet can charity towards one's neighbour (Sec. 8). And if we further reflect, that the highest exercise of charity is that which aims at keeping peace and joining in unity, we shall not doubt that he does his duty, who helps everyone, so far as the commonwealth's laws, that is so far as unity and quiet allow. As for external rites, it is certain, that they can do no good or harm at all in respect of the true knowledge of God, and the love which necessarily results from it; and so they ought not to be held of such importance, that it should be thought worth while on their account to disturb public peace and quiet. Moreover it is certain, that I am not a champion of religion by the law of nature, that is (Chap. II. Sec. 3), by the divine decree. For I have no authority, as once the disciples of Christ had, to cast out unclean spirits and work miracles; which authority is yet so necessary to the propagating of religion in places where it is forbidden, that without it one not only, as they say, wastes one's time 1 and trouble, but causes besides very many inconveniences, whereof all ages have seen most mournful examples. Everyone therefore, wherever he may be, can worship

God with true religion, and mind his own business, which is the duty of a private man. But the care of propagating religion should be left to God, or the supreme authorities, upon whom alone falls the charge of affairs of state. But I return to my subject.

11. After explaining the right of supreme authorities over citizens and the duty of subjects, it remains to consider the right of such authorities against the world at large, which is now easily intelligible from what has been said. For since (Sec. 2) the right of the supreme authorities is nothing else but simple natural right, it follows that two dominions stand towards each other in the same relation as do two men in the state of nature, with this exception, that a commonwealth can provide against being oppressed by another; which a man in the state of nature cannot do, seeing that he is overcome daily by sleep, often by disease or mental infirmity, and in the end by old age, and is besides liable to other inconveniences, from which a commonwealth can secure itself.

12. A commonwealth then is so far independent, as it can plan and provide against oppression by another (Chap. II. Secs. 9, 15), and so far dependent on another commonwealth, as it fears that other's power, or is hindered by it from executing its own wishes, or lastly, as it needs its help for its own preservation or increase (Chap. II. Secs. 10, 15). For we cannot at all doubt, that if two commonwealths are willing to offer each other mutual help, both together are more powerful, and therefore have more right, than either alone (Chap. II. Sec. 13).

13. But this will be more clearly intelligible, if we reflect, that two commonwealths are naturally enemies. For men in the state of nature are enemies (Chap. II. Sec. 14). Those, then, who stand outside a commonwealth, and retain their natural rights, continue enemies. Accordingly, if one commonwealth wishes to make war on another and employ extreme measures to make that other dependent on itself, it may lawfully make the attempt, since it needs but the bare will of the commonwealth for war to be waged. But concerning peace it can decide nothing, save with the concurrence of another commonwealth's will.

Whence it follows, that laws of war regard every commonwealth by itself, but laws of peace regard not one, but at the least two commonwealths, which are therefore called “contracting powers.”

14. This “contract” remains so long unmoved as the motive for entering into it, that is, fear of hurt or hope of gain, subsists. But take away from either commonwealth this hope or fear, and it is left independent (Chap. II. Sec. 10), and the link, whereby the commonwealths were mutually bound, breaks of itself. And therefore every commonwealth has the right to break its contract, whenever it chooses, and cannot be said to act treacherously or perfidiously in breaking its word, as soon as the motive of hope or fear is removed. For every contracting party was on equal terms in this respect, that whichever could first free itself of fear should be independent, and make use of its independence after its own mind; and, besides, no one makes a contract respecting the future, but on the hypothesis of certain precedent circumstances. But when these circumstances change, the reason of policy applicable to the whole position changes with them; and therefore every one of the contracting commonwealths retains the right of consulting its own interest, and consequently endeavours, as far as possible, to be free from fear and thereby independent, and to prevent another from coming out of the contract with greater power. If then a commonwealth complains that it has been deceived, it cannot properly blame the bad faith of another contracting commonwealth, but only its own folly in having entrusted its own welfare to another party, that was independent, and had for its highest law the welfare of its own dominion.

15. To commonwealths, which have contracted a treaty of peace, it belongs to decide the questions, which may be mooted about the terms or rules of peace, whereby they have mutually bound themselves, inasmuch as laws of peace regard not one commonwealth, but the commonwealths which contract taken together (Sec. 18). But if they cannot agree together about the conditions, they by that very fact return to a state of war.

16. The more commonwealths there are, that have contracted a joint treaty of peace, the less each of them by itself is an object of fear to the remainder, or the less it has the authority to make war. But it is so much the more bound to observe the conditions of peace; that is (Sec. 13), the less independent, and the more bound to accommodate itself to the general will of the contracting parties.

17. But the good faith, inculcated by sound reason and religion, is not hereby made void; for neither reason nor Scripture teaches one to keep one's word in every case. For if I have promised a man, for instance, to keep safe a sum of money he has secretly deposited with me, I am not bound to keep my word, from the time that I know or believe the deposit to have been stolen, but I shall act more rightly in endeavouring to restore it to its owners. So likewise, if the supreme authority has promised another to do something, which subsequently occasion or reason shows or seems to show is contrary to the welfare of its subjects, it is surely bound to break its word. As then Scripture only teaches us to keep our word in general, and leaves to every individual's judgment the special cases of exception, it teaches nothing repugnant to what we have just proved.

18. But that I may not have so often to break the thread of my discourse, and to resolve hereafter similar objections, I would have it known that all this demonstration of mine proceeds from the necessity of human nature, considered in what light you will — I mean, from the universal effort of all men after self-preservation, an effort inherent in all men, whether learned or unlearned. And therefore, however one considers men are led, whether by passion or by reason, it will be the same thing; for the demonstration, as we have said, is of universal application.

¹ Literally, “oil and trouble “ — a common proverbial expression in Latin.

Chapter IV.

Of the Functions of Supreme Authorities.



THAT THE RIGHT of the supreme authorities is limited by their power, we showed in the last chapter, and saw that the most important part of that right is, that they are, as it were, the mind of the dominion, whereby all ought to be guided; and accordingly, that such authorities alone have the right of deciding what is good, evil, equitable, or iniquitous, that is, what must be done or left undone by the subjects severally or collectively. And, accordingly, we saw that they have the sole right of laying down laws, and of interpreting the same, whenever their meaning is disputed, and of deciding whether a given case is in conformity with or violation of the law (Chap. III. Secs. 3-5); and, lastly, of waging war, and of drawing up and offering propositions for peace, or of accepting such when offered (Chap. III. Secs. 12, 13).

2. As all these functions, and also the means required to execute them, are matters which regard the whole body of the dominion, that is, are affairs of state, it follows, that affairs of state depend on the direction of him only, who holds supreme dominion. And hence it follows, that it is the right of the supreme authority alone to judge the deeds of every individual, and demand of him an account of the same; to punish criminals, and decide questions of law between citizens, or appoint jurists acquainted with the existing laws, to administer these matters on its behalf; and, further, to use and order all means to war and peace, as to found and fortify cities, levy soldiers, assign military posts, and order what it would have done, and, with a view to peace, to send and give audience to ambassadors; and, finally, to levy the costs of all this.

3. Since, then, it is the right of the supreme authority alone to handle public matters, or choose officials to do so, it follows, that that subject is a pretender to the dominion, who, without the supreme council's knowledge, enters upon any public matter, although he believe that his design will be to the best interest of the commonwealth.

4. But it is often asked, whether the supreme authority is bound by laws, and, consequently, whether it can do wrong. Now as the words "law" and "wrong-doing" often refer not merely to the laws of a commonwealth, but also to the general rules which concern all natural things, and especially to the general rules of reason, we cannot, without qualification, say that the commonwealth is bound by no laws, or can do no wrong. For were the commonwealth bound by no laws or rules, which removed, the commonwealth were no commonwealth, we should have to regard it not as a natural thing, but as a chimera. A commonwealth then does wrong, when it does, or suffers to be done, things which may be the cause of its own ruin; and we can say that it then does wrong, in the sense in which philosophers or doctors say that nature does wrong; and in this sense we can say, that a commonwealth does wrong, when it acts against the dictate of reason. For a commonwealth is most independent when it acts according to the dictate of reason (Chap. III. Sec. 7); so far, then, as it acts against reason, it fails itself, or does wrong. And we shall be able more easily to understand this if we reflect, that when we say, that a man can do what he will with his own, this authority must be limited not only by the power of the agent, but by the capacity of the object. If, for instance, I say that I can rightfully do what I will with this table, I do not certainly mean, that I have the right to make it eat grass. So, too, though we say, that men depend not on themselves, but on the commonwealth, we do not mean, that men lose their human nature and put on another; nor yet that the commonwealth has the right to make men wish for this or that, or (what is just as impossible) regard with honour things which excite ridicule or disgust. But it is implied, that there are certain intervening circumstances, which supposed, one likewise supposes the reverence and fear of the subjects towards the

commonwealth, and which abstracted, one makes abstraction likewise of that fear and reverence, and therewith of the commonwealth itself. The commonwealth, then, to maintain its independence, is bound to preserve the causes of fear and reverence, otherwise it ceases to be a commonwealth. For the person or persons that hold dominion, can no more combine with the keeping up of majesty the running with harlots drunk or naked about the streets, or the performances of a stage-player, or the open violation or contempt of laws passed by themselves, than they can combine existence with non-existence. But to proceed to slay and rob subjects, ravish maidens, and the like, turns fear into indignation and the civil state into a state of enmity.

5. We see, then, in what sense we may say, that a commonwealth is bound by laws and can do wrong. But if by “law” we understand civil law, and by “wrong” that which, by civil law, is forbidden to be done, that is, if these words be taken in their proper sense, we cannot at all say, that a commonwealth is bound by laws, or can do wrong. For the maxims and motives of fear and reverence, which a commonwealth is bound to observe in its own interest, pertain not to civil jurisprudence, but to the law of nature, since (Sec. 4) they cannot be vindicated by the civil law, but by the law of war. And a commonwealth is bound by them in no other sense than that in which in the state of nature a man is bound to take heed, that he preserve his independence and be not his own enemy, lest he should destroy himself; and in this taking heed lies not the subjection, but the liberty of human nature. But civil jurisprudence depends on the mere decree of the commonwealth, which is not bound to please any but itself, nor to hold anything to be good or bad, but what it judges to be such for itself. And, accordingly, it has not merely the right to avenge itself, or to lay down and interpret laws, but also to abolish the same, and to pardon any guilty person out of the fullness of its power.

6. Contracts or laws, whereby the multitude transfers its right to one council or man, should without doubt be broken, when it is expedient for the general welfare to do so. But to decide this point, whether, that is, it be expedient for the general welfare to break them or not, is within the right of no private person, but of him

only who holds dominion (Sec. 3); therefore of these laws he who holds dominion remains sole interpreter. Moreover, no private person can by right vindicate these laws, and so they do not really bind him who holds dominion. Notwithstanding, if they are of such a nature that they cannot be broken, without at the same time weakening the commonwealth's strength, that is, without at the same time changing to indignation the common fear of most of the citizens, by this very fact the commonwealth is dissolved, and the contract comes to an end; and therefore such contract is vindicated not by the civil law, but by the law of war. And so he who holds dominion is not bound to observe the terms of the contract by any other cause than that, which bids a man in the state of nature to beware of being his own enemy, lest he should destroy himself, as we said in the last section.

Chapter V.

Of the Best State of a Dominion.



IN CHAP. II. Sec. 2, we showed, that man is then most independent, when he is most led by reason, and, in consequence (Chap. III. Sec. 7), that that commonwealth is most powerful and most independent, which is founded and guided by reason. But, as the best plan of living, so as to assure to the utmost self-preservation, is that which is framed according to the dictate of reason, therefore it follows, that that in every kind is best done, which a man or commonwealth does, so far as he or it is in the highest degree independent. For it is one thing to till a field by right, and another to till it in the best way. One thing, I say, to defend or preserve one's self, and to pass judgment by right, and another to defend or preserve one's self in the best way, and to pass the best judgment; and, consequently, it is one thing to have dominion and care of affairs of state by right, and another to exercise dominion and direct affairs of state in the best way. And so, as we have treated of the right of every commonwealth in general, it is time to treat of the best state of every dominion.

2. Now the quality of the state of any dominion is easily perceived from the end of the civil state, which end is nothing else but peace and security of life. And therefore that dominion is the best, where men pass their lives in unity, and the laws are kept unbroken. For it is certain, that seditions, wars, and contempt or breach of the laws are not so much to be imputed to the wickedness of the subjects, as to the bad state of a dominion. For men are not born fit for citizenship, but must be made so. Besides, men's natural passions are everywhere the same; and if wickedness more prevails, and more offences are committed in one commonwealth than in another, it is certain that the former has not enough

pursued the end of unity, nor framed its laws with sufficient forethought; and that, therefore, it has failed in making quite good its right as a commonwealth. For a civil state, which has not done away with the causes of seditions, where war is a perpetual object of fear, and where, lastly, the laws are often broken, differs but little from the mere state of nature, in which everyone lives after his own mind at the great risk of his life.

3. But as the vices and inordinate licence and contumacy of subjects must be imputed to the commonwealth, so, on the other hand, their virtue and constant obedience to the laws are to be ascribed in the main to the virtue and perfect right of the commonwealth, as is clear from Chap. II. Sec. 15. And so it is deservedly reckoned to Hannibal as an extraordinary virtue, that in his army there never arose a sedition. 1

4. Of a commonwealth, whose subjects are but hindered by terror from taking arms, it should rather be said, that it is free from war, than that it has peace. For peace is not mere absence of war, but is a virtue that springs from force of character: for obedience (Chap. II. Sec. 19) is the constant will to execute what, by the general decree of the commonwealth, ought to be done. Besides that commonwealth, whose peace depends on the sluggishness of its subjects, that are led about like sheep, to learn but slavery, may more properly be called a desert than a commonwealth.

5. When, then, we call that dominion best, where men pass their lives in unity, I understand a human life, defined not by mere circulation of the blood, and other qualities common to all animals, but above all by reason, the true excellence and life of the mind.

6. But be it remarked that, by the dominion which I have said is established for this end, I intend that which has been established by a free multitude, not that which is acquired over a multitude by right of war. For a free multitude is guided more by hope than fear; a conquered one, more by fear than hope: inasmuch as the former aims at making use of life, the latter but at escaping death. The former, I say, aims at living for its own ends, the latter is forced to belong to the

conqueror; and so we say that this is enslaved, but that free. And, therefore, the end of a dominion, which one gets by right of war, is to be master, and have rather slaves than subjects. And although between the dominion created by a free multitude, and that gained by right of war, if we regard generally the right of each, we can make no essential distinction; yet their ends, as we have already shown, and further the means to the preservation of each are very different.

7. But what means a prince, whose sole motive is lust of mastery, should use to establish and maintain his dominion, the most ingenious Machiavelli has set forth at large, ² but with what design one can hardly be sure. If, however, he had some good design, as one should believe of a learned man, it seems to have been to show, with how little foresight many attempt to remove a tyrant, though thereby the causes which make the prince a tyrant can in no wise be removed, but, on the contrary, are so much the more established, as the prince is given more cause to fear, which happens when the multitude has made an example of its prince, and glories in the parricide as in a thing well done. Moreover, he perhaps wished to show how cautious a free multitude should be of entrusting its welfare absolutely to one man, who, unless in his vanity he thinks he can please everybody, must be in daily fear of plots, and so is forced to look chiefly after his own interest, and, as for the multitude, rather to plot against it than consult its good. And I am the more led to this opinion concerning that most far-seeing man, because it is known that he was favourable to liberty, for the maintenance of which he has besides given the most wholesome advice.

¹ Justin, *Histories*, xxxii. iv. 12.

² In his book called "*Il Principe*," or "*The Prince*."

Chapter VI.

Of Monarchy.



INASMUCH AS MEN are led, as we have said, more by passion than reason, it follows, that a multitude comes together, and wishes to be guided, as it were, by one mind, not at the suggestion of reason, but of some common passion — that is (Chap. III. Sec. 9), common hope, or fear, or the desire of avenging some common hurt. But since fear of solitude exists in all men, because no one in solitude is strong enough to defend himself, and procure the necessaries of life, it follows that men naturally aspire to the civil state; nor can it happen that men should ever utterly dissolve it.

2. Accordingly, from the quarrels and seditions which are often stirred up in a commonwealth, it never results that the citizens dissolve it, as often happens in the case of other associations; but only that they change its form into some other — that is, of course, if the disputes cannot be settled, and the features of the commonwealth at the same time preserved. Wherefore, by means necessary to preserve a dominion, I intend such things as are necessary to preserve the existing form of the dominion, without any notable change.

3. But if human nature were so constituted, that men most desired what is most useful, no art would be needed to produce unity and confidence. But, as it is admittedly far otherwise with human nature, a dominion must of necessity be so ordered, that all, governing and governed alike, whether they will or no, shall do what makes for the general welfare; that is, that all, whether of their own impulse, or by force or necessity, shall be compelled to live according to the dictate of reason. And this is the case, if the affairs of the dominion be so managed, that nothing which affects the general welfare is entirely entrusted to the good faith of

any one. For no man is so watchful, that he never falls asleep; and no man ever had a character so vigorous and honest, but he sometimes, and that just when strength of character was most wanted, was diverted from his purpose and let himself be overcome. And it is surely folly to require of another what one can never obtain from one's self; I mean, that he should be more watchful for another's interest than his own, that he should be free from avarice, envy, and ambition, and so on; especially when he is one, who is subject daily to the strongest temptations of every passion.

4. But, on the other hand, experience is thought to teach, that it makes for peace and concord, to confer the whole authority upon one man. For no dominion has stood so long without any notable change, as that of the Turks, and on the other hand there were none so little lasting, as those, which were popular or democratic, nor any in which so many seditions arose. Yet if slavery, barbarism, and desolation are to be called peace, men can have no worse misfortune. No doubt there are usually more and sharper quarrels between parents and children, than between masters and slaves; yet it advances not the art of housekeeping, to change a father's right into a right of property, and count children but as slaves. Slavery then, not peace, is furthered by handing over to one man the whole authority. For peace, as we said before, consists not in mere absence of war, but in a union or agreement of minds.

5. And in fact they are much mistaken, who suppose that one man *can* by himself hold the supreme right of a commonwealth. For the only limit of right, as we showed (Chap. II.), is power. But the power of one man is very inadequate to support so great a load. And hence it arises, that the man, whom the multitude has chosen king, looks out for himself generals, or counsellors, or friends, to whom he entrusts his own and the common welfare; so that the dominion, which is thought to be a perfect monarchy, is in actual working an aristocracy, not, indeed, an open but a hidden one, and therefore the worst of all. Besides which, a king, who is a boy, or ill, or overcome by age, is but king on sufferance; and those in this case have the supreme authority, who administer the highest business of the

dominion, or are near the king's person; not to mention, that a lascivious king often manages everything at the caprice of this or that mistress or minion. "I had heard," says Orsines, "that women once reigned in Asia, but for a eunuch to reign is something new." 1

6. It is also certain, that a commonwealth is always in greater danger from its citizens than from its enemies; for the good are few. Whence it follows, that he, upon whom the whole right of the dominion has been conferred, will always be more afraid of citizens than of enemies, and therefore will look to his own safety, and not try to consult his subjects' interests, but to plot against them, especially against those who are renowned for learning, or have influence through wealth.

7. It must besides be added, that kings fear their sons also more than they love them, and so much the more as the latter are skilled in the arts of war and peace, and endeared to the subjects by their virtues. Whence it comes, that kings try so to educate their sons, that they may have no reason to fear them. Wherein ministers very readily obey the king, and will be at the utmost pains, that the successor may be an inexperienced king, whom they can hold tightly in hand.

8. From all which it follows, that the more absolutely the commonwealth's right is transferred to the king, the less independent he is, and the more unhappy is the condition of his subjects. And so, that a monarchical dominion may be duly established, it is necessary to lay solid foundations, to build it on; from which may result to the monarch safety, and to the multitude peace; and, therefore, to lay them in such a way, that the monarch may then be most independent, when he most consults the multitude's welfare. But I will first briefly state, what these foundations of a monarchical dominion are, and afterwards prove them in order.

9. One or more cities must be founded and fortified, whose citizens, whether they live within the walls, or outside for purposes of agriculture, are all to enjoy the same right in the commonwealth; yet on this condition, that every city provide an ascertained number of citizens for its own and the general defence. But a city, which cannot supply this, must be held in subjection on other terms.

10. The militia must be formed out of citizens alone, none being exempt, and of no others. And, therefore, all are to be bound to have arms, and no one to be admitted into the number of the citizens, till he has learnt his drill, and promised to practise it at stated times in the year. Next, the militia of each clan is to be divided into battalions and regiments, and no captain of a battalion chosen, that is not acquainted with military engineering. Moreover, though the commanders of battalions and regiments are to be chosen for life, yet the commander of the militia of a whole clan is to be chosen only in time of war, to hold command for a year at most, without power of being continued or afterwards re-appointed. And these last are to be selected out of the king's counsellors, of whom we shall speak in the fifteenth and following sections, or out of those who have filled the post of counsellor.

11. The townsmen and countrymen of every city, that is, the whole of the citizens, are to be divided into clans, distinguished by some name and badge, and all persons born of any of these clans are to be received into the number of citizens, and their names inscribed on the roll of their clan, as soon as they have reached the age, when they can carry arms and know their duty; with the exception of those, who are infamous from some crime, or dumb, or mad, or menials supporting life by some servile office.

12. The fields, and the whole soil, and, if it can be managed, the houses should be public property, that is, the property of him, who holds the right of the commonwealth: and let him let them at a yearly rent to the citizens, whether townsmen or countrymen, and with this exception let them all be free or exempt from every kind of taxation in time of peace. And of this rent a part is to be applied to the defences of the state, a part to the king's private use. For it is necessary in time of peace to fortify cities against war, and also to have ready ships and other munitions of war.

13. After the selection of the king from one of the clans, none are to be held noble, but his descendants, who are therefore to be distinguished by royal insignia from their own and the other clans.

14. Those male nobles, who are the reigning king's collaterals, and stand to him in the third or fourth degree of consanguinity, must not marry, and any children they may have had, are to be accounted bastards, and unworthy of any dignity, nor may they be recognized as heirs to their parents, whose goods must revert to the king.

15. Moreover the king's counsellors, who are next to him in dignity, must be numerous, and chosen out of the citizens only; that is (supposing there to be no more than six hundred clans) from every clan three or four or five, who will form together one section of this council; and not for life, but for three, four, or five years, so that every year a third, fourth, or fifth part may be replaced by selection, in which selection it must be observed as a first condition, that out of every clan at least one counsellor chosen be a jurist.

16. The selection must be made by the king himself, who should fix a time of year for the choice of fresh counsellors. Each clan must then submit to the king the names of all its citizens, who have reached their fiftieth year, and have been duly put forward as candidates for this office, and out of these the king will choose whom he pleases. But in that year, when the jurist of any clan is to be replaced, only the names of jurists are to be submitted to the king. Those who have filled this office of counsellor for the appointed time, are not to be continued therein, nor to be replaced on the list of candidates for five years or more. But the reason why one is to be chosen every year out of every clan is, that the council may not be composed alternately of untried novices, and of veterans versed in affairs, which must necessarily be the case, were all to retire at once, and new men to succeed them. But if every year one be chosen out of every family, then only a fifth, fourth, or at most a third part of the council will consist of novices. Further, if the king be prevented by other business, or for any other reason, from being able to spare time for this choice, then let the counsellors themselves choose others for a time, until the king either chooses different ones, or confirms the choice of the council.

17. Let the primary function of this council be to defend the fundamental laws of the dominion, and to give advice about administration, that the king may know, what for the public good ought to be decreed: and that on the understanding, that the king may not decide in any matter, without first hearing the opinion of this council. But if, as will generally happen, the council is not of one mind, but is divided in opinion, even after discussing the same subject two or three times, there must be no further delay, but the different opinions are to be submitted to the king, as in the twenty-fifth section of this chapter we shall show.

18. Let it be also the duty of this council to publish the king's orders or decrees, and to see to the execution of any decree concerning affairs of state, and to supervise the administration of the whole dominion, as the king's deputies.

19. The citizens should have no access to the king, save through this council, to which are to be handed all demands or petitions, that they may be presented to the king. Nor should the envoys of other commonwealths be allowed to obtain permission to address the king, but through the council. Letters, too, sent from elsewhere to the king, must be handed to him by the council. And in general the king is to be accounted as the mind of the commonwealth, but the council as the senses outside the mind, or the commonwealth's body, through whose intervention the mind understands the state of the commonwealth, and acts as it judges best for itself.

20. The care of the education of the king's sons should also fall on this council, and the guardianship, where a king has died, leaving as his successor an infant or boy. Yet lest meanwhile the council should be left without a king, one of the elder nobles of the commonwealth should be chosen to fill the king's place, till the legitimate heir has reached the age at which he can support the weight of government.

21. Let the candidates for election to this council be such as know the system of government, and the foundations, and state or condition of the commonwealth, whose subjects they are. But he that would fill the place of a jurist must, besides the government and condition of the commonwealth, whose subject he is, be

likewise acquainted with those of the other commonwealths, with which it has any intercourse. But none are to be placed upon the list of candidates, unless they have reached their fiftieth year without being convicted of crime.

22. In this council no decision is to be taken about the affairs of the dominion, but in the presence of all the members. But if anyone be unable through illness or other cause to attend, he must send in his stead one of the same clan, who has filled the office of counsellor or been put on the list of candidates. Which if he neglect to do, and the council through his absence be forced to adjourn any matter, let him be fined a considerable sum. But this must be understood to mean, when the question is of a matter affecting the whole dominion, as of peace or war, of abrogating or establishing a law, of trade, &c. But if the question be one that affects only a particular city or two, as about petitions, &c., it will suffice that a majority of the council attend.

23. To maintain a perfect equality between the clans, and a regular order in sitting, making proposals, and speaking, every clan is to take in turn the presidency at the sittings, a different clan at every sitting, and that which was first at one sitting is to be last at the next. But among members of the same clan, let precedence go by priority of election.

24. This council should be summoned at least four times a year, to demand of the ministers account of their administration of the dominion, to ascertain the state of affairs, and see if anything else needs deciding. For it seems impossible for so large a number of citizens to have constant leisure for public business. But as in the meantime public business must none the less be carried on, therefore fifty or more are to be chosen out of this council to supply its place after its dismissal; and these should meet daily in a chamber next the king's, and so have daily care of the treasury, the cities, the fortifications, the education of the king's son, and in general of all those duties of the great council, which we have just enumerated, except that they cannot take counsel about new matters, concerning which no decision has been taken.

25. On the meeting of the council, before anything is proposed in it, let five, six, or more jurists of the clans, which stand first in order of place at that session, attend on the king, to deliver to him petitions or letters, if they have any, to declare to him the state of affairs, and, lastly, to understand from him what he bids them propose in his council; and when they have heard this, let them return to the council, and let the first in precedence open the matter of debate. But, in matters which seem to any of them to be of some moment, let not the votes be taken at once, but let the voting be adjourned to such a date as the urgency of the matter allows. When, then, the council stands adjourned till the appointed time, the counsellors of every clan will meanwhile be able to debate the matter separately, and, if they think it of great moment, to consult others that have been counsellors, or are candidates for the council. And if within the appointed time the counsellors of any clan cannot agree among themselves, that clan shall lose its vote, for every clan can give but one vote. But, otherwise, let the jurist of the clan lay before the council the opinion they have decided to be best; and so with the rest. And if the majority of the council think fit, after hearing the grounds of every opinion, to consider the matter again, let the council be again adjourned to a date, at which every clan shall pronounce its final opinion; and then, at last, before the entire council, let the votes be taken, and that opinion be invalidated which has not at least a hundred votes. But let the other opinions be submitted to the king by all the jurists present at the council, that, after hearing every party's arguments, he may select which opinion he pleases. And then let the jurists leave him, and return to the council; and there let all await the king at the time fixed by himself, that all may hear which opinion of those proposed he thinks fit to adopt, and what he decides should be done.

26. For the administration of justice, another council is to be formed of jurists, whose business should be to decide suits, and punish criminals, but so that all the judgments they deliver be tested by those who are for the time members of the great council — that is, as to their having been delivered according to the due process of justice, and without partiality. But if the losing party can prove, that

any judge has been bribed by the adversary, or that there is some mutual cause of friendship between the judge and the adversary, or of hatred between the judge and himself, or, lastly, that the usual process of justice has not been observed, let such party be restored to his original position. But this would, perhaps, not be observed by such as love to convict the accused in a criminal case, rather by torture than proofs. But, for all that, I can conceive on this point of no other process of justice than the above, that befits the best system of governing a commonwealth.

27. Of these judges, there should be a large and odd number — for instance, sixty-one, or at least forty-one, — and not more than one is to be chosen of one clan, and that not for life, but every year a certain proportion are to retire, and be replaced by as many others out of different clans, that have reached their fortieth year.

28. In this council, let no judgment be pronounced save in the presence of all the judges. But if any judge, from disease or other cause, shall for a long time be unable to attend the council, let another be chosen for that time to fill his place. But in giving their votes, they are all not to utter their opinions aloud, but to signify them by ballot.

29. Let those who supply others' places in this and the first-mentioned council first be paid out of the goods of those whom they have condemned to death, and also out of the fines of which any are mulcted. Next, after every judgment they pronounce in a civil suit, let them receive a certain proportion of the whole sum at stake for the benefit of both councils.

30. Let there be in every city other subordinate councils, whose members likewise must not be chosen for life, but must be partially renewed every year, out of the clans who live there only. But there is no need to pursue this further.

31. No military pay is to be granted in time of peace; but, in time of war, military pay is to be allowed to those only, who support their lives by daily labour. But the commanders and other officers of the battalions are to expect no other advantage from war but the spoil of the enemy.

32. If a foreigner takes to wife the daughter of a citizen, his children are to be counted citizens, and put on the roll of their mother's clan. But those who are born and bred within the dominion of foreign parents should be allowed to purchase at a fixed price the right of citizenship from the captains of thousands of any clan, and to be enrolled in that clan. For no harm can arise thence to the dominion, even though the captains of thousands, for a bribe, admit a foreigner into the number of their citizens for less than the fixed price; but, on the contrary, means should be devised for more easily increasing the number of citizens, and producing a large confluence of men. As for those who are not enrolled as citizens, it is but fair that, at least in war-time, they should pay for their exemption from service by some forced labour or tax.

33. The envoys to be sent in time of peace to other commonwealths must be chosen out of the nobles only, and their expenses met by the state treasury, and not the king's privy purse.

34. Those that attend the court, and are the king's servants, and are paid out of his privy purse, must be excluded from every appointment and office in the commonwealth. I say expressly, "and are paid out of the king's privy purse," to except the body-guard. For there should be no other body-guard, but the citizens of the king's city, who should take turns to keep guard at court before the king's door.

35. War is only to be made for the sake of peace, so that, at its end, one may be rid of arms. And so, when cities have been taken by right of war, and terms of peace are to be made after the enemies are subdued, the captured cities must not be garrisoned and kept; but either the enemy, on accepting the terms of peace, should be allowed to redeem them at a price, or, if by following that policy, there would, by reason of the danger of the position, remain a constant lurking anxiety, they must be utterly destroyed, and the inhabitants removed elsewhere.

36. The king must not be allowed to contract a foreign marriage, but only to take to wife one of his kindred, or of the citizens; yet, on condition that, if he

marries a citizen, her near relations become incapable of holding office in the commonwealth.

37. The dominion must be indivisible. And so, if the king leaves more than one child, let the eldest one succeed; but by no means be it allowed to divide the dominion between them, or to give it undivided to all or several of them, much less to give a part of it as a daughter's dowry. For that daughters should be admitted to the inheritance of a dominion is in no wise to be allowed.

38. If the king die leaving no male issue, let the next to him in blood be held the heir to the dominion, unless he chance to have married a foreign wife, whom he will not put away.

39. As for the citizens, it is manifest (Chap. III. Sec. 5) that every one of them ought to obey all the commands of the king, and the decrees published by the great council, although he believe them to be most absurd, and otherwise he may rightfully be forced to obey. And these are the foundations of a monarchical dominion, on which it must be built, if it is to be stable, as we shall show in the next chapter.

40. As for religion, no temples whatever ought to be built at the public expense; nor ought laws to be established about opinions, unless they be seditious and overthrow the foundations of the commonwealth. And so let such as are allowed the public exercise of their religion build a temple at their own expense. But the king may have in his palace a chapel of his own, that he may practise the religion to which he belongs.

¹ Curtius, x. 1.

Chapter VII.

Of Monarchy (Continuation).



AFTER EXPLAINING THE foundations of a monarchical dominion, I have taken in hand to prove here in order the fitness of such foundations. And to this end the first point to be noted is, that it is in no way repugnant to experience, for laws to be so firmly fixed, that not the king himself can abolish them. For though the Persians worshipped their kings as gods, yet had not the kings themselves authority to revoke laws once established, as appears from Daniel, [1](#) and nowhere, as far as I know, is a monarch chosen absolutely without any conditions expressed. Nor yet is it repugnant to reason or the absolute obedience due to a king. For the foundations of the dominion are to be considered as eternal decrees of the king, so that his ministers entirely obey him in refusing to execute his orders, when he commands anything contrary to the same. Which we can make plain by the example of Ulysses. [2](#) For his comrades were executing his own order, when they would not untie him, when he was bound to the mast and captivated by the Sirens' song, although he gave them manifold orders to do so, and that with threats. And it is ascribed to his forethought, that he afterwards thanked his comrades for obeying him according to his first intention. And, after this example of Ulysses, kings often instruct judges, to administer justice without respect of persons, not even of the king himself, if by some singular accident he order anything contrary to established law. For kings are not gods, but men, who are often led captive by the Sirens' song. If then everything depended on the inconstant will of one man, nothing would be fixed. And so, that a monarchical dominion may be stable, it must be ordered, so that everything be done by the

king's decree only, that is, so that every law be an explicit will of the king, but not every will of the king a law; as to which see Chap. VI. Sects. 3, 5, 6.

2. It must next be observed, that in laying foundations it is very necessary to study the human passions: and it is not enough to have shown, what ought to be done, but it ought, above all, to be shown how it can be effected, that men, whether led by passion or reason, should yet keep the laws firm and unbroken. For if the constitution of the dominion, or the public liberty depends only on the weak assistance of the laws, not only will the citizens have no security for its maintenance (as we showed in the third section of the last chapter), but it will even turn to their ruin. For this is certain, that no condition of a commonwealth is more wretched than that of the best, when it begins to totter, unless at one blow it falls with a rush into slavery, which seems to be quite impossible. And, therefore, it would be far better for the subjects to transfer their rights absolutely to one man, than to bargain for unascertained and empty, that is unmeaning, terms of liberty, and so prepare for their posterity a way to the most cruel servitude. But if I succeed in showing that the foundation of monarchical dominion, which I stated in the last chapter, are firm and cannot be plucked up, without the indignation of the larger part of an armed multitude, and that from them follow peace and security for king and multitude, and if I deduce this from general human nature, no one will be able to doubt, that these foundations are the best and the true ones (Chap. III. Sec. 9, and Chap. VI. Sects. 3, 8). But that such is their nature, I will show as briefly as possible.

3. That the duty of him, who holds the dominion, is always to know its state and condition, to watch over the common welfare of all, and to execute whatever is to the interest of the majority of the subjects, is admitted by all. But as one person alone is unable to examine into everything, and cannot always have his mind ready and turn it to meditation, and is often hindered by disease, or old age, or other causes, from having leisure for public business; therefore it is necessary that the monarch have counsellors to know the state of affairs, and help the king

with their advice, and frequently supply his place; and that so it come to pass, that the dominion or commonwealth may continue always in one and the same mind.

4. But as human nature is so constituted, that everyone seeks with the utmost passion his own advantage, and judges those laws to be most equitable, which he thinks necessary to preserve and increase his substance, and defends another's cause so far only as he thinks he is thereby establishing his own; it follows hence, that the counsellors chosen must be such, that their private affairs and their own interests depend on the general welfare and peace of all. And so it is evident, that if from every sort or class of citizens a certain number be chosen, what has most votes in such a council will be to the interest of the greater part of the subjects. And though this council, because it is composed of so large a number of citizens, must of necessity be attended by many of very simple intellect, yet this is certain, that everyone is pretty clever and sagacious in business which he has long and eagerly practised. And, therefore, if none be chosen but such as have till their fiftieth year practised their own business without disgrace, they will be fit enough to give their advice about their own affairs, especially if, in matters of considerable importance, a time be allowed for consideration. Besides, it is far from being the fact, that a council composed of a few is not frequented by this kind of men. For, on the contrary, its greatest part must consist of such, since everyone, in that case, tries hard to have dullards for colleagues, that they may hang on his words, for which there is no opportunity in large councils.

5. Furthermore, it is certain, that everyone would rather rule than be ruled. "For no one of his own will yields up dominion to another," as Sallust has it in his first speech to Caesar. [3](#) And, therefore, it is clear, that a whole multitude will never transfer its right to a few or to one, if it can come to an agreement with itself, without proceeding from the controversies, which generally arise in large councils, to seditions. And so the multitude does not, if it is free, transfer to the king anything but that, which it cannot itself have absolutely within its authority, namely, the ending of controversies and the using despatch in decisions. For as to the case which often arises, where a king is chosen on account of war, that is,

because war is much more happily conducted by kings, it is manifest folly, I say, that men should choose slavery in time of peace for the sake of better fortune in war; if, indeed, peace can be conceived of in a dominion, where merely for the sake of war the highest authority is transferred to one man, who is, therefore, best able to show his worth and the importance to everyone of his single self in time of war; whereas, on the contrary, democracy has this advantage, that its excellence is greater in peace than in war. However, for whatever reason a king is chosen, he cannot by himself, as we said just now, know what will be to the interest of the dominion: but for this purpose, as we showed in the last section, will need many citizens for his counsellors. And as we cannot at all suppose, that any opinion can be conceived about a matter proposed for discussion, which can have escaped the notice of so large a number of men, it follows, that no opinion can be conceived tending to the people's welfare, besides all the opinions of this council, which are submitted to the king. And so, since the people's welfare is the highest law, or the king's utmost right, it follows, that the king's utmost right is but to choose one of the opinions offered by the council, not to decree anything, or offer any opinion contrary to the mind of all the council at once (Chap. VI. Sec. 25). But if all the opinions offered in the council were to be submitted to the king, then it might happen that the king would always favour the small cities, which have the fewest votes. For though by the constitution of the council it be ordained, that the opinions should be submitted to the king without mention of their supporters, yet they will never be able to take such good care, but that some opinion will get divulged. And, therefore, it must of necessity be provided, that that opinion, which has not gained at least a hundred votes, shall be held void; and this law the larger cities will be sure to defend with all their might.

6. And here, did I not study brevity, I would show other advantages of this council; yet one, which seems of the greatest importance, I will allege. I mean, that there can be given no greater inducement to virtue, than this general hope of the highest honour. For by ambition are we all most led, as in our Ethics we showed to be the case. [4](#)

7. But it cannot be doubted that the majority of this council will never be minded to wage war, but rather always pursue and love peace. For besides that war will always cause them fear of losing their property and liberty, it is to be added, that war requires fresh expenditure, which they must meet, and also that their own children and relatives, though intent on their domestic cares, will be forced to turn their attention to war and go a-soldiering, whence they will never bring back anything but unpaid-for scars. For, as we said (Chap. VI. Sec. 31), no pay is to be given to the militia, and (Chap. VI. Sec. 10) it is to be formed out of citizens only and no others.

8. There is another accession to the cause of peace and concord, which is also of great weight: I mean, that no citizen can have immovable property (Chap. VI. Sec. 12). Hence all will have nearly an equal risk in war. For all will be obliged, for the sake of gain, to practise trade, or lend money to one another, if, as formerly by the Athenians, a law be passed, forbidding to lend money at interest to any but inhabitants; and thus they will be engaged in business, which either is mutually involved, one man's with another's, or needs the same means for its furtherance. And thus the greatest part of this council will generally have one and the same mind about their common affairs and the arts of peace. For, as we said (Sec. 4), every man defends another's cause, so far as he thinks thereby to establish his own.

9. It cannot be doubted, that it will never occur to anyone to corrupt this council with bribes. For were any man to draw over to his side some one or two out of so great a number of men, he would gain nothing. For, as we said, the opinion, which does not gain at least a hundred votes, is void.

10. We shall also easily see, that, once this council is established its members cannot be reduced to a less number, if we consider the common passions of mankind. For all are guided mostly by ambition, and there is no man who lives in health but hopes to attain extreme old age. If then we calculate the number of those who actually reach their fiftieth or sixtieth year, and further take into account the number that are every year chosen of this great council, we shall see,

that there can hardly be a man of those who bear arms, but is under the influence of a great hope of attaining this dignity. And so they will all, to the best of their power, defend this law of the council. For be it noted, that corruption, unless it creep in gradually, is easily prevented. But as it can be more easily supposed, and would be less invidious, that a less number should be chosen out of every clan, than that a less number should be chosen out of a few clans, or that one or two clans should be altogether excluded; therefore (Chap. VI. Sec. 15) the number of counsellors cannot be reduced, unless a third, fourth, or fifth part be removed simultaneously, which change is a very great one, and therefore quite repugnant to common practice. Nor need one be afraid of delay or negligence in choosing, because this is remedied by the council itself. See Chap. VI. Sec. 16.

11. The king, then, whether he is induced by fear of the multitude, or aims at binding to himself the majority of an armed multitude, or is guided by a generous spirit, a wish that is, to consult the public interest, will always confirm that opinion, which has gained most votes, that is (Sec. 5), 5 which is to the interest of the greater part of the dominion; and will study to reconcile the divergent opinions referred to him, if it can be done, that he may attach all to himself (in which he will exert all his powers), and that alike in peace and war they may find out, what an advantage his single self is to them. And thus he will then be most independent, and most in possession of dominion, when he most consults the general welfare of the multitude.

12. For the king by himself cannot restrain all by fear. But his power, as we have said, rests upon the number of his soldiers, and especially on their valour and faith, which will always remain so long enduring between men, as with them is joined need, be that need honourable or disgraceful. And this is why kings usually are fonder of exciting than restraining their soldiery, and shut their eyes more to their vices than to their virtues, and generally, to hold under the best of them, seek out, distinguish, and assist with money or favour the idle, and those who have ruined themselves by debauchery, and shake hands with them, and throw them kisses, and for the sake of mastery stoop to every servile action. In

order therefore that the citizens may be distinguished by the king before all others, and, as far as the civil state and equity permit, may remain independent, it is necessary that the militia should consist of citizens only, and that citizens should be his counsellors; and on the contrary citizens are altogether subdued, and are laying the foundations of eternal war, from the moment that they suffer mercenaries to be levied, whose trade is war, and who have most power in strifes and seditions.

13. That the king's counsellors ought not to be elected for life, but for three, four, or five years, is clear as well from the tenth, as from what we said in the ninth section of this chapter. For if they were chosen for life, not only could the greatest part of the citizens conceive hardly any hope of obtaining this honour, and thus there would arise a great inequality, and thence envy, and constant murmurs, and at last seditions, which, no doubt, would be welcome to kings greedy of mastery: but also the counsellors, being rid of the fear of their successors, would assume a great licence in all respects, which the king would be far from opposing. For the more the citizens hate them, the more they will cling to the king, and be ready to flatter him. Nay, the interval of five years seems even too much, for in such a space of time it does not seem so impossible to corrupt by bribes or favour a very large part of the council, however large it be. And therefore it will be far safer, if every year two out of every clan retire, and be replaced by as many more (supposing that there are to be five counsellors of each clan), except in the year in which the jurist of any clan retires, and a fresh one is chosen in his place.

14. Moreover, no king can promise himself more safety, than he who reigns in a commonwealth of this sort. For besides that a king soon perishes, when his soldiers cease to desire his safety, it is certain that kings are always in the greatest danger from those who are nearest their persons. The fewer counsellors, then, there are, and the more powerful they consequently are, the more the king is in danger of their transferring the dominion to another. Nothing in fact more alarmed David, than that his own counsellor Ahitophel sided with Absalom. ⁶ Still more is

this the case, if the whole authority has been transferred absolutely to one man, because it can then be more easily transferred from one to another. For two private soldiers once took in hand to transfer the Roman empire, and did transfer it. ⁷ I omit the arts and cunning wiles, whereby counsellors have to assure themselves against falling victims to their unpopularity; for they are but too well known, and no one, who has read history, can be ignorant, that the good faith of counsellors has generally turned to their ruin. And so, for their own safety, it behoves them to be cunning, not faithful. But if the counsellors are too numerous to unite in the same crime, and are all equal, and do not hold their office beyond a period of four years, they cannot be at all objects of fear to the king, except he attempt to take away their liberty, wherein he will offend all the citizens equally. For, as Antonio Perez ⁸ excellently observes, an absolute dominion is to the prince very dangerous, to the subjects very hateful, and to the institutes of God and man alike opposed, as innumerable instances show.

15. Besides these we have, in the last chapter, laid other foundations, by which the king is greatly secured in his dominion, and the citizens in their hold of peace and liberty, which foundations we will reason out in their proper places. For I was anxious above everything to reason out all those, which refer to the great council and are of the greatest importance. Now I will continue with the others, in the same order in which I stated them.

16. It is undoubted, that citizens are more powerful, and, therefore, more independent, the larger and better fortified their towns are. For the safer the place is, in which they are, the better they can defend their liberty, and the less they need fear an enemy, whether without or within; and it is certain that the more powerful men are by their riches, the more they by nature study their own safety. But cities which need the help of another for their preservation are not on terms of equal right with that other, but are so far dependent on his right as they need his help. For we showed in the second chapter, that right is determined by power alone.

17. For the same reason, also, I mean that the citizens may continue independent, and defend their liberty, the militia ought to be composed of the citizens only, and none of them to be exempted. For an armed man is more independent than an unarmed (Sec. 12); and those citizens transfer absolutely their own right to another, and entrust it entirely to his good faith, who have given him their arms and the defences of their cities. Human avarice, by which most men are very much led, adds its weight to this view. For it cannot be, that a mercenary force be hired without great expense; and citizens can hardly endure the exactions required to maintain an idle soldiery. But that no man, who commands the whole or a large part of the militia, should, except under pressure of necessity, be chosen for the extreme term of a year, all are aware, who have read history, alike sacred and profane. For there is nothing that reason more clearly teaches. For surely the might of dominion is altogether entrusted to him, who is allowed enough time to gain military glory, and raise his fame above the king's, or to make the army faithful to himself by flattery, largesses, and the other arts, whereby generals are accustomed to procure the enslavement of others, and the mastery for themselves. Lastly, I have added this point for the greater safety of the whole dominion, that these commanders of the militia are to be selected from the king's counsellors or ex-counsellors — that is, from men who have reached the age at which mankind generally prefer what is old and safe to what is new and dangerous. [9](#)

18. I said that the citizens were to be divided into clans, [10](#) and an equal number of counsellors chosen from each, in order that the larger towns might have, in proportion to the number of their citizens, a greater number of counsellors, and be able, as is equitable, to contribute more votes. For the power and, therefore, the right of a dominion is to be estimated by the number of its citizens; and I do not believe that any fitter means can be devised for maintaining this equality between citizens, who are all by nature so constituted, that everyone wishes to be attributed to his own stock, and be distinguished by race from the rest.

19. Furthermore, in the state of nature, there is nothing which any man can less claim for himself, and make his own, than the soil, and whatever so adheres to the soil, that he cannot hide it anywhere, nor carry it whither he pleases. The soil, therefore, and whatever adheres to it in the way we have mentioned, must be quite common property of the commonwealth — that is, of all those who, by their united force, can vindicate their claim to it, or of him to whom all have given authority to vindicate his claim. And therefore the soil, and all that adheres to it, ought to have a value with the citizens proportionate to the necessity there is, that they may be able to set their feet thereon, and defend their common right or liberty. But in the eighth section of this chapter we have shown the advantages that the commonwealth must necessarily derive hence.

20. In order that the citizens may be as far as possible equal, which is of the first necessity in a commonwealth, none but the descendants of a king are to be thought noble. But if all the descendants of kings were allowed to marry wives, or beget children, they would grow, in process of time, to a very large number, and would be, not only burdensome, but also a cause of very great fear, to king and all. For men who have too much leisure generally meditate crime. And hence it is that kings are, on account of their nobles, very much induced to make war, because kings surrounded with nobles find more quiet and safety in war than in peace. But I pass by this as notorious enough, and also the points which I have mentioned in Secs. 15-27 of the last chapter. For the main points have been proved in this chapter, and the rest are self-evident.

21. That the judges ought to be too numerous for a large proportion of them to be accessible to the bribes of a private man, and that they should not vote openly, but secretly, and that they deserve payment for their time, is known to everyone [11](#) But they everywhere have by custom a yearly salary; and so they make no great haste to determine suits, and there is often no end to trials. Next, where confiscations accrue to the king, there frequently in trials not truth nor right, but the greatness of a man's riches is regarded. Informers are ever at work, and everyone who has money is snatched as a prey, which evils, though grievous and

intolerable, are excused by the necessity of warfare, and continue even in time of peace. But the avarice of judges that are appointed but for two or three years at most is moderated by fear of their successors, not to mention, again, that they can have no fixed property, but must lend their money at interest to their fellow-citizens. And so they are forced rather to consult their welfare than to plot against them, especially if the judges themselves, as we have said, are numerous.

22. But we have said, that no military pay is to be voted [12](#) For the chief reward of military service is liberty. For in the state of nature everyone strives, for bare liberty's sake, to defend himself to the utmost of his power, and expects no other reward of warlike virtue but his own independence. But, in the civil state, all the citizens together are to be considered as a man in the state of nature; and, therefore, when all fight on behalf of that state, all are defending themselves, and engaged on their own business. But counsellors, judges, magistrates, and the like, are engaged more on others' business than on their own; and so it is but fair to pay them for their time. Besides, in war, there can be no greater or more honourable inducement to victory than the idea of liberty. But if, on the contrary, a certain portion of the citizens be designated as soldiers, on which account it will be necessary to award them a fixed pay, the king will, of necessity, distinguish them above the rest (as we showed. Sec. 12) — that is, will distinguish men who are acquainted only with the arts of war, and, in time of peace, from excess of leisure, become debauched, and, finally, from poverty, meditate nothing but rapine, civil discord, and wars. And so we can affirm, that a monarchy of this sort is, in fact, a state of war, and in it only the soldiery enjoy liberty, but the rest are slaves.

23. Our remarks about the admission of foreigners (Chap. VI. Sec. 32) I believe to be obvious. Besides, no one can doubt that the king's blood-relations should be at a distance from him, and occupied, not by warlike, but by peaceful business, whence they may get credit and the dominion quiet. Though even this has not seemed a sufficient precaution to the Turkish despots, who, therefore, make a point of slaughtering all their brothers. And no wonder: for the more absolutely the right of dominion has been conferred on one man, the more easily,

as we showed by an instance (Sec. 14), it can be transferred from one to another. But that in such a monarchy, as we here suppose, in which, I mean, there is not one mercenary soldier, the plan we have mentioned provides sufficiently for the king's safety, is not to be doubted.

24. Nor can anyone hesitate about what we have said in the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth sections of the last chapter. But that the king must not marry a foreigner [13](#) is easily proved. For not to mention that two commonwealths, although united by a treaty, are yet in a state of hostility (Chap. III. Sec. 14), it is very much to be avoided that war should be stirred up, on account of the king's domestic affairs, both because disputes and dissensions arise peculiarly from an alliance founded on marriage, and because questions between two commonwealths are mostly settled by war. Of this we read a fatal instance in Scripture. For after the death of Solomon, who had married the king of Egypt's daughter, his son Rehoboam waged a most disastrous war with Shishak, king of the Egyptians, who utterly subdued him. [14](#) Moreover, the marriage of Lewis XIV., king of France with the daughter of Philip IV. was the seed of a fresh war. [15](#) And, besides these, very many instances may be read in history.

25. The form of the dominion ought to be kept one and the same, and, consequently, there should be but one king, and that of the same sex, and the dominion should be indivisible. [16](#) But as to my saying that the king's eldest son should succeed his father by right, or (if there be no issue) the nearest to him in blood, it is clear as well from Chap. VI. Sec. 13, as because the election of the king made by the multitude should, if possible, last for ever. Otherwise it will necessarily happen, that the supreme authority of the dominion will frequently pass to the multitude, which is an extreme and, therefore, exceedingly dangerous change. But those who, from the fact that the king is master of the dominion, and holds it by absolute right, infer that he can hand it over to whom he pleases, and that, therefore, the king's son is by right heir to the dominion, are greatly mistaken. For the king's will has so long the force of law, as he holds the sword of the commonwealth; for the right of dominion is limited by power only. Therefore,

a king may indeed abdicate, but cannot hand the dominion over to another, unless with the concurrence of the multitude or its stronger part. And that this may be more clearly understood, we must remark, that children are heirs to their parents, not by natural, but by civil law. For by the power of the commonwealth alone is anyone master of definite property. And, therefore, by the same power or right, whereby the will of any man concerning his property is held good, by the same also his will remains good after his own death, as long as the commonwealth endures. And this is the reason, why everyone in the civil state maintains after death the same right as he had in his lifetime, because, as we said, it is not by his own power, but by that of the commonwealth, which is everlasting, that he can decide anything about his property. But the king's case is quite different. For the king's will is the civil law itself, and the king the commonwealth itself. Therefore, by the death of the king, the commonwealth is in a manner dead, and the civil state naturally returns to the state of nature, and consequently the supreme authority to the multitude, which can, therefore, lawfully lay down new and abolish old laws. And so it appears that no man succeeds the king by right, but him whom the multitude wills to be successor, or in a theocracy, such as the commonwealth of the Hebrews once was, him whom God has chosen by a prophet. We might likewise infer this from the fact that the king's sword, or right, is in reality the will of the multitude itself, or its stronger part; or else from the fact, that men endowed with reason never so utterly abdicate their right, that they cease to be men, and are accounted as sheep. But to pursue this further is unnecessary.

26. But the right of religion, or of worshipping God, no man can transfer to another. However, we have treated of this point at length in the last chapters of our Theologico-Political Treatise, which it is superfluous to repeat here. And herewith I claim to have reasoned out the foundations of the best monarchy, though briefly, yet with sufficient clearness. But their mutual interdependence, or, in other words, the proportions of my dominion, anyone will easily remark, who will be at the pains to observe them as a whole with some attention. It remains

only to warn the reader, that I am here conceiving of that monarchy, which is instituted by a free multitude, for which alone these foundations can serve. For a multitude that has grown used to another form of dominion will not be able without great danger of overthrow to pluck up the accepted foundations of the whole dominion, and change its entire fabric.

27. And what we have written will, perhaps, be received with derision by those who limit to the populace only the vices which are inherent in all mortals; and use such phrases as, “the mob, if it is not frightened, inspires no little fear,” and “the populace is either a humble slave, or a haughty master,” and “it has no truth or judgment,” etc. But all have one common nature. Only we are deceived by power and refinement. Whence it comes that when two do the same thing we say, “this man may do it with impunity, that man may not;” not because the deed, but because the doer is different. Haughtiness is a property of rulers. Men are haughty, but by reason of an appointment for a year; how much more then nobles, that have their honours eternal! But their arrogance is glossed over with importance, luxury, profusion, and a kind of harmony of vices, and a certain cultivated folly, and elegant villainy, so that vices, each of which looked at separately is foul and vile, because it is then most conspicuous, appear to the inexperienced and untaught honourable and becoming. “The mob, too, if it is not frightened, inspires no little fear;” yes, for liberty and slavery are not easily mingled. Lastly, as for the populace being devoid of truth and judgment, that is nothing wonderful, since the chief business of the dominion is transacted behind its back, and it can but make conjectures from the little, which cannot be hidden. For it is an uncommon virtue to suspend one’s judgment. So it is supreme folly to wish to transact everything behind the backs of the citizens, and to expect that they will not judge ill of the same, and will not give everything an unfavourable interpretation. For if the populace could moderate itself, and suspend its judgment about things with which it is imperfectly acquainted, or judge rightly of things by the little it knows already, it would surely be more fit to govern, than to be governed. But, as we said, all have the same nature. All grow haughty with rule,

and cause fear if they do not feel it, and everywhere truth is generally transgressed by enemies or guilty people; especially where one or a few have mastery, and have respect in trials not to justice or truth, but to amount of wealth.

28. Besides, paid soldiers, that are accustomed to military discipline, and can support cold and hunger, are likely to despise a crowd of citizens as very inferior for storming towns or fighting pitched battles. But that my dominion is, therefore, more unhappy or less durable, no one of sound mind will affirm. But, on the contrary, everyone that judges things fairly will admit, that that dominion is the most durable of all, which can content itself with preserving what it has got, without coveting what belongs to others, and strives, therefore, most eagerly by every means to avoid war and preserve peace.

29. But I admit that the counsels of such a dominion can hardly be concealed. But everyone will also admit with me that it is far better for the right counsels of a dominion to be known to its enemies, than for the evil secrets of tyrants to be concealed from the citizens. They who can treat secretly of the affairs of a dominion have it absolutely under their authority, and, as they plot against the enemy in time of war, so do they against the citizens in time of peace. Now that this secrecy is often serviceable to a dominion, no one can deny; but that without it the said dominion cannot subsist, no one will ever prove. But, on the contrary, to entrust affairs of state absolutely to any man is quite incompatible with the maintenance of liberty; and so it is folly to choose to avoid a small loss by means of the greatest of evils. But the perpetual refrain of those who lust after absolute dominion is, that it is to the essential interest of the commonwealth that its business be secretly transacted, and other like pretences, which end in the more hateful a slavery, the more they are clothed with a show of utility.

30. Lastly, although no dominion, as far as I know, has ever been founded on all the conditions we have mentioned, yet from experience itself we shall be able to prove that this form of monarchy is the best, if we consider the causes of the preservation and overthrow of any dominion that is not barbarous. But this I could not do without greatly wearying the reader. However, I cannot pass over in silence

one instance, that seems worth remembering: I mean the dominion of the Arragonese, who showed a singular loyalty towards their kings, and with equal constancy preserved unbroken the constitution of the kingdom. For as soon as they had cast off the slavish yoke of the Moors, they resolved to choose themselves a king, but on what conditions they could not quite make up their minds, and they therefore determined to consult the sovereign pontiff of Rome. He, who in this matter certainly bore himself as Christ's vicar, blamed them for so obstinately wishing to choose a king, unwarned by the example of the Hebrews. However, if they would not change their minds, then he advised them not to choose a king, without first instituting customs equitable and suitable to the national genius, and above all he would have them create some supreme council, to balance the king's power like the ephors of the Lacedaemonians, and to have absolute right to determine the disputes, which might arise between the king and the citizens. So then, following this advice, they established the laws, which seemed to them most equitable, of which the supreme interpreter, and therefore supreme judge, was to be, not the king, but the council, which they call the Seventeen, and whose president has the title of Justice [17](#) This Justice then, and the Seventeen, who are chosen for life, not by vote but by lot, have the absolute right of revising and annulling all sentences passed upon any citizen by other courts, civil or ecclesiastical, or by the king himself, so that every citizen had the right to summon the king himself before this council. Moreover, they once had the right of electing and deposing the king. But after the lapse of many years the king, Don Pedro, who is called the Dagger, by canvassing, bribery, promises, and every sort of practice, at length procured the revocation of this right. And as soon as he gained his point, he cut off, or, as I would sooner believe, wounded his hand before them all, saying, that not without the loss of royal blood could subjects be allowed to choose their king [18](#) Yet he effected this change, but upon this condition, "That the subjects have had and shall have the right of taking arms against any violence whatever, whereby any may wish to enter upon the dominion to their hurt, nay, against the king himself, or the prince, his heir, if he thus

encroach.” By which condition they certainly rather rectified than abolished that right. For, as we have shown (Chap. IV. Secs. 5, 6), a king can be deprived of the power of ruling, not by the civil law, but by the law of war, in other words the subjects may resist his violence with violence. Besides this condition they stipulated others, which do not concern our present design. Having by these customs given themselves a constitution to the mind of all, they continued for an incredible length of time unharmed, the king’s loyalty towards his subjects being as great as theirs towards him. But after that the kingdom fell by inheritance to Ferdinand of Castile, who first had the surname of Catholic; this liberty of the Arragonese began to displease the Castilians, who therefore ceased not to urge Ferdinand to abolish these rights. But he, not yet being accustomed to absolute dominion, dared make no such attempt, but replied thus to his counsellors: that (not to mention that he had received the kingdom of Arragon on those terms, which they knew, and had most solemnly sworn to observe the same, and that it was inhuman to break his word) he was of opinion, that his kingdom would be stable, as long as its safety was as much to the subjects’ as to the king’s interest, so that neither the king should outweigh the subjects, nor yet the subjects the king; for that if either party were too powerful, the weaker would not only try to recover its former equality, but in vexation at its injury to retaliate upon the other, whence would follow the ruin of either or both. Which very wise language I could not enough wonder at, had it proceeded from a king accustomed to command not freemen but slaves. Accordingly the Arragonese retained their liberties after the time of Ferdinand, though no longer by right but by the favour of their too powerful kings, until the reign of Philip II., who oppressed them with better luck, but no less cruelty, than he did the United Provinces. And although Philip III. is supposed to have restored everything to its former position, yet the Arragonese, partly from eagerness to flatter the powerful (for it is folly to kick against the pricks), partly from terror, have kept nothing but the specious names and empty forms of liberty.

31. We conclude, therefore, that the multitude may preserve under a king an ample enough liberty; if it contrive that the king's power be determined by the sole power, and preserved by the defence of the multitude itself. And this was the single rule which I followed in laying the foundations of monarchy.

¹ Daniel vi. 15.

² Hom. "Odys.," xii. 156-200.

³ Chap. I. Sec. 4 of the speech, or rather letter, which is not now admitted to be a genuine work of Sallust.

⁴ Ethics, iii. 29, &c.

⁵ This seems to be a mistake for Sec. 4, "*Id majori subditorum parti utile erit, quod in hoc concilio plurima habuerit suffragia.*" "What has most votes in such a council, will be to the interest of the greater part of the subjects."

⁶ 2 Sam. xv. 31.

⁷ Tacitus, Histories, i., 7.

⁸ Antonio Perez, a publicist, and professor of law in the University of Louvain in the first part of the seventeenth century.

⁹ Chap. VI. Sec. 10.

¹⁰ Chap. VI. Secs. 11, 15, 16.

¹¹ Chap. VI. Secs. 27, 28.

¹² Chap. VI. Sec. 31.

¹³ Chap. VI. Sec. 36.

¹⁴
— 1 Kings xiv. 25; 2 Chron. xii.

¹⁵
— The war between France and Spain, terminated by the first peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1665.

¹⁶
— Chap. VI. Sec. 37.

¹⁷
— See Hallam's "History of the Middle Ages," Chap. IV., for the constitutional history of Arragon. Hallam calls the Justiza the Justiciary, but the literal translation, Justice, seems warranted by our own English use of the word to designate certain judges.

¹⁸
— Hallam says, that the king merely cut the obnoxious Privilege of Union, which he describes rather differently, through with his sword. The Privilege of Union was so utterly "eradicated from the records of the kingdom, that its precise words have never been recovered."

Chapter VIII.

Of Aristocracy.



SO FAR OF monarchy. But now we will say, on what plan an aristocracy is to be framed, so that it may be lasting. We have defined an aristocratic dominion as that, which is held not by one man, but by certain persons chosen out of the multitude, whom we shall henceforth call patricians. I say expressly, “that which is held by certain persons chosen.” For the chief difference between this and a democracy is, that the right of governing depends in an aristocracy on election only, but in a democracy for the most part on some right either congenital or acquired by fortune (as we shall explain in its place); and therefore, although in any dominion the entire multitude be received into the number of the patricians, provided that right of theirs is not inherited, and does not descend by some law to others, the dominion will for all that be quite an aristocracy, because none are received into the number of the patricians save by express election. But if these chosen persons were but two, each of them will try to be more powerful than the other, and from the too great power of each, the dominion will easily be split into two factions; and in like manner into three, four, or five factions, if three, four, or five persons were put into possession of it. But the factions will be the weaker, the more there are to whom the dominion was delegated. And hence it follows, that to secure the stability of an aristocracy, it is necessary to consider the proportionate size of the actual dominion, in order to determine the minimum number of patricians.

2. Let it be supposed, then, that for a dominion of moderate size it suffices to be allowed a hundred of the best men, and that upon them has been conferred the supreme authority of the dominion, and that they have consequently the right to

elect their patrician colleagues, when any of the number die. These men will certainly endeavour to secure their succession to their children or next in blood. And thus the supreme authority of the dominion will always be with those, whom fortune has made children or kinsmen to patricians. And, as out of a hundred men who rise to office by fortune, hardly three are found that excel in knowledge and counsel, it will thus come to pass, that the authority of the dominion will rest, not with a hundred, but only with two or three who excel by vigour of mind, and who will easily draw to themselves everything, and each of them, as is the wont of human greed, will be able to prepare the way to a monarchy. And so, if we make a right calculation, it is necessary, that the supreme authority of a dominion, whose size requires at least a hundred first-rate men, should be conferred on not less than five thousand. For by this proportion it will never fail, but a hundred shall be found excelling in mental vigour, that is, on the hypothesis that, out of fifty that seek and obtain office, one will always be found not less than first-rate, besides others that imitate the virtues of the first-rate, and are therefore worthy to rule.

3. The patricians are most commonly citizens of one city, which is the head of the whole dominion, so that the commonwealth or republic has its name from it, as once that of Rome, and now those of Venice, Genoa, etc. But the republic of the Dutch has its name from an entire province, whence it arises, that the subjects of this dominion enjoy a greater liberty. Now, before we can determine the foundations on which this aristocratic dominion ought to rest, we must observe a very great difference, which exists between the dominion which is conferred on one man and that which is conferred on a sufficiently large council. For, in the first place, the power of one man is (as we said, Chap. VI. Sec. 5) very inadequate to support the entire dominion; but this no one, without manifest absurdity, can affirm of a sufficiently large council. For, in declaring the council to be sufficiently large, one at the same time denies, that it is inadequate to support the dominion. A king, therefore, is altogether in need of counsellors, but a council like this is not so in the least. In the second place, kings are mortal, but councils are everlasting. And so the power of the dominion which has once been

transferred to a large enough council never reverts to the multitude. But this is otherwise in a monarchy, as we showed (Chap. VII. Sec. 25). Thirdly, a king's dominion is often on sufferance, whether from his minority, sickness, or old age, or from other causes; but the power of a council of this kind, on the contrary, remains always one and the same. In the fourth place, one man's will is very fluctuating and inconstant; and, therefore, in a monarchy, all law is, indeed, the explicit will of the king (as we said. Chap. VII. Sec. 1), but not every will of the king ought to be law; but this cannot be said of the will of a sufficiently numerous council. For since the council itself, as we have just shown, needs no counsellors, its every explicit will ought to be law. And hence we conclude, that the dominion conferred upon a large enough council is absolute, or approaches nearest to the absolute. For if there be any absolute dominion, it is, in fact, that which is held by an entire multitude.

4. Yet in so far as this aristocratic dominion never (as has just been shown) reverts to the multitude, and there is under it no consultation with the multitude, but, without qualification, every will of the council is law, it must be considered as quite absolute, and therefore its foundations ought to rest only on the will and judgment of the said council, and not on the watchfulness of the multitude, since the latter is excluded from giving its advice or its vote. The reason, then, why in practice aristocracy is not absolute, is that the multitude is a cause of fear to the rulers, and therefore succeeds in retaining for itself some liberty, which it asserts and holds as its own, if not by an express law, yet on a tacit understanding.

5. And thus it is manifest that this kind of dominion will be in the best possible condition, if its institutions are such that it most nearly approaches the absolute — that is, that the multitude is as little as possible a cause of fear, and retains no liberty, but such as must necessarily be assigned it by the law of the dominion itself, and is therefore not so much a right of the multitude as of the whole dominion, asserted and maintained by the aristocrats only as their own. For thus practice agrees best with theory, as appears from the last section, and is also self-evident. For we cannot doubt that the dominion rests the less with the patricians,

the more rights the commons assert for themselves, such as those which the corporations of artisans in Lower Germany, commonly called Guilds, generally possess.

6. But the commons need not apprehend any danger of a hateful slavery from this form of dominion, merely because it is conferred on the council absolutely. For the will of so large a council cannot be so much determined by lust as by reason; because men are drawn asunder by an evil passion, and cannot be guided, as it were, by one mind, except so far as they desire things honourable, or that have at least an honourable appearance.

7. In determining, then, the foundations of an aristocracy, it is above all to be observed, that they should rest on the sole will and power of the supreme council, so that it may be as independent as possible, and be in no danger from the multitude. In order to determine these foundations, which are to rest, I say, upon the sole will and power of the council, let us see what foundations of peace are peculiar to monarchy, and unsuited to this form of dominion. For if we substitute for these equivalent foundations fit for an aristocracy, and leave the rest, as they are already laid, we shall have removed without doubt every cause of seditions; or, at least, this kind of dominion will be no less safe than the monarchical, but, on the contrary, so much the more so, and of so much better a condition, as, without danger to peace and liberty, it approaches nearer than monarchy to the absolute (Secs. 3, 6). For the greater the right of the supreme authority, the more the form of dominion agrees with the dictate of reason (Chap. III. Sec. 5 [1](#)), and, therefore, the fitter it is to maintain peace and liberty. Let us run through, therefore, the points we stated in our sixth chapter, beginning with the ninth section, that we may reject what is unfit for this kind of dominion, and see what agrees with it.

8. That it is necessary, in the first place, to found and fortify one or more cities, no one can doubt. But that city is above all to be fortified, which is the head of the whole dominion, and also those that are on its frontiers. For that which is the head of the whole dominion, and has the supreme right, ought to be more powerful

than the rest. But under this kind of dominion it is quite unnecessary to divide all the inhabitants into clans.

9. As for the military, since under this dominion equality is not to be looked for among all, but between the patricians only, and, in particular, the power of the patricians is greater than that of the commons, it is certain that it makes no difference to the laws or fundamental principles of this dominion, that the military be formed of others besides subjects. ² But it is of the first importance that no one be admitted into the number of the patricians, that has not a proper knowledge of the art of war. But for the subjects to be excluded, as some would have it, from military service, is surely folly. For besides that the military pay given to subjects remains within the realm, whereas, on the contrary, what is paid to a foreign soldiery is altogether lost, the greatest strength of the dominion is also thereby weakened. For it is certain that those fight with peculiar valour who fight for altar and hearth. Whence, also, it is manifest that those are no less wrong, who lay down that military commanders, tribunes, centurions, etc., should be chosen from among the patricians only. For with what courage will those soldiers fight who are deprived of all hope of gaining glory and advancement? But, on the other hand, to establish a law forbidding the patricians to hire foreign soldiers when circumstances require it, whether to defend themselves, and suppress seditions, or for any other reason, besides being inconsiderate, would also be repugnant to the supreme right of the patricians, concerning which see Secs. 3, 4, 5 of this chapter. But the general of a single army, or of the entire military, is to be chosen but in time of war, and among the patricians only, and is to hold the command for a year at most, without power of being continued therein, or afterwards reappointed. For this law, necessary as it is under a monarchy, is so above all under this kind of dominion. For although it is much easier, as we have said above, to transfer the dominion from one man to another than from a free council to one man; yet it does often happen, that patricians are subdued by their own generals, and that to the much greater harm of the commonwealth. For when a monarch is removed, it is but a change of tyrant, not of the form of dominion; but, under an aristocracy,

this cannot happen, without an upsetting of the form of dominion, and a slaughter of the greatest men. Of which thing Rome has offered the most mournful examples. But our reason for saying that, under a monarchy, the militia should serve without pay, is here inapplicable. For since the subjects are excluded from giving their advice or votes, they are to be reckoned as foreigners, and are, therefore, to be hired for service on no worse terms than foreigners. And there is in this case no danger of their being distinguished above the rest by the patricians: nay, further, to avoid the partial judgment which everyone is apt to form of his own exploits, it is wiser for the patricians to assign a fixed payment to the soldiers for their service.

10. Furthermore, for this same reason, that all but the patricians are foreigners, it cannot be without danger to the whole dominion, that the lands and houses and the whole soil should remain public property, and be let to the inhabitants at a yearly rent. For the subjects having no part in the dominion would easily, in bad times, all forsake their cities, if they could carry where they pleased what goods they possess. And, therefore, lands and farms are not to be let, but sold to the subjects, yet on condition that they pay every year an aliquot part of the year's produce, etc., as is done in Holland.

11. These points considered, I proceed to the foundations on which the supreme council should rest and be established. We have shown (Sec. 2) that, in a moderate-sized dominion, this council ought to have about five thousand members. And so we must look for means of preventing the dominion from gradually getting into fewer hands, and of insuring, on the contrary, that the number of members be increased in proportion to the growth of the dominion itself; and, next, that between the patricians, equality be as far as possible maintained; and, further, that there may be speed and expedition in their counsels, and that they tend to the general good; and, lastly, that the power of the patricians or council exceed the power of the multitude, yet so that the multitude suffer no harm thereby.

12. But jealousy causes a great difficulty in maintaining our first point. For men are, as we have said, by nature enemies, so that however they be associated, and bound together by laws, they still retain their nature. And hence I think it is, that democracies change into aristocracies, and these at length into monarchies. For I am fully persuaded that most aristocracies were formerly democracies. For when a given multitude, in search of fresh territories, has found and cultivated them, it retains, as a whole, its equal right of dominion, because no man gives dominion to another spontaneously. But although every one of them thinks it fair, that he should have the same right against another that that other has against him, he yet thinks it unfair, that the foreigners that join them should have equal right in the dominion with themselves, who sought it by their own toil, and won it at the price of their own blood. And this not even the foreigners themselves deny, for, of course, they migrate thither, not to hold dominion, but for the benefit of their own private business, and are quite satisfied if they are but allowed the liberty of transacting that business in safety. But meanwhile the multitude is augmented by the influx of foreigners, who gradually acquire the national manners, until at last they are distinguished by no other difference than that of incapacity to get office; and while their number daily increases, that of the citizens, on the contrary, is by many causes diminished. For families often die out, and some persons are disqualified for their crimes, and a great many are driven by domestic poverty to neglect affairs of state, and meanwhile the more powerful aim at nothing else, but to govern alone; and thus the dominion is gradually limited to a few, and at length by faction to one. And here we might add other causes that destroy dominions of this sort; but as they are well known, I pass them by, and proceed now to state the laws by which this dominion, of which we are treating, ought to be maintained.

13. The primary law of this dominion ought to be that which determines the proportionate numbers of patricians and multitude. For a proportion (Sec. 1) ought to be maintained between the multitude and the patricians, so that with the increase of the former the number of the latter should be raised. And this proportion (in accordance with our remarks in the second section) ought to be

about fifty to one, that is, the inequality between the members of each should never be greater. For (Sec. 1) without destroying the form of dominion, the number of patricians may be greater than the number of the multitude. But there is no danger except in the smallness of their number. But how it is to be provided that this law be kept unbroken, I will presently show in its own place.

14. Patricians, in some places, are chosen only out of particular families. But it is ruinous to lay this down expressly by law. For not to mention that families often die out, and that the other families can never be excluded without disgrace, it is also repugnant to the form of this dominion, that the dignity of patrician should be hereditary (Sec. 1). But on this system a dominion seems rather a democracy, such as we have described in Sec. 12, that is in the hands of very few citizens. But, on the other hand, to provide against the patricians choosing their own sons and kinsmen, and thereby against the right of dominion remaining in particular families, is impossible, and indeed absurd, as I shall show (Sec. 39). But provided that they hold that right by no express law, and that the rest (I mean, such as are born within the dominion, and use the vulgar tongue, and have not a foreign wife, and are not infamous, nor servants, nor earning their living by any servile trade, among which are to be reckoned those of a wine-merchant, or brewer) are not excluded, the form of the dominion will, notwithstanding, be retained, and it will be possible to maintain the proportion between the patricians and the multitude.

15. But if it be further by law appointed that no young men be chosen, it will never happen that a few families hold the right of government in their hands. And, therefore, be it by law appointed, that no man that has not reached his thirtieth year be put on the list of candidates.

16. Thirdly, it is next to be ordained, that all the patricians must be assembled at certain fixed times in a particular part of the city, and that whoever does not attend the council, unless he be hindered by illness or some public business, shall be fined some considerable amount. For, were it otherwise, most of them would neglect the public, for the sake of their own private affairs.

17. Let this council's functions be to pass and repeal laws, and to choose their patrician colleagues, and all the ministers of the dominion. For he, that has supreme right, as we have decided that this council has, cannot give to anyone authority to pass and repeal laws, without at the same time abdicating his own right, and transferring it to him, to whom he gives that power. For he, that has but for one day only authority to pass and repeal laws, is able to change the entire form of the dominion. But one can, without forfeiting one's supreme right, temporarily entrust to others the daily business of dominion to be administered according to the established laws. Furthermore, if the ministers of dominion were chosen by any other but this council, then its members would be more properly called wards than patricians.

18. Hence some are accustomed to create for the council a ruler or prince, either for life, as the Venetians, or for a time, as the Genoese; but yet with such great precautions, as make it clear enough, that it is not done without great risk. And assuredly we cannot doubt but that the dominion thereby approaches the monarchical form, and as far as we can conjecture from their histories, it was done for no other reason, than that before the institution of these councils they had lived under a ruler, or doge, as under a king. And so the creation of a ruler is a necessary requisite indeed for the particular nation, but not for the aristocratic dominion considered in itself.

19. But, inasmuch as the supreme authority of this dominion rests with this council as a whole, not with every individual member of it (for otherwise it would be but the gathering of an undisciplined mob), it is, therefore, necessary that all the patricians be so bound by the laws as to form, as it were, one body governed by one mind. But the laws by themselves alone are weak and easily broken, when their vindicators are the very persons who are able to transgress them, and the only ones who are to take warning by the punishment, and must punish their colleagues in order by fear of the same punishment to restrain their own desire: for all this involves a great absurdity. And, therefore, means must be sought to

preserve order in this supreme council and keep unbroken the constitution of the dominion, so that yet the greatest possible equality may exist between patricians.

20. But since, from a single ruler or prince, able also to vote in the debates, there must necessarily arise a great inequality, especially on account of the power, which must of necessity be granted him, in order to enable him to discharge his duty in safety; therefore, if we consider the whole matter aright, nothing can be devised more useful to the general welfare than the institution of another council of certain patricians subordinate to the supreme council, whose only duty should be to see that the constitution, as far as it concerns the councils and ministers of the dominion, be kept unbroken, and who should, therefore, have authority to summon to judgment and, in conformity with established law, to condemn any delinquent who, as a minister of the dominion, has transgressed the laws concerning his office. And these patricians we shall hereafter call syndics.

21. And they are to be chosen for life. For, were they to be chosen for a time, so that they should afterwards be eligible for other offices in the dominion, we should fall into the very absurdity which we have just pointed out in the nineteenth section. But lest they should become quite haughty by very long rule, none are to be elected to this office, but those who have reached their sixtieth year or more, and have discharged the duties of senator, of which below.

22. Of these, too, we shall easily determine the number, if we consider that these syndics stand to the patricians in the same relation as the whole body of patricians together does to the multitude, which they cannot govern, if they are fewer than a proper number. And, therefore, the number of the syndics should be to that of patricians as their number is to that of the multitude, that is (Sec. 13), as one to fifty.

23. Moreover, that this council may discharge its functions in security, some portion of the soldiery must be assigned to it, and be subject to its orders.

24. The syndics and other ministers of state are to have no salary, but such emoluments, that they cannot maladminister affairs of state without great loss to themselves. For we cannot doubt that it is fair, that the ministers of this kind of

dominion should be awarded a recompense for their time, since the commons are the majority in this dominion, and the patricians look after their safety, while they themselves have no trouble with affairs of state, but only with their own private ones. But since, on the other hand, no man (Chap. VII. Sec. 4) defends another's cause, save in so far as he thereby hopes to establish his own interest, things must, of necessity, be so ordered that the ministers, who have charge of affairs of state, should most pursue their own interest, when they are most watchful for the general good.

25. To the syndics then, whose duty, as we said, it is to see that the constitution is kept unbroken, the following emoluments are to be awarded: namely, that every householder that inhabits any place in the dominion, be bound to pay every year a coin of small value, say a quarter of an ounce of silver, to the syndics, that thus they may know the number of inhabitants, and so observe what proportion of them the patricians constitute; and next that every new patrician on his election must pay the syndics some large sum, for instance, twenty or twenty-five pounds of silver. Moreover, that money, in which the absent patricians (I mean those who have failed to attend the meeting of the council) are condemned, is also to be awarded to the syndics; and a part, too, of the goods of defaulting ministers, who are bound to abide their judgment, and who are fined a certain sum of money, or have their goods confiscated, should be devoted to them, not to all indeed, but to those only who sit daily, and whose duty it is to summon the council of syndics, concerning whom see Sec. 28. But, in order that the council of syndics may always be maintained at its full number, before all other business in the supreme council, when it is assembled at the usual time, inquiry is to be made about this. Which, if the syndics neglect, let it then devolve upon the president of the senate (concerning which we shall soon have occasion to speak), to admonish the supreme council on this head, to demand of the president of the syndics the reason of his silence, and to inquire what is the supreme council's opinion in the matter. But if the president of the senate is likewise silent, let the case be taken up by the president of the supreme court of justice, or if he too is silent by some

other patrician, and let him demand an explanation of their silence from the presidents of the senate and the court of justice, as well as from the president of the syndics. Lastly, that that law, whereby young men are excluded, may likewise be strictly observed, it is to be appointed that all who have reached the thirtieth year of their age, and who are not by express law excluded, are to have their names inscribed on a list, in presence of the syndics, and to receive from them, at a fixed price, some sign of the honour conferred on them, namely, that they may be allowed to wear a particular ornament only permitted to them, to distinguish them and make them to be had in honour by the rest; and, at the same time, be it ordained, that in elections none may nominate as patrician anyone whose name is not inscribed on the general list, and that under a heavy penalty. And, further, let no one be allowed to refuse the burden of a duty or office, which he is chosen to bear. Lastly, that all the absolutely fundamental laws of the dominion may be everlasting, it must be ordained that if anyone in the supreme council raise a question about any fundamental law, as of prolonging the command of any general of an army, or of diminishing the number of patricians, or the like, he is guilty of treason, and not only is he to be condemned to death, and his goods confiscated, but some sign of his punishment is to remain visible in public for an eternal memorial of the event. But for the confirming of the other general rights of the dominion, it is enough, if it be only ordained, that no law can be repealed nor new law passed, unless first the college of syndics, and then three-fourths or four-fifths of the supreme council agree thereto.

26. Let the right also of summoning the supreme council and proposing the matters to be decided in it, rest with the syndics, and let them likewise be given the first place in the council, but without the right to vote. But before they take their seats, they must swear by the safety of that supreme council and by the public liberty, that they will strive with the utmost zeal to preserve unbroken the ancient laws. and to consult the general good. After which let them through their secretary open in order the subjects of discussion.

27. But that all the patricians may have equal authority in making decrees and electing the ministers of the dominion, and that speed and expedition in all matters may be possible, the order observed by the Venetians is altogether to be approved, for they appoint by lot a certain number of the council to name the ministers, and when these have named in order the candidates for office, every patrician signifies by ballot his opinion, approving or rejecting the candidate in question, so that it is not afterwards known, who voted in this or that sense. Whereby it is contrived, not only that the authority of all the patricians in the decision is equal, and that business is quickly despatched, but also, that everyone has absolute liberty (which is of the first necessity in councils) to give his opinion without danger of unpopularity.

28. But in the councils of syndics and the other councils, the same order is to be observed, that voting is to be by ballot. But the right of convoking the council of syndics and of proposing the matters to be decided in the same ought to belong to their president, who is to sit every day with ten or more other syndics, to hear the complaints and secret accusations of the commons against the ministers, and to look after the accusers, if circumstances require, and to summon the supreme council even before the appointed time, if any of them judge that there is danger in the delay. Now this president and those who meet with him every day are to be appointed by the supreme council and out of the number of syndics, not indeed for life, but for six months, and they must not have their term renewed but after the lapse of three or four years. And these, as we said above, are to be awarded the goods that are confiscated and the pecuniary fines, or some part of them. The remaining points which concern the syndics we will mention in their proper places.

29. The second council, which is subordinate to the supreme one, we will call the senate, and let its duty be to transact public business, for instance, to publish the laws of the dominion, to order the fortifications of the cities according to law, to confer military commissions, to impose taxes on the subjects and apply the same, to answer foreign embassies, and decide where embassies are to be sent.

But let the actual appointment of ambassadors be the duty of the supreme council. For it is of the greatest consequence to see that no patrician be called to any office in the dominion but by the supreme council itself, lest the patricians themselves should try to curry favour with the senate. Secondly, all matters are to be referred to the supreme council, which in any way alter the existing state of things, as the deciding on peace and war. Wherefore, that the senate's decrees concerning peace and war may be valid, they must be confirmed by the supreme council. And therefore I should say, that it belonged to the supreme council only, not to the senate, to impose new taxes.

30. In determining the number of senators these points are to be taken into consideration: first, that all the patricians should have an equal hope of gaining senatorial rank; secondly, that notwithstanding the same senators, whose time (for which they were elected) is elapsed, may be continued after a short interval, that so the dominion may always be governed by skilled and experienced men; and lastly, that among the senators many may be found illustrious for wisdom and virtue. But to secure all these conditions, there can be no other means devised, than that it should be by law appointed, that no one who has not reached his fiftieth year, be received into the number of senators, and that four hundred, that is about a twelfth part of the patricians, be appointed for a year, and that two years after that year has elapsed, the same be capable of re-appointment. For in this manner about a twelfth part of the patricians will be constantly engaged in the duty of senator, with only short intervening periods; and this number surely, together with that made up by the syndics, will be little less than the number of patricians that have attained their fiftieth year. And so all the patricians will always have a great hope of gaining the rank of senator or syndic, and yet notwithstanding, the same patricians, at only short intervals, will always hold senatorial rank, and (according to what we said, Sec. 2) there will never be wanting in the senate distinguished men, excelling in counsel and skill. And because this law cannot be broken without exciting great jealousy on the part of many patricians, it needs no other safeguard for its constant validity, than that

every patrician who has reached the age we mentioned, should offer the proof thereof to the syndics, who shall put his name on the list of candidates for the senatorial duties, and read the name before the supreme council, so that he may occupy, with the rest of the same rank, a place set apart in this supreme council for his fellows, next to the place of the senators.

31. The emoluments of the senators should be of such a kind, that their profit is greater from peace than from war. And therefore let there be awarded to them a hundredth or a fiftieth part of the merchandise exported abroad from the dominion, or imported into it from abroad. For we cannot doubt, that by this means they will, as far as they can, preserve peace, and never desire to protract war. And from this duty not even the senators themselves, if any of them are merchants, ought to be exempt; for such an immunity cannot be granted without great risk to trade, as I think no one is ignorant. Nay, on the contrary, it must be by law ordained, that no senator or ex-senator may fill any military post; and further, that no one may be declared general or praetor, which officers we said (Sec. 9) were to be only appointed in time of war, whose father or grandfather is a senator, or has held the dignity of senator within two years. Which laws we cannot doubt, that the patricians outside the senate will defend with all their might: and so it will be the case, that the senators will always have more profit from peace than from war, and will, therefore, never advise war, except the utmost need of the dominion compels them. But it may be objected to us, that on this system, if, that is, syndics and senators are to be allowed so great profits, an aristocracy will be as burdensome to the subjects as any monarchy. But not to mention that royal courts require larger expenditure, and are yet not provided in order to secure peace, and that peace can never be bought too dear; it is to be added, first, that all that under a monarchy is conferred on one or a few, is here conferred upon very many. Next kings and their ministers do not bear the burden of the dominion with the subjects, but under this form of dominion it is just the reverse; for the patricians, who are always chosen from the rich, bear the largest share of the weight of the commonwealth. Lastly, the burdens of a monarchy

spring not so much from its king's expenditure, as from its secret policy. For those burdens of a dominion, that are imposed on the citizens in order to secure peace and liberty, great though they be, are yet supported and lightened by the usefulness of peace. What nation ever had to pay so many and so heavy taxes as the Dutch? Yet it not only has not been exhausted, but, on the contrary, has been so mighty by its wealth, that all envied its good fortune. If therefore the burdens of a monarchy were imposed for the sake of peace, they would not oppress the citizens; but, as I have said, it is from the secret policy of that sort of dominion, that the subjects faint under their lord; that is, because the virtue of kings counts for more in time of war than in time of peace, and because they, who would reign by themselves, ought above all to try and have their subjects poor; not to mention other things, which that most prudent Dutchman V. H. [3](#) formerly remarked, because they do not concern my design, which is only to describe the best state of every kind of dominion.

32. Of the syndics chosen by the supreme council, some should sit in the senate, but without the right of voting, so that they may see whether the laws concerning that assembly be duly observed, and may have the supreme council convoked, when anything is to be referred to it from the senate. For the supreme right of convoking this council, and proposing to it subjects of discussion, is, as we have already said, with the syndics. But before the votes of the contemporaries of the senators be taken, the president of the senate for the time being shall explain the state of affairs, and what the senate's own opinion is on the matter in question, and why; after which the votes shall be collected in the accustomed order.

33. The entire senate ought not to meet every day, but, like all great councils, at a certain fixed time. But as in the mean time the business of the dominion must be executed, it is, therefore, necessary that some part of the senators be chosen, who, on the dismissal of the senate, shall supply its place, and whose duty it shall be to summon the senate itself, when need is; to execute its orders about affairs of state; to read letters written to the senate and supreme council; and, lastly, to

consult about the matters to be proposed in the senate. But that all these points, and the order of this assembly, as a whole, may be more easily conceived, I will describe the whole matter more precisely.

34. The senators who, as we have said already, are to be chosen for a year, are to be divided into four or six series, of which let the first have the first seat in the senate for the first three or two months in the year; and at the expiration of this time, let the second series take the place of the first, and so on, observing their turns, so that that series which was first in the first months may be last in the second period. Furthermore, there are to be appointed as many presidents as there are series, and the same number of vice-presidents to fill their places when required — that is, two are to be chosen out of every series, one to be its president, the other its vice-president. And let the president of the first series preside in the senate also, for the first months; or, in his absence, let his vice-president fill his place; and so on with the rest, observing the same order as above. Next, out of the first series, some are to be chosen by vote or lot to fill the place of the senate, when it is dismissed, in conjunction with the president and vice-president of the same series; and that, for the same space of time, as the said series occupies the first place in the senate; and thus, when that time is past, as many are again to be chosen out of the second series, by vote or lot, to fill, in conjunction with their president and vice-president, the place of the first series, and supply the lack of a senate; and so on with the rest. And there is no need that the election of these men — I mean those that I have said are to be chosen for periods of three or two months, by vote or lot — should be made by the supreme council. For the reason which we gave in the twenty-ninth section is not here applicable, much less the reason stated in the seventeenth. It suffices, then, that they be elected by the senate and the syndics present at its meeting.

35. But of these persons we cannot so precisely ascertain the number. However, this is certain, that they must be too numerous to be easily susceptible of corruption. For though they can by themselves determine nothing concerning affairs of state, yet they can delay the senate, or, what would be worst of all,

delude it by putting forward matters of no importance, and keeping back those that are of greater — not to mention that, if they were too few, the absence of one or two might delay public business. But as, on the contrary, these consuls are for that very reason appointed, because great councils cannot devote themselves every day to public business, a remedy must be looked for necessarily here, and their inadequacy of number be made up for by the shortness of their term of office. And thus, if only thirteen or so be chosen for two or three months, they will be too many to be corrupted in this short period. And for this cause, also, did I recommend that their successors should by no means be appointed, except at the very time when they do succeed, and the others go away.

36. We have said, that it is also their duty, when any, though few, of them think it needful, to convoke the senate, to put before it the matters to be decided, to dismiss it, and to execute its orders about public business. But I will now briefly state the order in which this ought to be done, so that business may not be long protracted by useless questions. Let, then, the consuls consult about the matter to be proposed in the senate, and what is required to be done; and, if they are all of one mind about it, then let them convoke the senate, and, having duly explained the question, let them set forth what their opinion is, and, without waiting for another's opinion, collect the votes in their order. But if the consuls support more than one opinion, then, in the senate, that opinion is first to be stated on the question proposed, which was supported by the larger number of consuls. And if the same is not approved by the majority of senate and consuls, but the waverers and opponents together are in a majority, which is to be determined by ballot, as we have already mentioned, then let them set forth the second opinion, which had fewer votes than the former among the consuls, and so on with the rest. But if none be approved by a majority of the whole senate, the senate is to be adjourned to the next day, or for a short time, that the consuls meanwhile may see, if they can find other means, that may give more satisfaction. But if they do not succeed in finding other means, or if the majority of the senate refuses to approve such as they have found, then the opinion of every senator is to be heard; and if the

majority of the senate also refuses to support any of these, then the votes are to be taken again on every opinion, and not only the affirmative votes, as hitherto, but the doubtful and negative are to be counted. And if the affirmative prove more numerous than the doubtful or negative, then that opinion is to hold good; but, on the contrary, to be lost, if the negative prove more numerous than the doubtful or affirmative. But if on every opinion there is a greater number of doubters than of voters for and against, then let the council of syndics join the senate, and vote with the senators, with only affirmative and negative votes, omitting those that signify a hesitating mind. And the same order is to be observed about matters referred by the senate to the supreme council. So much for the senate.

37. As for the court of justice or bench, it cannot rest upon the same foundations as that which exists under a monarch, as we described it in Chap. VI. Secs. 26, and following. For (Sec. 14) it agrees not with the foundations of our present dominion, that any account be made of families or clans. And there must be a further difference, because judges chosen from the patricians only might indeed be restrained by the fear of their patrician successors, from pronouncing any unjust judgment against any of the patricians, and, perhaps, would hardly have the courage to punish them after their deserts; but they would, on the other hand, dare everything against the commons, and daily carry off the rich among them for a prey. I know that the plan of the Genoese is therefore approved by many, for they choose their judges not among the patricians, but among foreigners. But this seems to me, considering the matter in the abstract, absurdly ordained, that foreigners and not patricians should be called in to interpret the laws. For what are judges but interpreters of the laws? And I am therefore persuaded that herein also the Genoese have had regard rather to the genius of their own race, than to the very nature of this kind of dominion. We must, therefore, by considering the matter in the abstract, devise the means which best agree with the form of this government.

38. But as far as regards the number of the judges, the theory of this constitution requires no peculiar number; but as under monarchical dominion, so

under this, it suffices that they be too numerous to be corrupted by a private man. For their duty is but to provide against one private person doing wrong to another, and therefore to decide disputes between private persons, as well patricians as commons, and to exact penalties from delinquents, and even from patricians, syndics, and senators, as far as they have offended against the laws, whereby all are bound. But disputes that may arise between cities that are subject to the dominion, are to be decided in the supreme council.

39. Furthermore the principle regulating the time, for which the judges should be appointed, is the same in both dominions, and also the principle of a certain part of them retiring every year; and, lastly, although it is not necessary for every one of them to be of a different family, yet it is necessary that two related by blood should not sit on the same bench together. And this last point is to be observed also in the other councils, except the supreme one, in which it is enough, if it be only provided by law that in elections no man may nominate a relation, nor vote upon his nomination by another, and also that two relations may not draw lots from the urn for the nomination of any minister of the dominion. This, I say, is sufficient in a council that is composed of so large a number of men, and has no special profits assigned to it. And so utterly unharmed will the dominion be in this quarter, that it is absurd to pass a law excluding from the supreme council the relations of all the patricians, as we said in the fourteenth section. But that it is absurd is manifest. For that law could not be instituted by the patricians themselves, without their thereby all absolutely abdicating their own right, and therefore not the patricians themselves but the commons would defend this law, which is directly contrary to what we proved in Secs. 5 and 6. But that law of the dominion, whereby it is ordained that the same uniform proportion be maintained between the numbers of the patricians and the multitude, chiefly contemplates this end of preserving the patricians' right and power, that is, provides against their becoming too few to be able to govern the multitude.

40. But the judges are to be chosen by the supreme council out of the patricians only, that is (Sec. 17) out of the actual authors of the laws, and the

judgments they pass, as well in civil as criminal cases, shall be valid, if they were pronounced in due course of justice and without partiality; into which matter the syndics shall be by law authorized to inquire, and to judge and determine thereof.

41. The judges' emoluments ought to be the same, as we mentioned in the twenty-ninth section of the sixth chapter; namely, that they receive from the losing party upon every judgment which they pass in civil cases, an aliquot part of the whole sum at stake. But as to their sentences in criminal cases, let there be here this difference only, that the goods which they confiscate, and every fine whereby lesser crimes are punished, be assigned to themselves only, yet on this condition, that they may never compel anyone to confess by torture, and thus, precaution enough will be taken against their being unfair to the commons, and through fear too lenient to the patricians. For besides that this fear is tempered by avarice itself, and that veiled under the specious name of justice, they are also numerous, and vote, not openly, but by ballot, so that a man may be indignant at losing his case, but can have no reason to impute it to a particular person. Moreover the fear of the syndics will restrain them from pronouncing an inequitable, or at least absurd sentence, or from acting any of them treacherously, besides that in so large a number of judges there will always be one or two, that the unfair stand in awe of. Lastly, as far as the commons are concerned, they also will be adequately secured if they are allowed to appeal to the syndics, who, as I have said, are by law authorized to inquire, judge, and determine about the conduct of the judges. For it is certain that the syndics will not be able to escape the hatred of the patricians, and on the other hand, will always be most popular with the commons, whose applause they will try as far as they can to bid for. To which end, opportunity being given them, they will not fail to reverse sentences pronounced against the laws of the court, and to examine any judge, and to punish those that are partial, for nothing moves the hearts of a multitude more than this. Nor is it an objection, but, on the contrary, an advantage, that such examples can but rarely occur. For not to mention that that commonwealth is ill ordered where

examples are daily made of criminals (as we showed Chap. V. Sec. 2), those events must surely be very rare that are most renowned by fame.

42. Those who are sent as governors to cities and provinces ought to be chosen out of the rank of senators, because it is the duty of senators to look after the fortifications of cities, the treasury, the military, etc. But those, who were sent to somewhat distant regions, would be unable to attend the senate, and, therefore, those only are to be summoned from the senate itself, who are destined to cities founded on their native soil; but those whom they wish to send to places more remote are to be chosen out of those, whose age is consistent with senatorial rank. But not even thus do I think that the peace of the dominion will be sufficiently provided for, that is, if the neighbouring cities are altogether denied the right of vote, unless they are so weak, that they can be openly set at naught, which cannot surely be supposed. And so it is necessary, that the neighbouring cities be granted the right of citizenship, and that from every one of them twenty, or thirty, or forty chosen citizens (for the number should vary with the size of the city) be enrolled among the patricians, out of whom three, four, or five ought to be yearly elected to be of the senate, and one for life to be a syndic. And let those who are of the senate be sent with their syndic, to govern the city out of which they were chosen.

43. Moreover, judges are to be established in every city, chosen out of the patricians of that city. But of these I think it unnecessary to treat at length, because they concern not the foundations of this sort of dominion in particular.

44. In every council the secretaries and other officials of this kind, as they have not the right of voting, should be chosen from the commons. But as these, by their long practice of business, are the most conversant with the affairs to be transacted, it often arises that more deference than right is shown to their advice, and that the state of the whole dominion depends chiefly on their guidance: which thing has been fatal to the Dutch. For this cannot happen without exciting the jealousy of many of the noblest. And surely we cannot doubt, that a senate, whose wisdom is derived from the advice, not of senators, but of officials, will be most frequented by the sluggish, and the condition of this sort of dominion will be little better than

that of a monarchy directed by a few counsellors of the king. (See Chap. VI. Secs. 5-7). However, to this evil the dominion will be more or less liable, according as it was well or ill founded. For the liberty of a dominion is never defended without risk, if it has not firm enough foundations; and, to avoid that risk, patricians choose from the commons ambitious ministers, who are slaughtered as victims to appease the wrath of those, who are plotting against liberty. But where liberty has firm enough foundations, there the patricians themselves vie for the honour of defending it, and are anxious that prudence in the conduct of affairs should flow from their own advice only; and in laying the foundations of this dominion we have studied above all these two points, namely, to exclude the commons from giving advice as much as from giving votes (Secs. 3, 4), and, therefore, to place the whole authority of the dominion with the whole body of patricians, but its exercise with the syndics and senate, and, lastly, the right of convoking the senate, and treating of matters affecting the common welfare with consuls chosen from the senate itself. But, if it is further ordained that the secretary, whether in the senate or in other councils, be appointed for four or five years at most, and have attached to him an assistant-secretary appointed for the same period, to bear part of the work during that time, or that the senate have not one, but several secretaries, employed one in one department, and another in another, the power of the officials will never become of any consequence.

45. Treasurers are likewise to be chosen from the commons, and are to be bound to submit the treasury accounts to the syndics as well as to the senate.

46. Matters concerning religion we have set forth at sufficient length in our Theologico-Political Treatise. Yet certain points we then omitted, of which it was not there the place to treat; for instance, that all the patricians must be of the same religion, that is, of that most simple and general religion, which in that treatise we described. For it is above all to be avoided, that the patricians themselves should be divided into sects, and show favour, some to this, and others to that, and thence become mastered by superstition, and try to deprive the subjects of the liberty of speaking out their opinions. In the second place, though everyone is to be given

liberty to speak out his opinion, yet great conventicles are to be forbidden. And, therefore, those that are attached to another religion are, indeed, to be allowed to build as many temples as they please; yet these are to be small, and limited to a certain standard of size, and on sites at some little distance one from another. But it is very important, that the temples consecrated to the national religion should be large and costly, and that only patricians or senators should be allowed to administer its principal rites, and thus that patricians only be suffered to baptize, celebrate marriages, and lay on hands, and that in general they be recognized as the priests of the temples and the champions and interpreters of the national religion. But, for preaching, and to manage the church treasury and its daily business, let some persons be chosen from the commons by the senate itself, to be, as it were, the senate's deputies, and, therefore, bound to render it account of everything.

47. And these are points that concern the foundations of this sort of dominion; to which I will add some few others less essential indeed, but yet of great importance. Namely, that the patricians, when they walk, should be distinguished by some special garment, or dress, and be saluted by some special title; and that every man of the commons should give way to them; and that, if any patrician has lost his property by some unavoidable misfortune, he should be restored to his old condition at the public expense; but if, on the contrary, it be proved that he has spent the same in presents, ostentation, gaming, debauchery, &c., or that he is insolvent, he must lose his dignity, and be held unworthy of every honour and office. For he, that cannot govern himself and his own private affairs, will much less be able to advise on public affairs.

48. Those, whom the law compels to take an oath, will be much more cautious of perjury, if they are bidden to swear by the country's safety and liberty and by the supreme council, than if they are told to swear by God. For he who swears by God, gives as surety some private advantage to himself, whereof he is judge; but he, who by his oath gives as surety his country's liberty and safety, swears by

what is the common advantage of all, whereof he is not judge, and if he perjures himself, thereby declares that he is his country's enemy.

49. Academies, that are founded at the public expense, are instituted not so much to cultivate men's natural abilities as to restrain them. But in a free commonwealth arts and sciences will be best cultivated to the full, if everyone that asks leave is allowed to teach publicly, and that at his own cost and risk. But these and the like points I reserve for another place. ⁴ For here I determined to treat only such matters as concern an aristocratic dominion only.

¹ Ought not this reference to be to Chap. III. Sec. 6?

² Cf. Chap. VI. Sec. 10.

³ "This V. H. is Pieter de la Court (1618-85), an eminent publicist, who wrote under the initials D. C. (De la Court), V. H. (Van den Hove, the Dutch equivalent). He was a friend of John de Witt, and opposed to the party of the Statholders." — POLLOCK'S *Life and Philosophy of Spinoza*, towards end of Chap. X.

⁴ This promise is not kept by the author, no doubt owing to his not living to finish the work.

Chapter IX.

Of Aristocracy. Continuation.



HITHERTO WE HAVE considered an aristocracy, so far as it takes its name from one city, which is the head of the whole dominion. It is now time to treat of that, which is in the hands of more than one city, and which I think preferable to the former. But that we may notice its difference and its superiority, we will pass in review the foundations of dominion, one by one, rejecting those foundations, which are unsuited to the present kind, and laying in their place others for it to rest upon.

2. The cities, then, which enjoy the right of citizenship, must be so built and fortified, that, on the one hand, each city by itself may be unable to subsist without the rest, and that yet, on the other hand, it cannot desert the rest without great harm to the whole dominion. For thus they will always remain united. But cities, which are so constituted, that they can neither maintain themselves, nor be dangerous to the rest, are clearly not independent, but absolutely subject to the rest.

3. But the contents of the ninth and tenth sections of the last chapter are deduced from the general nature of aristocracy, as are also the proportion between the numbers of the patricians and the multitude, and the proper age and condition of those that are to be made patricians; so that on these points no difference can arise, whether the dominion be in the hands of one or more cities. But the supreme council must here be on a different footing. For if any city of the dominion were assigned for the meeting of this supreme council, it would in reality be the head of the dominion; and, therefore, either they would have to take turns, or a place would have to be assigned for this council, that has not the right

of citizenship, and belongs equally to all. But either alternative is as difficult to effect, as it is easy to state; I mean, either that so many thousands of men should have to go often outside their cities, or that they should have to assemble sometimes in one place, sometimes in another.

4. But that we may conclude aright what should be done in this matter, and on what plan the councils of this dominion ought to be formed, from its own very nature and condition, these points are to be considered; namely, that every city has so much more right than a private man, as it excels him in power (Chap. II. Sec. 4), and consequently that every city of this dominion has as much right within its walls, or the limits of its jurisdiction, as it has power; and, in the next place, that all the cities are mutually associated and united, not as under a treaty, but as forming one dominion, yet so that every city has so much more right as against the dominion than the others, as it exceeds the others in power. For he who seeks equality between unequals, seeks an absurdity. Citizens, indeed, are rightly esteemed equal, because the power of each, compared with that of the whole dominion, is of no account. But each city's power constitutes a large part of the power of the dominion itself, and so much the larger, as the city itself is greater. And, therefore, the cities cannot all be held equal. But, as the power of each, so also its right should be estimated by its greatness. The bonds, however, by which they should be bound into one dominion, are above all a senate and a court of justice (Chap. IV. Sec. 1). But how by these bonds they are all to be so united, that each of them may yet remain, as far as possible, independent, I will here briefly show.

5. I suppose then, that the patricians of every city, who, according to its size, should be more, or fewer (Sec. 3), have supreme right over their own city, and that, in that city's supreme council, they have supreme authority to fortify the city and enlarge its walls, to impose taxes, to pass and repeal laws, and, in general, to do everything which they judge necessary to their city's preservation and increase. But to manage the common business of the dominion, a senate is to be created on just the same footing as we described in the last chapter, so that there

be between this senate and the former no difference, except that this has also authority to decide the disputes, which may arise between cities. For in this dominion, of which no city is head, it cannot be done by the supreme council. (See Chap. VI. Sec. 38.)

6. But, in this dominion, the supreme council is not to be called together, unless there is need to alter the form of the dominion itself, or on some difficult business, to which the senators shall think themselves unequal; and so it will very rarely happen, that all the patricians are summoned to council. For we have said (Chap. VIII. Sec. 17), that the supreme council's function is to pass and repeal laws, and to choose the ministers of the dominion. But the laws, or general constitution of the whole dominion, ought not to be changed as soon as instituted. If, however, time and occasion suggest the institution of some new law or the change of one already ordained, the question may first be discussed in the senate, and after the agreement of the senate in the matter, then let envoys next be sent to the cities by the senate itself, to inform the patricians of every city of the opinion of the senate, and lastly, if the majority of the cities follow that opinion, it shall then remain good, but otherwise be of no effect. And this same order may be observed in choosing the generals of the army and the ambassadors to be sent to other realms, as also about decrees concerning the making of war or accepting conditions of peace. But in choosing the other public officials, since (as we showed in Sec. 4) every city, as far as can be, ought to remain independent, and to have as much more right than the others in the dominion, as it exceeds them in power, the following order must necessarily be observed. The senators are to be chosen by the patricians of each city; that is, the patricians of one city are to elect in their own council a fixed number of senators from their colleagues of their own city, which number is to be to that of the patricians of that city as one to twelve (Chap. VIII. Sec. 30); and they are to designate whom they will to be of the first, second, third, or other series; and in like manner the patricians of the other cities, in proportion to their number, are to choose more or fewer senators, and distribute them among the series, into a certain number of which we have said the senate is

to be divided. (Chap. VIII. Sec. 34.) By which means it will result, that in every series of senators there will be found senators of every city, more or fewer, according to its size. But the presidents and vice-presidents of the series, being fewer in number than the cities, are to be chosen by lot by the senate out of the consuls, who are to be appointed first. The same order is to be maintained in appointing the supreme judges of the dominion, namely, that the patricians of every city are to elect from their colleagues in proportion to their number more or fewer judges. And so it will be the case, that every city in choosing officials will be as independent as possible, and that each, in proportion to its power, will have the more right alike in the senate and the court of justice; supposing, that is, that the order observed by senate and court in deciding public affairs, and settling disputes is such in all respects, as we have described it in the thirty-third and thirty-fourth sections of the last chapter. 1

7. Next, the commanders of battalions and military tribunes are also to be chosen from the patricians. For as it is fair, that every city in proportion to its size should be bound to levy a certain number of soldiers for the general safety of the whole dominion, it is also fair, that from the patricians of every city in proportion to the number of regiments, which they are bound to maintain, they may appoint so many tribunes, captains, ensigns, etc., as are needed to discipline that part of the military, which they supply to the dominion.

8. No taxes are to be imposed by the senate on the subjects; but to meet the expenditure, which by decree of the senate is necessary to carry on public business, not the subjects, but the cities themselves are to be called to assessment by the senate, so that every city, in proportion to its size, should pay a larger or smaller share of the expense. And this share indeed is to be exacted by the patricians of every city from their own citizens in what way they please, either by compelling them to an assessment, or, as is much fairer, by imposing taxes on them.

9. Further, although all the cities of this dominion are not maritime, nor the senators summoned from the maritime cities only, yet may the same emoluments

be awarded to the senators, as we mentioned in the thirty-first section of the last chapter. To which end it will be possible to devise means, varying with the composition of the dominion, to link the cities to one another more closely. But the other points concerning the senate and the court of justice and the whole dominion in general, which I delivered in the last chapter, are to be applied to this dominion also. And so we see, that in a dominion which is in the hands of several cities, it will not be necessary to assign a fixed time or place for assembling the supreme council. But for the senate and court of justice a place is to be appointed in a village, or in a city, that has not the right of voting. But I return to those points, which concern the cities taken by themselves.

10. The order to be observed by the supreme council of a single city, in choosing officials of the dominion and of the city, and in making decrees, should be the same that I have delivered in the twenty-seventh and thirty-sixth sections of the last chapter. For the policy is the same here as it was there. Next a council of syndics is to be formed, subordinate to the council of the city, and having the same relation to it as the council of syndics of the last chapter had to the council of the entire dominion, and let its functions within the limits of the city be also the same, and let it enjoy the same emoluments. But if a city, and consequently the number of its patricians be so small that it cannot create more than one syndic or two, which two are not enough to make a council, then the supreme council of the city is to appoint judges to assist the syndics in trials according to the matter at issue, or else the dispute must be referred to the supreme council of syndics. For from every city some also out of the syndics are to be sent to the place where the senate sits, to see that the constitution of the whole dominion is preserved unbroken, and they are to sit in the senate without the right of voting.

11. The consuls of the cities are likewise to be chosen by the patricians of their city, and are to constitute a sort of senate for it. But their number I cannot determine, nor yet do I think it necessary, since the city's business of great importance is transacted by its supreme council, and matters concerning the whole dominion by the great senate. But if they be few, it will be necessary that

they give their votes in their council openly, and not by ballot, as in large councils. For in small councils, when votes are given secretly, by a little extra cunning one can easily detect the author of every vote, and in many ways deceive the less attentive.

12. Besides, in every city judges are to be appointed by its supreme council, from whose sentence, however, let everyone but an openly convicted criminal or confessed debtor have a right of appeal to the supreme court of justice of the dominion. But this need not be pursued further.

13. It remains, therefore, to speak of the cities which are not independent. If these were founded in an actual province or district of the dominion, and their inhabitants are of the same nation and language, they ought of necessity, like villages, to be esteemed parts of the neighbouring cities, so that each of them should be under the government of this or that independent city. And the reason of this is, that the patricians are chosen by the supreme council, not of the dominion, but of every city, and in every city are more or fewer, according to the number of inhabitants within the limits of its jurisdiction (Sec. 5). And so it is necessary, that the multitude of the city, which is not independent, be referred to the census of another which is independent, and depend upon the latter's government. But cities captured by right of war, and annexed to the dominion, are either to be esteemed associates in the dominion, and though conquered put under an obligation by that benefit, or else colonies to enjoy the right of citizenship are to be sent thither, and the natives removed elsewhere or utterly destroyed.

14. And these are the things, which touch the foundations of the dominion. But that its condition is better than that of the aristocracy, which is called after one city only, I conclude from this, namely, that the patricians of every city, after the manner of human desire, will be eager to keep, and if possible increase their right, both in their city and in the senate; and therefore will try, as far as possible, to attract the multitude to themselves, and consequently to make a stir in the dominion by good deeds rather than by fear, and to increase their own number; because the more numerous they are, the more senators they will choose out of

their own council (Sec. 6), and hence the more right (Sec. 6) they will possess in the dominion. Nor is it an objection, that while every city is consulting its own interest and suspecting the rest, they more often quarrel among themselves, and waste time in disputing. For if, while the Romans are debating, Saguntum is lost: ² on the other hand, while a few are deciding everything in conformity with their own passions only, liberty and the general good are lost. For men's natural abilities are too dull to see through everything at once; but by consulting, listening, and debating, they grow more acute, and while they are trying all means, they at last discover those which they want, which all approve, but no one would have thought of in the first instance. But if anyone retorts, that the dominion of the Dutch has not long endured without a count or one to fill his place, let him have this reply, that the Dutch thought, that to maintain their liberty it was enough to abandon their count, and to behead the body of their dominion, but never thought of remoulding it, and left its limbs, just as they had been first constituted, so that the county of Holland has remained without a count, like a headless body, and the actual dominion has lasted on without the name. And so it is no wonder that most of its subjects have not known, with whom the authority of the dominion lay. And even had this been otherwise, yet those who actually held dominion were far too few to govern the multitude and suppress their powerful adversaries. Whence it has come to pass, that the latter have often been able to plot against them with impunity, and at last to overthrow them. And so the sudden overthrow of the said republic ³ has not arisen from a useless waste of time in debates, but from the misformed state of the said dominion and the fewness of its rulers.

15. This aristocracy in the hands of several cities is also preferable to the other, because it is not necessary, as in the first described, to provide against its whole supreme council being overpowered by a sudden attack, since (Sec. 9) no time or place is appointed for its meeting. Moreover, powerful citizens in this dominion are less to be feared. For where several cities enjoy liberty, it is not enough for him, who is making ready his way to dominion, to seize one city, in order to hold

dominion over the rest. And, lastly, liberty under this dominion is common to more. For where one city reigns alone, there the advantage of the rest is only so far considered, as suits that reigning city.

¹ So the text: but the court of justice is not described till the thirty-seventh and following sections of Chap. VIII.

² Livy, "Hist.," Bk. xxi. Chaps. VI. and following.

³ A.D. 1672. William Henry, Prince of Orange, afterwards William III. of England, was made Statholder by a popular insurrection, consequent on the invasion of the French.

Chapter X.

Of Aristocracy. Conclusion.



HAVING EXPLAINED AND made proof of the foundations of both kinds of aristocracy, it remains to inquire whether by reason of any fault they are liable to be dissolved or changed into another form. The primary cause, by which dominions of this kind are dissolved, is that, which that most acute Florentine 1 observes in his “Discourses on Livy” (Bk. iii. Chap. I.), namely, that like a human body, “a dominion has daily added to it something that at some time or other needs to be remedied.” And so, he says, it is necessary for something occasionally to occur, to bring back the dominion to that first principle, on which it was in the beginning established. And if this does not take place within the necessary time, its blemishes will go on increasing, till they cannot be removed, but with the dominion itself. And this restoration, he says, may either happen accidentally, or by the design and forethought of the laws or of a man of extraordinary virtue. And we cannot doubt, that this matter is of the greatest importance, and that, where provision has not been made against this inconvenience, the dominion will not be able to endure by its own excellence, but only by good fortune; and on the other hand that, where a proper remedy has been applied to this evil, it will not be possible for it to fall by its own fault, but only by some inevitable fate, as we shall presently show more clearly. The first remedy, that suggested itself for this evil, was to appoint every five years a supreme dictator for one or two months, who should have the right to inquire, decide, and make ordinances concerning the acts of the senators and of every official, and thereby to bring back the dominion to its first principle. But he who studies to avoid the inconveniences, to which a dominion is liable, must apply remedies that suit its nature, and can be derived

from its own foundations; otherwise in his wish to avoid Charybdis he falls upon Scylla. It is, indeed, true that all, as well rulers as ruled, ought to be restrained by fear of punishment or loss, so that they may not do wrong with impunity or even advantage; but, on the other hand, it is certain, that if this fear becomes common to good and bad men alike, the dominion must be in the utmost danger. Now as the authority of a dictator is absolute, it cannot fail to be a terror to all, especially if, as is here required, he were appointed at a stated time, because in that case every ambitious man would pursue this office with the utmost energy; and it is certain that in time of peace virtue is thought less of than wealth, so that the more haughty a man he is, the more easily he will get office. And this perhaps is why the Romans used to make a dictator at no fixed time, but under pressure of some accidental necessity. Though for all that, to quote Cicero's words, "the tumour of a dictator was displeasing to the good." ² And to be sure, as this authority of a dictator is quite royal, it is impossible for the dominion to change into a monarchy without great peril to the republic, although it happen for ever so short a time. Furthermore, if no fixed time were appointed for creating a dictator, no notice would be paid to the interval between one dictator and another, which is the very thing that we said was most to be observed; and the whole thing would be exceedingly vague, and therefore easily neglected. Unless, then, this authority of a dictator be eternal and fixed, and therefore impossible to be conferred on one man without destroying the form of dominion, the dictatorial authority itself, and consequently the safety and preservation of the republic will be very uncertain.

2. But, on the other hand, we cannot doubt (Chap. VI. Sec. 3), that, if without destroying the form of dominion, the sword of the dictator might be permanent, and only terrible to the wicked, evils will never grow to such a pitch, that they cannot be eradicated or amended. In order, therefore, to secure all these conditions, we have said, that there is to be a council of syndics subordinate to the supreme council, to the end that the sword of the dictator should be permanent in the hands not of any natural person, but of a civil person, whose members are too numerous to divide the dominion amongst themselves (Chap. IX. Secs. 1, 2), or to

combine in any wickedness. To which is to be added, that they are forbidden to fill any other office in the dominion, that they are not the paymasters of the soldiery, and, lastly, that they are of an age to prefer actual security to things new and perilous. Wherefore the dominion is in no danger from them, and consequently they cannot, and in fact will not be a terror to the good, but only to the wicked. For as they are less powerful to accomplish criminal designs, so are they more so to restrain wickedness. For, not to mention that they can resist it in its beginnings (since the council lasts for ever), they are also sufficiently numerous to dare to accuse and condemn this or that influential man without fear of his enmity; especially as they vote by ballot, and the sentence is pronounced in the name of the entire council.

3. But the tribunes of the commons at Rome were likewise regularly appointed; but they were too weak to restrain the power of a Scipio, and had besides to submit to the senate their plans for the public welfare, ³ which also frequently eluded them, by contriving that the one whom the senators were least afraid of should be most popular with the commons. Besides which, the tribunes' authority was supported against the patricians by the favour of the commons. and whenever they convoked the commons, it looked as if they were raising a sedition rather than assembling a council. Which inconveniences have certainly no place in the dominion which we have described in the last two chapters.

4. However, this authority of the syndics will only be able to secure the preservation of the form of the dominion, and thus to prevent the laws from being broken, or anyone from gaining by transgressing; but will by no means suffice to prevent the growth of vices, which cannot be forbidden by law, such as those into which men fall from excess of leisure, and from which the ruin of a dominion not uncommonly follows. For men in time of peace lay aside fear, and gradually from being fierce savages become civilized or humane, and from being humane become soft and sluggish, and seek to excel one another not in virtue, but in ostentation and luxury. And hence they begin to put off their native manners and to put on foreign ones, that is, to become slaves.

5. To avoid these evils many have tried to establish sumptuary laws; but in vain. For all laws which can be broken without any injury to another, are counted but a laughing-stock, and are so far from bridling the desires and lusts of men, that on the contrary they stimulate them. For “we are ever eager for forbidden fruit, and desire what is denied.” ⁴ Nor do idle men ever lack ability to elude the laws which are instituted about things, which cannot absolutely be forbidden, as banquets, plays, ornaments, and the like, of which only the excess is bad; and that is to be judged according to the individual’s fortune, so that it cannot be determined by any general law.

6. I conclude, therefore, that the common vices of peace, of which we are here speaking, are never to be directly, but indirectly forbidden; that is, by laying such foundations of dominion, that the result may be, that the majority, I do not say are anxious to live wisely (for that is impossible), but are guided by those passions whence the republic has most advantage. And therefore the chief point to be studied is, that the rich may be, if not thrifty, yet avaricious. For there is no doubt, that, if this passion of avarice, which is general and lasting, be encouraged by the desire of glory, most people would set their chief affection upon increasing their property without disgrace, in order to acquire honours, while avoiding extreme infamy. If then we examine the foundations of both kinds of aristocracy which I have explained in the last two chapters, we shall see, that this very result follows from them. For the number of rulers in both is so large, that most of the rich have access to government and to the offices of the dominion open to them.

7. But if it be further ordained (as we said, Chap. VIII. Sec. 47), that patricians who are insolvent be deposed from patrician rank, and that those who have lost their property by misfortune be restored to their former position, there is no doubt that all will try their best to keep their property. Moreover, they will never desire foreign costumes, nor disdain their native ones, if it is by law appointed, that patricians and candidates for office should be distinguished by a special robe, concerning which see Chap. VIII. Secs. 25, 47. And besides these, other means may be devised in every dominion agreeable to the nature of its situation and the

national genius, and herein it is above all to be studied, that the subjects may do their duty rather spontaneously than under pressure of the law.

8. For a dominion, that looks no farther than to lead men by fear, will be rather free from vices, than possessed of virtue. But men are so to be led, that they may think that they are not led, but living after their own mind, and according to their free decision; and so that they are restrained only by love of liberty, desire to increase their property, and hope of gaining the honours of the dominion. But effigies, triumphs, and other incitements to virtue, are signs rather of slavery than liberty. For rewards of virtue are granted to slaves, not freemen. I admit, indeed, that men are very much stimulated by these incitements; but, as in the first instance, they are awarded to great men, so afterwards, with the growth of envy, they are granted to cowards and men swollen with the extent of their wealth, to the great indignation of all good men. Secondly, those, who boast of their ancestors' effigies and triumphs, think they are wronged, if they are not preferred to others. Lastly, not to mention other objections, it is certain that equality, which once cast off the general liberty is lost, can by no means be maintained, from the time that peculiar honours are by public law decreed to any man renowned for his virtue.

9. After which premisses, let us now see whether dominions of this kind can be destroyed by any cause to which blame attaches. But if any dominion can be everlasting, that will necessarily be so, whose constitution being once rightly instituted remains unbroken. For the constitution is the soul of a dominion. Therefore, if it is preserved, so is the dominion. But a constitution cannot remain unconquered, unless it is defended alike by reason and common human passion: otherwise, if it relies only on the help of reason, it is certainly weak and easily overcome. Now since the fundamental constitution of both kinds of aristocracy has been shown to agree with reason and common human passion, we can therefore assert that these, if any kinds of dominion, will be eternal, in other words, that they cannot be destroyed by any cause to which blame attaches, but only by some inevitable fate.

10. But it may still be objected to us, that, although the constitution of dominion above set forth is defended by reason and common human passion, yet for all that it may at some time be overpowered. For there is no passion, that is not sometimes overpowered, by a stronger contrary one; for we frequently see the fear of death overpowered by the greed for another's property. Men, who are running away in panic fear from the enemy, can be stopped by the fear of nothing else, but throw themselves into rivers, or rush into fire, to escape the enemy's steel. In whatever degree, therefore, a commonwealth is rightly ordered, and its laws well made; yet in the extreme difficulties of a dominion, when all, as sometimes happens, are seized by a sort of panic terror, all, without regard to the future or the laws, approve only that which their actual fear suggests, all turn towards the man who is renowned for his victories, and set him free from the laws, and (establishing thereby the worst of precedents), continue him in command, and entrust to his fidelity all affairs of state: and this was, in fact, the cause of the destruction of the Roman dominion. But to answer this objection, I say, first, that in a rightly constituted republic such terror does not arise but from a due cause. And so such terror and consequent confusion can be attributed to no cause avoidable by human foresight. In the next place, it is to be observed, that in a republic such as we have above described, it is impossible (Chap. VIII. Secs. 9, 25) for this or that man so to distinguish himself by the report of his virtue, as to turn towards himself the attention of all, but he must have many rivals favoured by others. And so, although from terror there arise some confusion in the republic, yet no one will be able to elude the law and declare the election of anyone to an illegal military command, without its being immediately disputed by other candidates; and to settle the dispute, it will, in the end, be necessary to have recourse to the constitution ordained once for all, and approved by all, and to order the affairs of the dominion according to the existing laws. I may therefore absolutely assert, that as the aristocracy, which is in the hands of one city only, so especially that which is in the hands of several, is everlasting, or, in other words, can be dissolved or changed into another form by no internal cause.

¹ Machiavelli.

² Cic. ad Quint. Grat. iii. 8, 4. The better reading is “rumour,” not “tumour.” “The good” in such a passage means the aristocratic party.

³ Not by law, except before B.C. 287 and in the interval between the dictatorship of Sulla and the consulship of Pompey and Crassus. But in the golden age of the republic the senate in fact controlled the tribunes.

⁴ Ovid, “Amores,” III. iv. 17.

Chapter XI.

Of Democracy.



I PASS, AT length, to the third and perfectly absolute dominion, which we call democracy. The difference between this and aristocracy consists, we have said, chiefly in this, that in an aristocracy it depends on the supreme council's will and free choice only, that this or that man is made a patrician, so that no one has the right to vote or fill public offices by inheritance, and that no one can by right demand this right, as is the case in the dominion, whereof we are now treating. For all, who are born of citizen parents, or on the soil of the country, or who have deserved well of the republic, or have accomplished any other conditions upon which the law grants to a man right of citizenship; they all, I say, have a right to demand for themselves the right to vote in the supreme council and to fill public offices, nor can they be refused it, but for crime or infamy.

2. If, then, it is by a law appointed, that the elder men only, who have reached a certain year of their age, or the first-born only, as soon as their age allows, or those who contribute to the republic a certain sum of money, shall have the right of voting in the supreme council and managing the business of the dominion; then, although on this system the result might be, that the supreme council would be composed of fewer citizens than that of the aristocracy of which we treated above, yet, for all that, dominions of this kind should be called democracies, because in them the citizens, who are destined to manage affairs of state, are not chosen as the best by the supreme council, but are destined to it by a law. And although for this reason dominions of this kind, that is, where not the best, but those who happen by chance to be rich, or who are born eldest, are destined to govern, are thought inferior to an aristocracy; yet, if we reflect on the practice or

general condition of mankind, the result in both cases will come to the same thing. For patricians will always think those the best, who are rich, or related to themselves in blood, or allied by friendship. And, indeed, if such were the nature of patricians, that they were free from all passion, and guided by mere zeal for the public welfare in choosing their patrician colleagues, no dominion could be compared with aristocracy. But experience itself teaches us only too well, that things pass in quite a contrary manner, above all, in oligarchies, where the will of the patricians, from the absence of rivals, is most free from the law. For there the patricians intentionally keep away the best men from the council, and seek for themselves such colleagues in it, as hang upon their words, so that in such a dominion things are in a much more unhappy condition, because the choice of patricians depends entirely upon the arbitrary will of a few, which is free or unrestrained by any law. But I return to my subject.

3. From what has been said in the last section, it is manifest that we can conceive of various kinds of democracy. But my intention is not to treat of every kind, but of that only, “wherein all, without exception, who owe allegiance to the laws of the country only, and are further independent and of respectable life, have the right of voting in the supreme council and of filling the offices of the dominion.” I say expressly. “who owe allegiance to the laws of the country only,” to exclude foreigners, who are treated as being under another’s dominion. I added, besides, “who are independent,” except in so far as they are under allegiance to the laws of the dominion, to exclude women and slaves, who are under the authority of men and masters, and also children and wards, as long as they are under the authority of parents and guardians. I said, lastly, “and of respectable life,” to exclude, above all, those that are infamous from crime, or some disgraceful means of livelihood.

4. But, perhaps, someone will ask, whether women are under men’s authority by nature or institution? For if it has been by mere institution, then we had no reason compelling us to exclude women from government. But if we consult experience itself, we shall find that the origin of it is in their weakness. For there

has never been a case of men and women reigning together, but wherever on the earth men are found, there we see that men rule, and women are ruled, and that on this plan, both sexes live in harmony. But on the other hand, the Amazons, who are reported to have held rule of old, did not suffer men to stop in their country, but reared only their female children, killing the males to whom they gave birth. ¹ But if by nature women were equal to men, and were equally distinguished by force of character and ability, in which human power and therefore human right chiefly consist; surely among nations so many and different some would be found, where both sexes rule alike, and others, where men are ruled by women, and so brought up, that they can make less use of their abilities. And since this is nowhere the case, one may assert with perfect propriety, that women have not by nature equal right with men: but that they necessarily give way to men, and that thus it cannot happen, that both sexes should rule alike, much less that men should be ruled by women. But if we further reflect upon human passions, how men, in fact, generally love women merely from the passion of lust, and esteem their cleverness and wisdom in proportion to the excellence of their beauty, and also how very ill-disposed men are to suffer the women they love to show any sort of favour to others, and other facts of this kind, we shall easily see that men and women cannot rule alike without great hurt to peace. But of this enough.

¹ Justin, Histories, ii. 4.

The Original Latin Text

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TRACTATUS POLITICUS



IN QUO DEMONSTRATUR, quomodo Societas, ubi
Imperium Monarchicum locum habet, sicut et ea,
ubi Optimi imperant, debet institui, ne in
Tyrannidem labatur, et ut Pax, Libertasque
civium inviolata maneat.

Auctoris epistola ad Amicum quae Praefationis loco huic Tractatui Politico apte
praefigi, et inservire poterit.

Amice dilecte, Grata tua mihi heri tradita est. Gratias pro cura tam diligenti,
quam pro me geris, ex animo ago. Hanc occasionem, etc. non praetermitterem,
nisi in quadam re essem occupatus, quam utiliore judico, quaeque tibi, ut credo,
magis arridebit, nempe in Tractatu Politico concinnando, quem ante aliquod
tempus, te auctore, inchoavi. Hujus Tractatus Capita sex jam sunt absoluta.
Primum ad ipsum opus Introductionem quasi continet: secundum tractat de Jure
naturali: tertium de Jure Summarum Potestatum: quartum quatenus Negotia
Politica a Summarum Potestatum gubernatione pendeant: quintum, quidnam sit
illud extremum, et summum, quod Societas potest considerare; et sextum, qua
ratione Imperium Monarchicum debeat institui, ne in Tyrannidem labatur.
Impresensiarum caput septimum tracto, in quo omnia praecedentis sexti capitis
membra, ordinem bene ordinatae Monarchiae concernentia, Methodice
demonstro. Postea ad Aristocraticum et Populare Imperium, denique ad Leges,
aliasque particulares Quaestiones, Politicam spectantes, transibo. Hisce vale, etc.

Patet hinc Auctoris Scopus; sed morbo impeditus, et morte abreptus hoc opus
non ulterius, quam ad finem Aristocratiae, perducere valuit, quemadmodum

Lector ipse experietur.

CAPUT I.



I. AFFECTUS, QUIBUS conflictamur, concipiunt Philosophi veluti vitia, in quae homines sua culpa labuntur; quos propterea ridere, flere, carpere, vel (qui sanctiores videri volunt) detestari solent. Sic ergo se rem divinam facere, et sapientiae culmen attingere credunt, quando humanam naturam, quae nullibi est, multis modis laudare, et eam, quae revera est, dictis lacescere norunt. Homines namque, non ut sunt, sed, ut eosdem esse vellent, concipiunt: unde factum est, ut plerumque pro Ethica Satyram scripserint, et ut nunquam Politicam conceperint, quae possit ad usum revocari, sed quae pro Chimaera haberetur, vel quae in Utopia, vel in illo Poëtarum aureo saeculo, ubi scilicet minime necesse erat, institui potuisset. Cum igitur omnium scientiarum, quae usum habent, tum maxime Politices Theoria ab ipsius Praxi discrepare creditur, et regendae Reipublicae nulli minus idonei aestimantur, quam Theoretici, seu Philosophi.

II. At Politici contra hominibus magis insidiari, quam consulere creduntur, et potius callidi, quam sapientes aestimantur. Docuit nimirum eosdem experientia (1), vitia fore, donec homines. Humanam igitur malitiam praevenire dum student, idque iis artibus, quas experientia longo usu docuit, et quas homines, magis metu, quam ratione ducti, exercere solent, Religioni adversari videntur, Theologis praecipue, qui credunt summas potestates debere negotia publica tractare secundum easdem Pietatis regulas, quibus vir privatus tenetur. Ipsos tamen Politicos multo felicius de rebus Politicis scripsisse, quam Philosophos dubitari non potest. Nam quoniam experientiam (2) magistram habuerunt, nihil docuerunt, quod ab usu remotum esset.

III. Et sane mihi plane persuadeo, experientiam omnia Civitatum genera, quae concipi possunt, ut homines concorditer vivant, et simul media, quibus multitudo dirigi, seu quibus intra certos limites contineri debeat, ostendisse: ita ut non

credam, nos posse aliquid, quod ab experientia, sive praxi non abhorreat, cogitatione de hac re assequi, quod nondum expertum, compertumque sit. Nam homines ita comparati sunt, ut extra commune aliquod jus vivere nequeant; jura autem communia, et negotia publica a viris acutissimis, sive astutis, sive callidis instituta, et tractata sunt; adeoque vix credibile est, nos aliquid, quod communi Societati ex usu esse queat, posse concipere, quod occasio, seu casus non obtulerit, quodque homines, communibus negotiis intenti, suaeque securitati consulentes, non viderint.

IV. Cum igitur animum ad Politicam applicuerim, nihil quod novum, vel inauditum est, sed tantum ea, quae cum praxi optime conveniunt, certa, et indubitata ratione demonstrare, aut ex ipsa humanae naturae conditione deducere, intendi; et ut ea, quae ad hanc scientiam spectant, eadem animi libertate, qua res Mathematicas solemus, inquirerem, sedulo curavi, humanas actiones non ridere, non lugere, neque detestari, sed intelligere: atque adeo humanos affectus, ut sunt amor, odium, ira, invidia, gloria, misericordia, et reliquae animi commotiones, non ut humanae naturae vitia, sed ut proprietates contemplatus sum, quae ad ipsam ita pertinent, ut ad naturam aeris aestus, frigus, tempestas, tonitru, et alia hujusmodi, quae, tametsi incommoda sunt, necessaria tamen sunt, certasque habent causas, per quas eorum naturam intelligere conamur, et Mens eorum vera contemplatione aeque gaudet, ac earum rerum cognitione, quae sensibus gratae sunt.

V. Est enim hoc certum, et in nostra Ethica verum esse demonstravimus, homines necessario affectibus esse obnoxios, et ita constitutos esse, ut eorum, quibus male est, misereantur, et quibus bene est, invideant, et ut ad vindictam magis, quam ad misericordiam sint proni, et praeterea unumquemque appetere, ut reliqui ex ipsius ingenio vivant, et ut probent, quod ipse probat, et quod ipse repudiat, repudient unde fit, ut cum omnes pariter appetant primi esse, in contentiones veniant, et, quantum possunt, nitantur se invicem opprimere, et, qui victor evadit, magis glorietur, quod alteri obfuit, quam quod sibi profuit. Et quamvis omnes persuasi sint, Religionem contra docere, ut unusquisque

proximum, tanquam se ipsum amet, hoc est, ut jus alterius perinde, ac suum, defendat, hanc tamen persuasionem in affectus parum posse ostendimus. Valet quidem in articulo mortis, quando scilicet morbus ipsos affectus vicit, et homo segnis jacet, vel in templis, ubi homines nullum exercent commercium at minime in foro, vel in aula, ubi maxime necesse esset. Ostendimus praeterea, rationem multum quidem posse affectus coërcere, et moderari; sed simul vidimus viam, quam ipsa ratio docet, perarduum esse; ita ut, qui sibi persuadent posse multitudinem, vel qui publicis negotiis distrahuntur, induci, ut ex solo rationis praescripto vivant, saeculum Poëtarum aureum, seu fabulam somnient.

VI. Imperium igitur, cujus salus ab alicujus fide pendet, et cujus negotia non possunt recte curari, nisi ii, qui eadem tractant, fide velint agere, minime stabile erit; sed, ut permanere possit, res ejus publicae ita ordinandae sunt, ut qui easdem administrant, sive ratione ducantur, sive affectu, induci nequeant, ut male fidi sint, ceu prave agant. Nec ad imperii securitatem refert, quo animo homines inducantur ad res recte administrandum, modo res recte administrentur; animi enim libertas, seu fortitudo privata virtus est; at imperii virtus securitas.

VII. Denique quia omnes homines, sive Barbari, sive culti sint, consuetudines ubique jungunt, et statum aliquem civilem formant, ideo imperii causae (3), et fundamenta naturalia non ex rationis documentis petenda, sed ex hominum communi natura, seu conditione deducenda sunt, quod in sequenti Capite facere constitui.

CAPUT II.



I. IN NOSTRO Tractatu Theologico-politico de Jure Naturali, et Civili egimus, et in nostra Ethica explicuimus, quid peccatum, quid meritum, quid justitia, quid injustitia, et quid denique humana libertas sit. Sedi ne ii, qui hunc tractatum legunt, opus habeant ea, quae ad hunc ipsum tractatum maxime spectant, in aliis quaerere, ea hic iterum explicare, et apodictice demonstrare constitui.

II. Res quaecunque naturalis potest adaequate concipi, sive existat, sive non existat; ut igitur rerum naturalium existendi principium, sic earum in existendo perseverantia ex earum definitione non potest concludi. Nam earum essentia idealis eadem est, postquam existere inceperunt, quam antequam existerent. Ut ergo earum existendi principium ex earum essentia sequi nequit, sic nec earum in existendo perseverantia: sed eadem potentia, qua indigent, ut existere incipiant, indigent, ut existere pergant. Ex quo sequitur, rerum naturalium potentiam, qua existunt, et consequenter qua operantur, nullam aliam esse posse, quam ipsam Dei aeternam potentiam. Nam si quae alia creata esset, non posset seipsam, et consequenter neque res naturales conservare; sed ipsa etiam eadem potentia, qua indigeret, ut crearetur, indigeret, ut in existendo perseveraret.

III. Hinc igitur, quod scilicet rerum naturalium potentia, qua existunt, et operantur, ipsissima Dei sit potentia, facile intelligimus, quid Jus naturae sit. Nam quoniam Deus jus ad omnia habet, et jus Dei nihil aliud est, quam ipsa Dei potentia, quatenus haec absolute libera consideratur, hinc sequitur, unamquamque rem naturalem tantum juris ex natura habere, quantum potentiae habet ad existendum, et operandum : quandoquidem uniuscujusque rei naturalis potentia, qua existit, et operatur, nulla alia est, quam ipsa Dei potentia, quae absolute libera est.

IV. Per Jus itaque naturae intelligo ipsas naturae leges, seu regulas, secundum quas omnia fiunt, hoc est, ipsam naturae potentiam atque adeo totius naturae, et consequenter uniuscujusque individui (4) naturale Jus eo usque se extendit, quo ejus potentia; et consequenter quicquid unusquisque homo ex legibus suae naturae agit, id summo naturae jure agit, tantumque in naturam habet juris, quantum potentia valet.

V. Si igitur cum humana natura ita comparatum esset, ut homines ex solo rationis praescripto viverent, nec aliud conarentur, tum naturae Jus, quatenus humani generis proprium esse consideratur, sola rationis potentia determinaretur. Sed homines magis caeca cupiditate, quam ratione ducuntur, ac proinde hominum naturalis potentia, sive Jus non ratione, sed quocunque appetitu, quo ad agendum determinantur, quoque se conservare conantur, definiri debet. Equidem fateor, cupiditates illas, quae ex ratione non oriuntur, non tam actiones, quam passiones esse humanas. Verum quia hic de naturae universali potentia, seu Jure agimus, nullam hic agnoscere possumus differentiam inter cupiditates, quae ex ratione, et inter illas, quae ex aliis causis in nobis ingenerantur: quandoquidem tam hae, quam illae effectus naturae sunt, vimque naturalem explicant, qua homo in suo esse perseverare conatur. Est enim homo, sive sapiens, sive ignarus sit, naturae pars, et id omne, ex quo unusquisque ad agendum determinatur, ad naturae potentiam referri debet, nempe quatenus haec per naturam hujus, aut illius hominis definiri potest. Nihil namque homo, seu ratione, seu sola cupiditate ductus, agit, nisi secundum leges, et regulas naturae, hoc est (per Art. 4. hujus Cap.), ex naturae jure.

VI. At plerique, ignaros naturae ordinem magis perturbare, quam sequi, credunt, et homines in natura veluti imperium in imperio concipiunt. Nam Mentem humanam a nullis causis naturalibus statuunt produci, sed a Deo immediate creari, a reliquis rebus adeo independentem, ut absolutam habeat potestatem sese determinandi, et ratione recte utendi. Sed experientia satis superque docet, quod in nostra potestate non magis sit, Mentem sanam, quam Corpus sanum habere. Deinde quandoquidem unaquaeque res, quantum in se est,

suum esse conservare conatur, dubitare nequaquam possumus, quin, si aequae in nostra potestate esset, tam ex rationis praescripto vivere, quam caeca cupiditate duci, omnes ratione ducerentur, et vitam sapienter instituerent, quod minime fit. Nam trahit sua quemque voluptas. Nec Theologi hanc difficultatem tollunt, qui scilicet statuunt hujus impotentiae causam humanae naturae vitium, seu peccatum esse, quod originem a primi parentis lapsu traxerit. Nam si etiam in primi hominis potestate fuit tam stare, quam labi, et mentis compos erat, et natura integra, qui fieri potuit, ut sciens, prudensque lapsus fuerit? At dicunt, eum a Diabolo deceptum fuisse. Verum quis ille fuit, qui ipsum Diabolum decepit quis, inquam, ipsum omnium creaturarum intelligentium praestantissimum adeo amentem reddidit, ut Deo major esse voluerit? Nonne enim se ipsum, qui Mentem sanam habebat, suumque esse, quantum in se erat, conservare conabatur? Deinde qui fieri potuit, ut ipse primus homo, qui mentis compos erat, et suae voluntatis dominus, seduceretur, et mente pateretur capi? Nam, si potestatem habuit ratione recte utendi, decipi non potuit: nam, quantum in se fuit, conatus est necessario suum esse, Mentemque suam sanam conservare. Atqui supponitur eum hoc in potestate habuisse: ergo Mentem suam sanam necessario conservavit, nec decipi potuit. Quod ex ipsius historia falsum esse constat ac proinde fatendum est, quod in primi hominis potestate non fuerit ratione recte uti, sed quod, sicuti nos, affectibus fuerit obnoxius.

VII. Quod autem homo, ut reliqua individua, suum esse, quantum in se est, conservare conetur, negare nemo potest. Nam si hic aliqua concipi posset differentia, inde oriri deberet, quod homo voluntatem haberet liberam. Sed quo homo a nobis magis liber conciperetur, eo magis cogeremur statuere, ipsum sese necessario debere conservare, et mentis compotem esse, quod facile unusquisque, qui libertatem cum contingentia non confundit, mihi concedet. Est namque libertas virtus, seu perfectio quicquid igitur hominem impotentiae arguit, id ad ipsius libertatem referri nequit. Quare homo minime potest dici liber, propterea quod potest non existere, vel quod potest non uti ratione, sed tantum quatenus potestatem habet existendi, et operandi secundum humanae naturae leges. Quo

igitur hominem magis liberum esse consideramus, eo minus dicere possumus, quod possit ratione non uti, et mala prae bonis eligere; et ideo Deus, qui absolute liber existit, intelligit, et operatur, necessario etiam, nempe ex suae naturae necessitate existit, intelligit, et operatur. Nam non dubium est, quin Deus eadem, qua existit, libertate operetur: ut igitur ex ipsius naturae necessitate existit, ex ipsius etiam naturae necessitate agit, hoc est, libere absolute agit.

VIII. Concludimus itaque, in potestate uniuscujusque hominis non esse ratione semper uti, et in summo humanae libertatis fastigio esse; et tamen unumquemque semper, quantum in se est, conari suum esse conservare, et (quia unusquisque tantum juris habet, quantum potentia valet), quicquid unusquisque, sive sapiens sive ignarus conatur, et agit, id summo naturae jure conari, et agere. Ex quibus sequitur Jus, et institutum naturae, sub quo omnes nascuntur homines, et maxima ex parte vivunt, nihil, nisi quod nemo cupit, et quod nemo potest, prohibere, non contentiones, non odia, non iram, non dolos, nec absolute aliquid, quod appetitus suadet, aversari. Nec mirum. Nam natura non legibus humanae rationis, quae non nisi hominum verum utile, et conservationem intendunt, continetur, sed infinitis aliis, quae totius naturae, cujus homo particula est, aeternum ordinem respiciunt, ex cujus sola necessitate omnia individua certo modo determinantur ad existendum, et operandum. Quicquid ergo nobis in natura ridiculum, absurdum, aut malum videtur, id inde est, quod res tantum ex parte novimus, totiusque naturae ordinem, et cohaerentiam maxima ex parte ignoramus, et quod, omnia ex praescripto nostrae rationis ut dirigerentur, volumus: cum tamen id, quod ratio malum esse dictat, non malum sit respectu ordinis, et legum universae naturae, sed tantum solius nostrae naturae legum respectu.

IX. Praeterea sequitur, unumquemque tamdiu alterius esse juris, quamdiu sub alterius potestate est, et eatenus sui juris, quatenus vim omnem repellere, damnumque sibi illatum ex sui animi sententia vindicare, et absolute, quatenus ex suo ingenio vivere potest.

X. Is alterum sub potestate habet, quem ligatum tenet, vel cui arma, et media sese defendendi, aut evadendi ademit, vel cui metum injecit, vel quem sibi

beneficio ita devinxit, ut ei potius, quam sibi morem gerere, et potius ex ipsius, quam ex sui animi sententia vivere velit. Qui primo, vel secundo modo alterum in potestate habet, ejus tantum Corpus, non Mentem tenet; tertio autem, vel quarto, tam ipsius Mentem, quam Corpus sui juris fecit, sed non nisi durante metu, vel spe; hac vero, aut illo adempto manet alter sui juris.

XI. Judicandi facultas eatenus etiam alterius juris esset potest, quatenus Mens potest ab altero decipi: ex quo sequitur, Mentem eatenus sui juris omnino esse, quatenus recte uti potest ratione. Imo quia humana potentia non tam ex Corporis robore, quam ex Mentis fortitudine aestimanda est, hinc sequitur, illos maxime sui juris esse, qui maxime ratione pollent, quique maxime eadem ducuntur; atque adeo hominem eatenus liberum omnino voco, quatenus ratione ducitur, quia eatenus ex causis, quae per solam ejus naturam possunt adaequate intelligi, ad agendum determinatur, tametsi ex iis necessario ad agendum determinetur. Nam libertas (ut Art. 7. hujus Cap. ostendimus) agendi necessitatem non tollit, sed ponit.

XII. Fides alicui data, qua aliquis solis verbis pollicitus est, se hoc, aut illum facturum, quod pro suo jure omittere poterat, vel contra, tamdiu rata manet, quamdiu ejus, qui fidem dedit, non mutatur voluntas. Nam qui potestatem habet solvendi fidem, is revera suo jure non cessit, sed verba tantum dedit. Si igitur ipse, qui naturae Jure sui judex est, judicaverit, seu recte, seu prave (nam errare humanum est) ex fide data plus damni, quam utilitatis sequi, ex suae mentis sententia fidem solvendam esse censet, et naturae Jure (per Art. 9. hujus Cap.) eandem solvet.

XIII. Si duo simul convenient, et vires jungant, plus simul possunt, et consequenter plus juris in naturam simul habent, quam uterque solus, et quo plures necessitudines sic junxerint suas, eo omnes simul plus juris habebunt.

XIV. Quatenus homines ira, invidia, aut aliquo odii affectu conflictantur, eatenus diverse trahuntur, et invicem contrarii sunt, et propterea eo plus timendi, quo plus possunt, magisque callidi, et astuti sunt, quam reliqua animalia et quia homines ut plurimum (ut in Art. 5. praec. Cap. diximus), his affectibus natura sunt

obnoxii; sunt ergo homines ex natura hostes. Nam is mihi maximus hostis, qui mihi maxime timendus, et a quo mihi maxime cavendum est.

XV. Cum autem (per Art. 9. hujus Cap.) in statu naturali tamdiu unusquisque sui juris sit, quamdiu sibi cavere potest, ne ab alio opprimatur, et unus solus frustra ab omnibus sibi cavere conetur, hinc sequitur, quamdiu jus humanum naturale uniuscujusque potentia determinatur, et uniuscujusque est, tamdiu nullum esse, sed magis opinione, quam re constare, quandoquidem nulla ejus obtinendi est securitas. Et certum est, unumquemque tanto minus posse, et consequenter tanto minus juris habere, quanto majorem timendi causam habet. His accedit, quod homines vix absque mutuo auxilio vitam sustentare, et mentem colere possint atque adeo concludimus Jus naturae, quod humani generis proprium est, vix posse concipi, nisi ubi homines jura habent communia, qui simul terras, quas habitare, et colere possunt, sibi vindicare, seseque munire, vimque omnem repellere, et ex communi omnium sententia vivere possunt. Nam (per Art. 13. hujus Cap.) quo plures in unum sic conveniunt, eo omnes simul plus juris habent; et si Scholastici hac de causa, quod scilicet homines in statu naturali vix sui juris esse possunt, velint hominem animal sociale dicere, nihil habeo, quod ipsis contradicam.

XVI. Ubi homines jura communia habent, omnesque una veluti mente ducuntur, certum est (per Art. 13. hujus Cap.) eorum unumquemque tanto minus habere juris, quanto reliqui simul ipso potentiores sunt, hoc est, illum revera jus nullum in naturam habere praeter id, quod ipsi commune concedit jus. Caeterum quicquid ex communi consensu ipsi imperatur, teneri exequi, vel (per Art. 4. hujus Cap.) jure ad id cogi.

XVII. Hoc jus, quod multitudinis potentia definitur, Imperium appellari solet. Atque hoc is absolute tenet, qui curam Reipublicae ex communi consensu habet, nempe jura statuendi, interpretandi, et abolendi, urbes muniendi, de bello, et pace decernendi, etc. Quod si haec cura ad Concilium pertineat, quod ex communi multitudine componitur, tum Imperium Democratia appellatur, si autem ex

quibusdam tantum selectis, Aristocratia, et si denique Reipublicae cura, et consequenter imperium penes unum sit, tum Monarchia appellatur.

XVIII. Ex his, quae in hoc Capite ostendimus, perspicuum nobis fit, in statu naturali non dari peccatum, vel si quis peccat, is sibi, non alteri peccat: quandoquidem nemo Jure naturae alteri, nisi velit, morem gerere tenetur, nec aliquid bonum, aut malum habere, nisi quod ipse ex suo ingenio bonum, aut malum esse, decernit et nihil absolute naturae Jure prohibetur, nisi quod nemo potest (vid. Art. 5. et 8. hujus Cap.). At peccatum actio est, quae jure fieri nequit. Quod si homines ex naturae instituto tenerentur ratione duci, tum omnes necessario ratione ducerentur. Nam naturae instituta Dei instituta sunt (per Art. 2. et 3. hujus Cap.), quae Deus eadem, qua existit, libertate instituit, quaeque adeo ex naturae divinae necessitate consequuntur (vide Art. 7. hujus Cap.), et consequenter aeterna sunt, nec violari possunt. Sed homines maxime appetitu sine ratione ducuntur, nec tamen naturae ordinem perturbant, sed necessario sequuntur; ac proinde ignarus, et animo impotens non magis ex naturae Jure tenetur, vitam sapienter instituere, quam aeger tenetur sano Corpore esse.

XIX. Peccatum itaque non nisi in Imperio concipi potest, ubi scilicet quid bonum, et quid malum sit, ex communi totius imperii jure decernitur, et ubi nemo (per Art. 16. (5) hujus Cap.) jure quicquam agit, nisi quod ex communi decreto, vel consensu agit. Id enim (ut in praec. Art. diximus) peccatum est; quod jure fieri nequit, sive quod jure prohibetur; obsequium autem est constans voluntas, id exequendi, quod jure bonum est, et ex communi decreto fieri debet.

XX. Solemus tamen id etiam peccatum appellare, quod contra sanae rationis dictamen fit, et obsequium constantem voluntatem moderandi appetitus ex rationis praescripto; quod omnino probarem, si humana libertas in appetitus licentia, et servitus in rationis imperio consisteret. Sed quia humana libertas eo major est, quo homo magis ratione duci, et appetitus moderari potest, non possumus, nisi admodum improprie, vitam rationalem vocare obsequium, et peccatum id, quod revera Mentis impotentia; non autem contra se ipsam licentia

est, et per quod homo servus potius, quam liber potest dici. Vide Art. 7. et II. hujus Cap.

XXI. Verumenimvero, quia ratio pietatem exercere, et animo tranquillo, et bono esse docet, quod non nisi in imperio fieri potest, et praeterea quia fieri nequit, ut multitudo una veluti mente ducatur, sicut in imperio requiritur, nisi jura habeat, quae ex rationis praescripto instituta sint, non ergo adeo improprie homines, qui in imperio vivere consueverunt, id peccatum vocant, quod contra rationis dictamen fit, quandoquidem optimi imperii jura (vide Art. 18. hujus Cap.) ex rationis dictamine institui debent. Cur autem dixerim (Art. 18. hujus Cap.) hominem in statu naturali sibi peccare, si quid peccat, de hoc vide Ca. Art. 4. et 5., ubi ostenditur, quo sensu dicere possumus, eum, qui imperium tenet, et Jure naturae potitur, legibus adstrictum esse, et peccare posse.

XXII. Ad Religionem quod attinet, certum etiam est, hominem eo magis esse liberum, et sibi maxime obsequentem, quo Deum magis amat, et animo magis integro colit. Verum quatenus non ad naturae ordinem, quem ignoramus, sed ad sola rationis dictamina, quae Religionem concernunt, attendimus, et simul consideramus, eadem nobis a Deo, quasi in nobis ipsis loquente, revelari, vel etiam haec eadem Prophetis veluti jura fuisse revelata, eatenus, more humano loquendo, dicimus hominem Deo obsequi, qui ipsum integro animo amat, et contra peccare, qui caeca cupiditate ducitur; sed interim memores esse debemus, quod in Dei potestate sumus, sicut lutum in potestate figuli, qui ex eadem massa alia vasa ad decus, alia ad dedecus facit, atque adeo quod homo contra haec Dei decreta quidem, quatenus in nostra, vel in Prophetarum Mente tanquam jura inscripta fuerunt; at non contra aeternum Dei decretum, quod in universa natura inscriptum est, quodque totius naturae ordinem respicit, quicquam agere potest.

XXIII. Ut itaque peccatum, et obsequium stricte sumptum, sic etiam justitia, et injustitia non nisi in imperio possunt concipi. Nam nihil in natura datur, quod jure posset dici hujus esse, et non alterius; sed omnia omnium sunt, qui scilicet potestatem habent sibi eadem vendicandi. At in imperio, ubi communi Jure decernitur, quid hujus, quidque illius sit, ille justus vocatur, cui constans est

voluntas tribuendi unicuique suum, injustus autem, qui contra conatur id, quod alterius est, suum facere.

XXIV. Caeterum laudem, et vituperium affectus esse laetitiae, et tristitiae, quos comitatur idea virtutis, aut impotentiae humanae tanquam causa, explicuimus in nostra Ethica.

CAPUT III.



I. IMPERII CUJUSCUNQUE status dicitur Civilis; imperii autem integrum corpus Civitas appellatur, et communia imperii negotia, quae ab ejus, qui imperium tenet, directione pendent, Respublica. Deinde homines, quatenus ex jure civili omnibus Civitatis commodis gaudent, cives appellamus, et subditos, quatenus civitatis institutis, seu legibus parere tenentur. Denique status Civilis tria dari (6) genera, nempe Democraticum, Aristocraticum et Monarchicum, in Art. 17. Cap. praeced. diximus. Jam antequam de unoquoque seorsim agere incipiam, illa prius demonstrabo, quae ad statum civilem in genere pertinent; quorum ante omnia considerandum venit summum Civitatis, seu summarum potestatum jus.

II. Ex Art. 15. praeced. Cap. patet imperii, seu summarum potestatum Jus nihil esse praeter ipsum naturae Jus, quod potentia, non quidem uniuscujusque, sed multitudinis, quae una veluti mente ducitur, determinatur, hoc est, quod sicuti unusquisque (7) in statu naturali, sic etiam totius imperii corpus, et mens tantum juris habet, quantum potentia valet; atque adeo unusquisque civis, seu subditus tanto minus juris habet, quanto ipsa Civitas ipso potentior est (vid. Art. 16. praeced. Cap.), et consequenter unusquisque civis nihil jure agit, nec habet praeter id, quod communi Civitatis decreto defendere potest.

III. Si Civitas alicui concedat Jus, et consequenter potestatem (nam alias per Art. 12. praeced. Cap. verba tantum dedit) vivendi ex suo ingenio, eo ipso suo jure cedit, et in eum transfert, cui talem potestatem dedit. Si autem duobus, aut pluribus hanc potestatem dedit, ut scilicet unusquisque ex suo ingenio vivat, eo ipso imperium divisit, et si denique unicuique civium hanc eandem potestatem dedit, eo ipso sese destruxit, nec manet amplius Civitas, sed redeunt omnia ad statum naturalem, quae omnia ex praecedentibus manifestissima fiunt; atque adeo sequitur, nulla ratione posse concipi, quod unicuique civi ex Civitatis instituto

liceat ex suo ingenio vivere, et consequenter hoc Jus naturale, quod scilicet unusquisque sui iudex est, in statu civili necessario cessat. Dico expresse ex Civitatis instituto; nam Jus naturae uniuscujusque (si recte rem perpendamus) in statu civili non cessat. Homo namque tam in statu naturali, quam civili ex legibus suae naturae agit, suaeque utilitati consulit. Homo, inquam, in utroque statu spe, aut metu ducitur ad hoc, aut illud agendum, vel omittendum; sed praecipua inter utrumque statum differentia est, quod in statu civili omnes eadem metuant, et omnibus una, eademque securitatis sit causa, et vivendi ratio; quod sane judicandi facultatem uniuscujusque non tollit. Qui enim omnibus Civitatis mandatis obtemperare constituit, sive ejus potentiam metuit, vel quia tranquillitatem amat, is profecto suae securitati, suaeque utilitati ex suo ingenio consulit.

IV. Praeterea concipere etiam non possumus, quod unicuique civi liceat Civitatis decreta, seu jura interpretari. Nam si hoc unicuique liceret, eo ipso sui iudex esset; quandoquidem unusquisque facta sua specie juris nullo negotio excusare, seu adornare posset, et consequenter ex suo ingenio vitam institueret, quod (per Art. praeced.) est absurdum.

V. Videmus itaque, unumquemque civem non sui, sed Civitatis juris esse, cujus omnia mandata tenetur exequi, nec ullum habere jus decernendi, quid aequum, quid iniquum, quid pium, quidve impium sit sed contra, quia imperii corpus una veluti mente duci debet, et consequenter Civitatis voluntas pro omnium voluntate habenda est, id quod Civitas justum, et bonum esse decernit, tanquam ab unoquoque decretum esse, censendum est; atque adeo, quamvis subditus Civitatis decreta iniqua esse censeat, tenetur nihilominus eadem exequi.

VI. At objici potest, an non contra rationis dictamen est, se alterius judicio omnino subjicere, et consequenter, an status civilis rationi non repugnat; ex quo sequeretur statum civilem irrationalem esse, nec posse creari nisi ab hominibus ratione destitutis, at minime ab iis, qui ratione ducuntur. Sed quoniam ratio nihil contra naturam docet, non potest ergo sana ratio dictare, ut unusquisque sui juris maneat, quamdiu homines affectibus sunt obnoxii (per Art. 15. praeced. Cap.), hoc est (per Art. 5. Cap. I.), ratio hoc posse fieri negat. Adde, quod ratio omnino

docet pacem quaerere, quae quidem obtineri nequit, nisi communia Civitatis jura inviolata servantur, atque adeo quo homo ratione magis ducitur, hoc est (per Art. 11. praeced. Cap.), quo magis liber est, eo constantius Civitatis jura servabit, et summae potestatis, cujus subditus est, mandata exequetur. Ad quod accedit, quod status civilis naturaliter instituitur ad metum communem adimendum, et communes misérias propellendum, ac proinde id maxime intendit, quod unusquisque, qui ratione ducitur, in statu naturali conaretur, sed frustra (per Art. 15. praeced. Cap.): quapropter si homini, qui ratione ducitur, id aliquando ex civitatis mandato faciendum est, quod rationi repugnare novit, id damnum longe compensatur bono, quod ex ipso statu civili haurit: nam rationis etiam lex est, ut ex duobus malis minus eligatur, ac proinde concludere possumus, neminem quicquam contra suae rationis praescriptum agere, quatenus id agit, quod jure Civitatis faciendum est: quod nobis facilius unusquisque concedet, postquam explicuerimus, quo usque Civitatis potentia, et consequenter Jus se extendit.

VII. Nam considerandum primum venit, quod sicuti in statu naturali (per Art. II. praeced. Cap.) ille homo maxime potens, maximeque sui juris est, qui ratione ducitur, sic etiam illa Civitas maxime erit potens, et maxime sui juris, quae ratione fundatur, et dirigitur. Nam Civitatis Jus potentia multitudinis, quae una veluti mente ducitur, determinatur. At haec (8) animorum unio concipi nulla ratione posset, nisi Civitas id ipsum maxime intendat, quod sana ratio omnibus hominibus utile esse docet.

VIII. Secundo venit etiam considerandum, quod subditi eatenus non sui, sed Civitatis juris sint, quatenus ejus potentiam, seu minas metuunt, vel quatenus statum civilem amant (per Art. 10. praeced. Cap.). Ex quo sequitur, quod ea omnia, ad quae agenda nemo praemiis, aut minis induci potest, ad jura Civitatis non pertineant. Ex. gr. judicandi facultate nemo cedere potest: quibus enim praemiis, aut minis induci potest homo, ut credat, totum non esse sua parte majus, aut quod Deus non existat, aut quod corpus, quod videt finitum, Ens infinitum esse credat, et absolute ut aliquid contra id, quod sentit, vel cogitat, credat? Sic etiam quibus praemiis, aut minis induci potest homo, ut amet, quem odit, vel ut

odio habeat, quem amat? Atque huc etiam illa referenda sunt, a quibus humana natura ita abhorret, ut ipsa omni malo pejora habeat, ut quod homo testem contra se agat, ut se cruciet, ut parentes interficiat suos, ut mortem vitare non conetur, et similia, ad quae nemo praemiis, nec minis induci potest. Quod si tamen dicere velimus, Civitatem jus, sive potestatem habere talia imperandi, id nullo alio sensu poterimus concipere, nisi quo quis diceret, hominem jure posse insanire, et delirare: quid enim aliud nisi delirium jus illud esset, cui nemo adstrictus esse potest? Atque hic de iis expresse loquor, quae Juris Civitatis esse nequeunt, et a quibus natura humana plerumque abhorret. Nam quod stultus, aut vesanus nullis praemiis, neque minis induci possit ad exequenda mandata, et quod unus, aut alter ex eo, quod huic, aut illi Religioni addictus sit, imperii jura omni malo pejora judicat, jura tamen Civitatis irrita non sunt, quandoquidem iisdem plerique cives continentur, ac proinde, quia ii, qui nihil timent, neque sperant, eatenus sui juris sunt (per Art. 10. praeced. Cap.), sunt ergo (per Art. 14. praeced. Cap.) imperii hostes, quos jure cohibere licet.

IX. Tertio denique considerandum venit, ad Civitatis Jus ea minus pertinere, quae plurimi indignantur. Nam certum est, homines naturae ductu in unum conspirare, vel propter communem metum, vel desiderio damnum aliquod commune ulciscendi; et, quia Jus Civitatis communi multitudinis potentia definitur, certum est, potentiam Civitatis, et Jus eatenus minui, quatenus ipsa causas praebet, ut plures in unum conspirent. Habet certe Civitas quaedam sibi metuenda, et sicut unusquisque civis, sive homo in statu naturali, sic Civitas eo minus sui juris est, quo majorem timendi causam habet. Atque haec de Jure summarum potestatum in subditos; jam antequam de earundem in alios jure, agam, solvenda videtur quaestio, quae de Religione moveri solet.

X. Nam objici nobis potest, an Status civilis, et subditorum obedientia, qualem (9) in statu civili requiri ostendimus, non tollat Religionem, qua Deum colere tenemur. Sed si rem ipsam perpendamus, nihil reperiemus, quod possit scrupulum injicere. Mens enim, quatenus ratione utitur, non summarum potestatum, sed sui juris est (per Art. 11. Cap. praeced.). Atque adeo vera Dei cognitio, et amor

nullius imperio subijci potest, ut nec erga proximum charitas (per Art. 8. hujus Cap.); et si praeterea consideremus summum charitatis exercitium esse illud, quod ad pacem tuendam, et concordiam conciliandam fit, non dubitabimus, illum revera suo officio functum esse, qui unicuique tantum auxilii fert, quantum jura Civitatis, hoc est, concordia, et tranquillitas concedunt. Ad externos cultus quod attinet, certum est, illos ad veram Dei cognitionem, et amorem, qui ex ea necessario sequitur, nihil prorsus juvare, nec nocere posse; atque adeo non tanti faciendi sunt, ut propter ipsos pax, et tranquillitas publica perturbari mereatur (10). Caeterum certum est, me Jure naturae, hoc est (per Art. 3. praec. Cap.), ex divino decreto, non esse religionis vindicem; nam nulla mihi est, ut olim Christi Discipulis potestas fuit, ejiciendi spiritus immundos et faciendi miracula, quae sane potestas adeo necessaria est ad propagandam Religionem in locis, ubi interdicta est, ut sine ipsa non tantum oleum, et opera, ut ajunt, perdat, sed plurimae insuper creentur molestiae, cujus rei funestissima exempla omnia viderunt saecula. Unusquisque igitur, ubicunque sit, Deum potest vera Religione colere, sibi que prospicere, quod viri privati officium est. Caeterum cura Religionis propagandae Deo, vel summis potestatibus, quibus solis incumbit Reipublicae habere curam, committenda est. Sed ad propositum revertor.

XI. Jure summarum potestatum in cives, et subditorum officio explicato, superest, ut earum Jus in reliqua consideremus, quod jam ex dictis facile cognoscitur. Nam, quandoquidem (per Art. 2. hujus Cap.) Jus summae potestatis nihil est praeter ipsum naturae Jus, sequitur duo imperia ad invicem sese habere, ut duo homines in statu naturali, excepto hoc, quod Civitas sibi cavere potest, ne ab alia opprimatur, quod homo in statu naturali non potest, nimirum qui quotidie somno, saepe morbo, aut animi aegritudine et tandem senectute gravatur, et praeter haec aliis incommodis est obnoxius, a quibus Civitas securam se reddere potest.

XII. Civitas igitur eatenus sui juris est, quatenus sibi consulere, et cavere potest, ne ab alia opprimatur (per Art. 9. et 15. praec. Cap.), et (per Art. 10. et 15. praec. Cap.) eatenus alterius juris, quatenus alterius Civitatis potentiam timet,

vel quatenus ab ea impeditur, quo minus id, quod vult, exequatur, vel denique quatenus ipsius auxilio ad sui conservationem, vel incrementum indiget; nam dubitare nequaquam possumus, quin, si duae Civitates invicem mutuuum auxilium praestare volunt, ambae simul plus possint, et consequenter plus juris simul habeant, quam alterutra sola. Vid. Art. 13. Cap. praec.

XIII. Haec autem clarius intelligi possunt, si consideremus, quod duae Civitates natura hostes sunt: homines enim (per Art. 14. praec. Cap.) in statu naturali hostes sunt; qui igitur Jus naturae extra Civitatem retinent, hostes manent. Si itaque altera Civitas alteri bellum inferre, et extrema adhibere media velit, quo eam sui juris faciat, id ei jure tentare licet, quandoquidem, ut bellum geratur, ei sufficit ejus rei habere voluntatem. At de pace nihil statuere potest, nisi connivente alterius Civitatis voluntate. Ex quo sequitur Jura belli uniuscujusque Civitatis esse; pacis autem non unius, sed duarum ad minimum Civitatum esse Jura, quae propterea confoederatae dicuntur.

XIV. Hoc foedus tamdiu fixum manet, quamdiu causa foederis pangendi, nempe metus damni, seu lucris spes in medio est; hac autem, aut illo Civitatum alterutri adempto, manet ipsa sui juris (per Art. 10. praec. Cap.), et vinculum, quo Civitates invicem adstrictae erant, sponte solvitur, ac proinde unicuique Civitati jus integrum est solvendi foedus, quandocunque vult, nec dici potest, quod dolo, vel perfidia agat, propterea quod fidem solvit, simulatque metus, vel spei causa sublata est, quia haec conditio unicuique contrahentium aequalis fuit, ut scilicet quae prima extra metum esse posset, sui juris esset, eoque ex sui animi sententia uteretur, et praeterea quia nemo in futurum contrahit, nisi positis praecedentibus circumstantiis: his autem mutatis totius status etiam mutatur ratio, et hac de causa unaquaeque confoederatarum Civitatum jus retinet sibi consulendi, et unaquaeque propterea, quantum potest, conatur extra metum, et consequenter sui juris esse, et impedire, quo minus altera potentior evadat. Si quae ergo Civitas, se deceptam esse, queritur, ea sane non confoederatae Civitatis fidem, sed suam tantummodo stultitiam damnare potest, quod scilicet salutem suam alteri, qui sui juris, et cui sui imperii salus summa lex est, crediderit.

XV. Civitatibus, quae una pacem contraxerunt, jus competit dirimendi quaestiones, quae moveri possunt de pacis conditionibus, seu legibus, quibus sibi invicem fidem adstrinxerunt, quandoquidem pacis jura non unius Civitatis, sed contrahentium simul sunt (per Art. 13. hujus Cap.); quod si de iis convenire inter ipsas non potest., eo ipso ad belli statum redeunt.

XVI. Quo plures Civitates simul pacem contrahunt, eo unaquaeque reliquis minus timenda, sive unicuique minor est potestas bellum inferendi, sed eo magis pacis tenetur conditiones servare, hoc est (per Art. 13. hujus Cap.), eo minus sui juris est, sed eo magis communi foederatorum voluntati sese accommodare tenetur.

XVII. Caeterum fides, quam sana ratio, et Religio servandam docet, hic minime tollitur: nam nec ratio, nec Scriptura omnem datam fidem servare docet. Cui enim pollicitus sum, argentum ex. gr., quod mihi secreto servandum dedit, custodire, fidem praestare non teneor, simulac noverim, aut scire crediderim, furtum esse, quod mihi servandum dedit sed rectius agam, si dem operam, ut suis restituatur. Sic etiam, si summa potestas aliquid alteri se facturam promisit, quod postea tempus, seu ratio docuit, aut docere videbatur communi subditorum saluti obesse, fidem sane solvere tenetur. Cum itaque Scriptura non nisi in genere doceat fidem servare, et casus singulares, qui excipiendi sunt, uniuscujusque judicio relinquat, nihil ergo docet, quod iis, quae modo ostendimus, repugnat.

XVIII. Sed ne toties opus sit sermonis filum interrumpere, et similes posthac objectiones solvere, monere volo, me haec omnia ex naturae humanae quomodocunque consideratae necessitate demonstrasse, nempe ex universali omnium hominum conatu sese conservandi, qui conatus omnibus hominibus inest, sive ignari, sive sapientes sint, ac proinde quomodocunque homines, sive affectu, sive ratione duci considerentur, res eadem erit, quia demonstratio, ut diximus, universalis est.

CAPUT IV.



I. JUS SUMMARUM potestatum, quod earum potentia determinatur, in praec. Cap. ostendimus, idque in hoc potissimum consistere vidimus, nempe quod imperii veluti mens sit, qua omnes duci debent; adeoque solas jus habere decernendi, quid bonum quid malum, quid aequum, quid iniquum, hoc est, quid singulis vel omnibus simul agendum, vel omittendum sit, ac proinde vidimus iis solis jus competere leges condendi, easque, quando de iis quaestio est, in quocunque singulari casu interpretandi, et decernendi, an datus casus contra, vel secundum jus factus sit (vide Art. 3, 4, 5. praec. Cap.), deinde bellum inferendi, vel pacis conditiones statuendi, et offerendi, vel oblatas acceptandi. Vide Art. 12. et 13. praec. Cap.

II. Cum haec omnia, ac etiam media, quae ad eadem exequenda requiruntur, omnia negotia sint, quae ad integrum imperii corpus, hoc est, quae ad Rempublicam spectant, hinc sequitur, Rempublicam ab ejus solummodo directione pendere, qui summum habet imperium ac proinde sequitur solius summae potestatis Jus esse de factis uniuscujusque judicandi, de factis cujuscunque rationem exigendi, delinquentes poena mulctandi, et quaestiones inter cives de jure dirimendi, vel legum latarum peritos statuendi, qui haec ejus loco administrent. Deinde omnia ad bellum, et pacem media adhibendi, et ordinandi, nempe urbes condendi, et muniendi, milites conducendi (11), officia militaria distribuendi, et, quid factum velit, imperandi, et pacis causa legatos mittendi, et audiendi, et denique sumptus ad haec omnia exigendi.

III. Quoniam itaque solius summae potestatis Jus sit negotia publica tractandi, vel ministros ad eadem eligendi, sequitur, subditum imperium affectare, qui suo solo arbitrio, supremo Concilio inscio, negotium aliquod publicum aggressus est, tametsi id, quod intenderat agere, Civitati optimum fore crediderit.

IV. Sed quaeri solet, an summa potestas legibus adstricta sit, et consequenter an peccare possit? Verum quoniam legis, et peccati nomina non tantum Civitatis Jura, sed etiam omnium rerum naturalium, et apprime rationis communes regulas respicere solent, non possumus absolute dicere, Civitatem nullis adstrictam esse legibus, seu peccare non posse. Nam si Civitas nullis legibus, seu regulis, sine quibus Civitas non esset Civitas, adstricta esset, tum Civitas non ut res naturalis, sed ut chimaera esset contemplanda. Peccat ergo Civitas, quando ea agit, vel fieri patitur, quae causa esse possunt ipsius ruinae, atque tum eandem eo sensu peccare dicimus, quo Philosophi, vel Medici naturam peccare dicunt, et hoc sensu dicere possumus, Civitatem peccare, quando contra rationis dictamen aliquid agit. Est enim Civitas tum maxime sui juris, quando ex dictamine rationis agit (per Art. 7. praeced. Cap.); quatenus igitur contra rationem agit, eatenus sibi deficit, seu peccat. Atque haec clarius intelligi poterunt, si consideremus, quod, cum dicimus unumquemque posse de re, quae sui juris est, statuere, quicquid velit, haec potestas non sola agentis potentia, sed etiam ipsius patientis aptitudine definiri debet. Si enim ex. gr. dico, me jure posse de hac mensa, quicquid velim, facere, non hercle intelligo, quod jus habeam efficiendi, ut haec mensa herbam comedat sic etiam, tametsi dicimus homines non sui, sed Civitati juris esse, non intelligimus, quod homines naturam humanam amittant, et aliam induant; atque adeo quod Civitas jus habeat efficiendi, ut homines volent, vel quod aequè impossibile est, ut homines cum honore adspiciant ea, quae risum movent, vel nauseam; sed quod quaedam circumstantiae occurrant, quibus positus ponitur subditorum erga Civitatem reverentia, et metus, et quibus sublati metus, et reverentia, et cum his Civitas una tollitur. Civitas itaque, ut sui juris sit, metus, et reverentiae causas servare tenetur, alias Civitas esse desinit. Nam iis, vel ei, qui imperium tenet, aequè impossibile est, ebrium, aut nudum cum scortis per plateas currere, histrionem agere, leges ab ipso latas aperte violare, seu contemnere, et cum his majestatem servare, ac impossibile est, simul esse, et non esse; subditos deinde trucidare, spoliare, virgines rapere, et similia, metum in indignationem, et consequenter statum civilem in statum hostilitatis vertunt.

V. Videmus itaque, quo sensu dicere possumus, Civitatem legibus teneri, et peccare posse. Verum si per legem intelligamus Jus civile, quod ipso Jure civili vindicari potest, et peccatum id, quod Jure civili fieri prohibetur, hoc est, si haec nomina genuino sensu sumantur, nulla ratione dicere possumus, Civitatem legibus adstrictam esse, aut posse peccare. Nam regulae, et causae metus, et reverentiae, quas Civitas sui causa servare tenetur, non ad Jura civilia, sed ad Jus naturale spectant, quandoquidem (per Art. praeced.) non Jure civili, sed Jure belli vindicari possunt, et Civitas nulla alia ratione iisdem tenetur, quam homo in statu naturali, ut sui juris esse possit, sive ne sibi hostis sit, cavere tenetur, ne se ipsum interficiat, quae sane cautio non obsequium, sed humanae naturae libertas est: at Jura civilia pendent a solo Civitatis decreto, atque (12) haec nemini, nisi sibi, ut scilicet libera maneat, morem gerere tenetur, nec aliud bonum, aut malum habere, nisi quod ipsa sibi bonum, aut malum esse decernit ac proinde non tantum jus habet sese vindicandi, leges condendi, et interpretandi, sed etiam easdem abrogandi, et reo cuicunque (13) ex plenitudine potentiae condonandi.

VI. Contractus, seu leges, quibus multitudo jus suum in unum Concilium, vel hominem transferunt, non dubium est, quin violari debeant, quando communis salutis interest easdem violare. At judicium de hac re, an scilicet communis salutis intersit, easdem violare, an secus, nemo privatus; sed is tantum, qui imperium tenet, jure ferre potest (per Art. 3. hujus Cap.); ergo Jure civili is solus, qui imperium tenet, earum legum interpret manet. Ad quod accedit, quod nullus privatus easdem jure vindicare possit, atque adeo eum, qui imperium tenet, revera non obligant. Quod si tamen ejus naturae sint, ut violari nequeant, nisi simul Civitatis robur debilitetur, hoc est, nisi simul plerorumque civium communis metus in indignationem vertatur, eo ipso Civitas dissolvitur, et contractus cessat, qui propterea non Jure civili, sed Jure belli vindicatur. Atque adeo is, qui imperium tenet, nulla etiam alia de causa hujus contractus conditiones servare tenetur, quam homo in statu naturali, ne sibi hostis sit, tenetur cavere, ne se ipsum interficiat, ut in praeced. Art. diximus.

CAPUT V.



I. IN ART. II. Ca. ostendimus hominem tum maxime sui juris esse, quando maxime ratione ducitur, et consequenter (vid. Art. 7. Ca.) Civitatem illam maxime potentem, maximeque sui juris esse, quae ratione fundatur, et dirigitur. Cum autem optima vivendi ratio ad sese, quantum fieri potest, conservandum ea sit, quae ex praescripto rationis instituitur; sequitur ergo id omne optimum esse, quod homo, vel Civitas agit, quatenus maxime sui juris est. Nam non id omne, quod jure fieri dicimus, optime fieri affirmamus: aliud namque est agrum jure colere, aliud agrum optime colere; aliud, inquam, est sese jure defendere, conservare, judicium ferre, etc. aliud sese optime defendere, conservare, atque optimum judicium ferre; et consequenter aliud est jure imperare, et Reipublicae curam habere, aliud optime imperare, et Rempublicam optime gubernare. Postquam itaque de jure cujuscunque Civitatis in genere egimus, tempus est, ut de optimo cujuscunque imperii statu agamus.

II. Qualis autem cujuscunque imperii optimus (14) sit status, facile ex fine status civilis cognoscitur: qui scilicet nullus alius est, quam pax, vitaeque securitas. Ac proinde illud imperium optimum est, ubi homines concorditer vitam transigunt, et cujus jura inviolata servantur. Nam certum est, quod seditiones, bella, legumque contemptio, sive violatio non tam subditorum malitiae, quam pravo imperii statui imputanda sunt. Homines enim civiles non nascuntur, sed fiunt. Hominum praeterea naturales affectus ubique iidem sunt; si itaque in una Civitate malitia magis regnat, pluraque peccata committuntur, quam in alia, certum est, id ex eo oriri, quod talis Civitas non satis concordiae providerit, nec jura satis prudenter instituerit, et consequenter neque Jus Civitatis absolutum obtinuerit. Status enim civilis, qui seditionum causas non abstulit, et ubi bellum

continuo timendum, et ubi denique leges frequenter violantur, non multum ab ipso naturali statu differt, ubi unusquisque ex suo ingenio magno vitae periculo vivit.

III. At sicut subditorum vitia, nimiaque licentia, et contumacia Civitati imputanda sunt, ita contra eorum virtus, et constans legum observantia maxime Civitatis virtuti, et juri absoluto tribuenda est, ut patet ex Art. 15. Ca. Unde Hannibali merito eximiae virtuti ducitur, quod in ipsius exercitu nulla unquam seditio orta fuerit.

IV. Civitas, cujus subditi, metu territi, arma non capiunt, potius dicenda est, quod sine bello sit, quam quod pacem habeat. Pax enim non belli privatio, sed virtus est, quae ex animi fortitudine oritur: est namque obsequium (per Art. 19. Ca.) constans voluntas id exequendi, quod ex communi Civitatis decreto fieri debet. Illa praeterea Civitas, cujus pax a subditorum inertia pendet, qui scilicet veluti pecora ducuntur, ut tantum servire discant, rectius solitudo, quam Civitas dici potest.

V. Cum ergo dicimus, illud imperium optimum esse, ubi homines concorditer vitam transigunt, vitam humanam intelligo, quae non sola sanguinis circulatione, et aliis, quae omnibus animalibus sunt communia, sed quae maxime ratione, vera Mentis virtute, et vita definitur.

VI. Sed notandum, imperium, quod in hunc finem institui dixi, a me intelligi id, quod multitudo libera instituit, non autem id, quod in multitudinem jure belli acquiritur. Libera enim multitudo majori spe, quam metu, subacta autem majori metu, quam spe ducitur: quippe illa vitam colere, haec autem mortem tantummodo vitare studet; illa inquam, sibi vivere studet, haec victoris esse cogitur, unde hanc servire, illam liberam esse dicimus. Finis itaque imperii, quod aliquis Jure belli adipiscitur, est dominari, et servos potius, quam subditos habere. Et quamvis inter imperium, quod a libera multitudine creatur, et illud, quod jure belli acquiritur, si ad utriusque jus in genere attendamus, nulla essentialis detur differentia, finem tamen, ut jam ostendimus, et praeterea media, quibus unumquodque conservari debeat, admodum diversa habent.

VII. Quibus autem mediis Princeps, qui sola dominandi libidine fertur, uti debet, ut imperium stabilire, et conservare possit, acutissimus Machiavellus prolixè ostendit; quem autem in finem, non satis constare videtur. Si quem tamen bonum habuit, ut de viro sapiente credendum est, fuisse videtur, ut ostenderet, quam imprudenter multi Tyrannum e medio tollere conantur, cum tamen causae, cur princeps sit Tyrannus, tolli nequeant, sed contra eo magis ponantur, quo principi major timendi causa praebetur: quod fit, quando multitudo exempla in principem edidit, et parricidio, quasi re bene gesta, gloriatur. Praeterea ostendere forsitan voluit, quantum libera multitudo cavere debet, ne salutem suam uni absolute credat, qui, nisi vanus sit, et omnibus se posse placere existimet, quotidie insidias timere debet; atque adeo sibi potius cavere, et multitudini contra insidiari magis, quam consulere cogitur; et ad hoc de prudentissimo isto viro credendum magis adducor, quia pro libertate fuisse constat, ad quam etiam tuendam saluberrima consilia dedit.

CAPUT VI.



I. QUA HOMINES, uti diximus, magis affectu, quam ratione ducuntur, sequitur multitudinem non ex rationis ductu, sed ex communi aliquo affectu naturaliter convenire, et una veluti mente duci velle, nempe (ut Art. 9. Ca. diximus) vel ex communi spe, vel metu, vel desiderio commune aliquod damnum ulciscendi. Cum autem solitudinis metus omnibus hominibus insit, quia nemo in solitudine vires habet, ut sese defendere, et quae ad vitam necessaria sunt, comparare possit, sequitur statum civilem homines natura appetere, nec fieri posse, ut homines eundem unquam penitus dissolvant.

II. Ex discordiis igitur, et seditionibus, quae in Civitate saepe concitantur, nunquam fit, ut cives Civitatem dissolvant (ut in reliquis societatibus saepe evenit) sed ut ejusdem formam in aliam mutant, si nimirum contentiones sedari nequeunt servata Civitatis facie. Quare media, quae ad imperium conservandum requiri dixi, ea intelligo, quae ad imperii formam absque ulla ejus notabili mutatione conservandam necessaria sunt.

III. Quod si cum humana natura ita comparatum esset, ut homines id, quod maxime utile est, maxime cuperent, nulla esset opus arte ad concordiam, et fidem; sed quia longe aliter cum natura humana constitutum esse constat, imperium necessario ita instituendum est, ut omnes, tam qui regunt, quam qui reguntur, velint nolint, id tamen agant, quod communis salutis interest, hoc est, ut omnes sponte, vel vi, vel necessitate coacti sint ex rationis praescripto vivere; quod fit, si imperii res ita ordinentur, ut nihil, quod ad communem salutem spectat, ullius fidei absolute committatur. Nemo enim tam vigilans est, qui aliquando non dormitet, et nemo tam potenti, tamque integro animo fuit, qui aliquando, et praesertim quando maxime animi fortitudine opus est, non frangeretur, ac pateretur vinci. Et sane stultitia est ab alio id exigere, quod nemo a se ipso

impetrare potest, nempe, ut alteri potius, quam sibi vigilet, ut avarus non sit, neque invidus, neque ambitiosus, etc., praesertim is, qui omnium affectuum incitamenta maxima quotidie habet.

IV. At experientia contra docere videtur, pacis, et concordiae interesse, ut omnis potestas ad unum conferatur. Nam nullum imperium tamdiu absque ulla notabili mutatione stetit, quam Turcarum, et contra nulla minus diuturna, quam popularia, seu Democratica fuerunt, nec ulla, ubi tot seditiones moverentur. Sed si servitium, barbaries et solitudo pax appellanda sit, nihil hominibus pace miserius. Plures sane, et acerbiores contentiones inter parentes, et liberos, quam inter dominos, et servos moveri solent, nec tamen Oeconomiae interest Jus paternum in dominium mutare, et liberos perinde, ac servos habere. Servitutis igitur, non pacis, interest, omnem potestatem ad unum transferre: nam pax, ut jam diximus, non in belli privatione, sed in animorum unione, sive concordia consistit.

V. Et sane, qui credunt posse fieri, ut unus solus summum Civitatis Jus obtineat, longe errant. Jus enim sola potentia determinatur, ut Capite 2. ostendimus: at unius hominis potentia longe impar est tantae moli sustinendae. Unde fit, ut, quem multitudo Regem elegit, is sibi Imperatores quaerat, seu Consiliarios, seu amicos, quibus suam, et omnium salutem committit, ita ut imperium, quod absolute Monarchicum esse creditur, sit revera in praxi Aristocraticum, non quidem manifestum; sed latens, et propterea pessimum. Ad quod accedit, quod Rex, puer, aeger, aut senectute gravatus, precario rex sit; sed ii revera summam potestatem habeant, qui summa imperii negotia administrant, vel qui Regi sunt proximi; ut jam taceam, quod Rex, libidini obnoxius, omnia saepe moderetur ex libidine unius, aut alterius pellicis, aut cinaedi. Audieram, inquit Orsines, in Asia olim regnasse foeminas: hoc vero novum est, regnare castratum, Curtius lib. X. Cap. I.

VI. Est praeterea hoc certum, quod Civitas semper magis propter cives, quam propter hostes periclitetur: rari quippe boni. Ex quo sequitur, quod is, in quem totum imperii Jus delatum est, magis cives, quam hostes semper timebit, et

consequenter sibi cavere, et subditis non consulere, sed insidiari conabitur, iis praecipue, qui sapientia clari, vel divitiis potentiores sunt.

VII. Accedit praeterea, quod Reges filios etiam plus timent, quam amant, et eo magis, quo pacis, bellicae artes magis callent, et subditis ob virtutes dilectiores sunt. Unde fit, ut eos ita educare studeant, ut causa timendi absit. Qua in re officarii promptissime Regi obsequuntur, et studium adhibebunt summum, ut Regem successorem rudem habeant, quem arte tractare possint.

VIII. Ex quibus omnibus sequitur, Regem eo minus sui Juris, et subditorum conditionem eo miseriores esse, quo magis absolute Civitatis Jus in eundem transfertur: atque adeo necesse est, ad imperium Monarchicum rite stabiliendum, fundamenta jacere firma, quibus superstruatur: ex quibus Monarchiae securitas, et multitudini pax sequatur; ac proinde, ut Monarcha tum maxime sui juris sit, cum maxime multitudinis saluti consulit. Quenam autem haec Imperii Monarchici (15) fundamenta sint, primum breviter proponam, et deinde ordine ea ostendam.

IX. Urbs una, aut plures condendae, et muniendae sunt, quarum omnes cives, sive ii intra moenia, sive extra propter agriculturam habitent, eodem Civitatis jure gaudeant ea tamen conditione, ut unaquaeque certum civium numerum ad sui, et communem defensionem habeat; quae autem id praestare nequit, aliis conditionibus in ditione habenda.

X. Militia ex solis civibus, nullo excepto, formanda est, et ex nullis aliis; atque adeo omnes arma habere teneantur, et nullus in civium numerum recipiatur, nisi postquam exercitium militare didicerit, illudque signatis anni temporibus exercere pollicitus fuerit. Deinde, uniuscujusque familiae militia in cohortes, et legiones divisa, nullius cohortis dux eligendus, nisi qui Architecturam militarem noverit. Porro cohortium, et legionum duces ad vitam quidem, sed qui unius familiae integrae militiae imperet, in bello tantummodo eligendus, qui annum ad summum imperium habeat, nec continuari in imperio, nec postea eligi possit. Atque hi eligendi sunt ex Regis Consiliariis (de quibus Art. 15. et seqq. dicendum), vel qui officio Consilarii functi sunt.

XI. Omnium urbium incolae, et agricolae, hoc est, omnes Cives in familias dividendi sunt, quae nomine, et insigni aliquo distinguantur, et omnes ex aliqua harum familiarum geniti in civium numerum recipiantur, eorumque nomina in catalogum eorum familiae redigantur, simulac eo aetatis pervenerint, ut arma ferre, et officium suum noscere possint; iis tamen exceptis, qui ob scelus aliquod infames, vel qui muti, vesani, et famuli sunt, qui servili aliquo officio vitam sustentant.

XII. Agri, et omne solum, et, si fieri potest, domus etiam publici juris sint, nempe ejus, qui Jus Civitatis habet, a quo annuo pretio civibus, sive urbanis, et agricolis locentur; et praeterea omnes ab omni exactione tempore pacis liberi, sive immunes sint. Atque hujus pretii alia pars ad Civitatis munimenta, alia ad usum domesticum Regis referenda est. Nam tempore pacis urbes tanquam ad bellum munire, et praeterea naves, et reliqua instrumenta bellica parata necesse est habere.

XIII. Electo Rege ex aliqua familia, nulli Nobiles censendi, nisi a Rege oriundi, qui propterea insignibus Regiis a sua, et a reliquis familiis distinguantur.

XIV. Regis consanguinei nobiles masculi, qui ei, qui regnat, gradu consanguinitatis tertio, aut quarto propinqui sunt, uxorem ducere prohibeantur, et si quos liberos procreaverint, illegitimi habeantur, et omni dignitate indigni, nec parentum haeredes agnoscantur, sed eorum bona ad Regem redeant.

XV. Regis praeterea Consilarii, qui ei proximi, vel dignitate secundi sunt, plures esse debent, et non, nisi ex civibus, eligendi; nempe, ex unaquaque familia tres, aut quatuor, aut quinque (si familiae non plures, quam sexcentae, fuerint), qui simul unum hujus Concilii membrum constituent, non ad vitam, sed in tres, aut quatuor, aut quinque annos, ita ut singulis annis eorum tertia, quarta, aut quinta pars nova eligatur; in qua electione tamen apprime observandum, ut ex unaquaque familia unus ad minimum juris peritus Consiliarius eligatur.

XVI. Haec electio ab ipso Rege fieri debet, cui constituto anni tempore, quo scilicet novi Consilarii eligendi sunt, unaquaeque familia omnium suorum civium nomina, qui ad annum quinquagesimum aetatis pervenerunt, et qui hujus officii

candidati rite promoti fuerunt, Regi tradere debet, ex quibus, quem velit, Rex eligit; at eo anno, quo alicujus familiae juris peritus alteri succedere debet, juris peritorum tantum nomina sunt Regi tradenda. Qui statuto tempore officio hoc Consilarii functi sunt, in eodem continuari nequeant, nec ad catalogum eligendorum quinquennio, aut amplius referri. Causa autem, cur necesse sit singulis annis ex unaquaque familia unum eligere, est, ne Concilium jam ex inexpertis Novitiis, jam ex Veteratis, et rerum expertis componeretur, quod necessario fieret (16), si omnes simul recederent, et novi succederent. Sed si singulis annis ex unaquaque familia unus eligatur, tum non nisi quinta, quarta, aut ad summum tertia Concilii pars ex Novitiis erit. Praeterea si Rex aliis negotiis impeditus, aut alia de causa huic electioni vacare aliquamdiu non possit, tum ipsi Consilarii alios pro tempore eligant, donec ipse Rex vel alios eligat, vel, quos Concilium elegit, probet.

XVII. Hujus Concilii primarium officium sit, imperii fundamentalia jura defendere, consilia de rebus agendis dare, ut Rex, quid in bonum publicum decernendum sit, sciat, atque adeo, ut Regi nihil de aliqua re statuere liceat, nisi intellecta prius hujus Concilii sententia; sed si Concilio, ut plerumque fiet, non una mens fuerit, sed diversas habuerit sententias, etiam postquam bis, aut ter quaestionem de eadem re habuerint, res in longius trahenda non est, sed discrepantes sententiae ad Regem deferendae, ut Art. 25. hujus Capituli docebimus.

XVIII. Hujus praeterea Concilii officium etiam sit, Regis instituta, seu decreta promulgare, et, quid in Rempublicam decretum est, curare, totiusque administrationis imperii curam habere, tanquam Regis vicarii.

XIX. Civibus nulli ad Regem aditus pateant, nisi per hoc Concilium, cui omnes postulationes, seu libelli supplices tradendi sunt, ut Regi offerantur. Legatis etiam aliarum Civitatum non, nisi intercedente hoc Concilio, veniam Regem alloquendi impetrare liceat; Epistolae praeterea, quae ex aliis locis Regi mittuntur, ei ab hoc Concilio tradi debent, et absolute Rex censendus est veluti Civitatis mens, hoc autem Concilium mentis sensus externi, ceu Civitatis corpus, per quod mens

Civitatis statum concipit, et per quod mens id agit, quod sibi optimum esse decernit.

XX. Cura filios Regis educandi huic etiam Concilio incumbat, et etiam tutela, si Rex, successore infante, seu puero relicto, obiit. Sed ne tamen Concilium interea temporis sine Rege sit, ex Nobilibus Civitatis Senior eligendus, qui Regis locum suppleat, donec legitimus successor eo aetatis pervenerit, quo imperii onus sustinere possit.

XXI. Hujus Concilii Candidati ii sint, qui regimen, fundamenta, et statum, seu conditionem Civitatis, cujus subditi sunt, norint; at qui jurisperiti locum occupare vult, is praeter regimen, et conditionem Civitatis, cujus subditus est, aliarum etiam, cum quibus commercium aliquod intercedit, scire debet; sed nulli, nisi qui ad quinquagesimum aetatis annum, nullo convicti crimine, pervenerint, in catalogum eligendorum referendi sunt.

XXII. In hoc Concilio nihil de rebus imperii concludendum, nisi praesentibus omnibus membris: quod si aliquis morbi, aut alia de causa adesse nequeat, aliquem ex eadem familia, qui eodem officio functus, vel qui in catalogum eligendorum relatus est, in ipsius locum mittere debet. Quod si nec hoc fecerit, sed quod Concilium propter ejus absentiam rem aliquam consulendam in diem differre coactus fuerit, summa aliqua pecuniae sensibili mulctetur. Sed hoc intelligendum, quando quaestio est de re, quae integrum imperium spectat, videlicet de bello, et pace, de jure aliquo abrogando, vel instituendo, de commercio, etc. Sed si quaestio sit de re, quae unam, aut alteram urbem spectet, de libellis supplicibus, etc., satis erit, si major Concilii pars adsit.

XXIII. Ut inter familias aequalitas in omnibus, et ordo sedendi, proponendi, et dicendi habeatur, vices servandae sunt, ut singulae singulis sessionibus praesideant, et quae hac sessione prima, sequenti ultima sit. Sed eorum, qui ejusdem familiae sunt, is primus sit, qui prior electus fuerit.

XXIV. Hoc Concilium quater ad minimum in anno convocetur, ut rationem administrationis imperii a ministris exigant, ut rerum statum noscant, et si quid praeterea statuendum sit, videant. Nam adeo magnum civium numerum negotiis

publicis continuo vacare impossibile videtur, sed, quia negotia publica interim exerceri nihilominus debent, ideo ex hoc Concilio quinquaginta, aut plures eligendi sunt, qui soluto Concilio, ejus vicem suppleant, quique quotidie congregari debeant in cubiculo, quod Regio sit proximum, atque adeo quotidie curam habeant aerarii, urbium munimentorum, educationis filii Regis, et absolute eorum omnium magni Concilii officiorum, quae modo enumeravimus, praeterquam illud, quod de rebus novis, de quibus nihil decretum est, consulere non possint.

XXV. Congregato Concilio, antequam aliquid in eo proponatur, quinque, aut sex, aut plures Jurisperiti ex familiis, quae illa sessione ordine loci priores sunt, Regem adeant, ut libellos supplices, vel epistolas, si quas habent, tradant, ut rerum statum indicent, et denique ut ex ipso intelligant, quid in suo Concilio proponere jubeat quo accepto Concilium repetant, et, qui ordine loci prior est, rem consulendam aperiat. Nec de re suffragia statim colligenda, quae aliquibus videtur alicujus esse momenti, sed in id tempus differenda, quod rei necessitas concedit. Concilio igitur ad id statutum tempus soluto, poterunt interea uniuscujusque familiae Consilarii de ipsa seorsum quaestionem habere, et, si res iis magni momenti videbitur, alios, qui eodem officio functi, vel qui ejusdem Concilii Candidati sunt, consulere, et, si intra constitutum tempus inter ipsos convenire non poterit, illa familia extra suffragium erit (nam unaquaeque familia unum tantum ferre Suffragium poterit); alias ejus familiae Jurisperitus instructus sententiam, quam optimam judicaverint esse, in ipso Concilio ferat, et sic reliqui; et si majori parti visum fuerit post auditas cujusque sententiae rationes, rem iterum perpendere, Concilium iterum in tempus solvatur, ad quod unaquaeque familia, quaenam ultima ejus sit sententia, pronunciabit, et tum demum praesente integro Concilio suffragiis collectis ea irrita habeatur, quae centum ad minimum suffragia non habuerit, reliquae autem ad Regem deferantur a Jurisperitis omnibus, qui Concilio interfuerunt, ut ex iis, postquam uniuscujusque partis rationes intellexerit, quam velit, eligat, atque inde digressi ad Concilium revertantur, ubi omnes Regem ad constitutum ab ipso tempus expectent, ut, quam

Sententiam ex latis eligendam censet, omnes audiant, et quid faciendum, ipse decernat.

XXVI. Ad justitiam administrandam Concilium aliud ex Solis Jurisperitis est formandum, quorum officium sit lites dirimere, et poenas ex delinquentibus sumere, sed ita ut omnes sententiae, quas tulerint, ab iis, qui Concilii magni vicem supplent, probari debeant, num scilicet, servato rite in judicando ordine, prolatae fuerint, et absque partium studio. Quod si quae pars, quae causa cecidit, ostendere poterit, aliquem ex iudicibus munere aliquo corruptum fuisse ab adversario, vel aliam communem causam amicitiae erga eundem, vel odii erga ipsum habere, vel denique quod communis judicandi ordo non fuerit servatus, ea in integrum restituatur. Sed haec forsitan observari non possent ab iis, qui, quando quaestio de crimine est, non tam argumentis, quam tormentis reum convincere solent. Verum nec ego hic alium in judicando ordinem concipio praeter eum, qui cum optimo Civitatis regimine convenit.

XXVII. Hi iudices magno etiam, et impari numero esse debent, nempe sexaginta et unus, aut quinquaginta et unus ad minimum, et ex una familia non nisi unus eligendus, nec tamen ad vitam, sed ut quotannis etiam aliqua ejus pars cedat, et alii totidem eligantur, qui ex aliis sint familiis, quique ad quadragesimum aetatis annum pervenerint.

XXVIII. In hoc Concilio nulla sententia pronuncianda, nisi praesentibus omnibus iudicibus. Quod si aliquis morbi, aut alterius rei causa diu Concilio interesse non poterit, alius ad id tempus eligendus, qui ipsius locum suppleat. In suffragiis autem ferendis debebit unusquisque sententiam suam non palam dicere, sed calculis indicare.

XXIX. Hujus, et praecedentis Concilii vicariorum emolumenta sint bona primo eorum (17), qui mortis damnati sunt ab ipsis, et etiam eorum, qui summa quadam argenti plectuntur. Deinde ex unaquaque sententia, quam de rebus civilibus tulerint, ab eo, qui causa cecidit, pro ratione totius summae partem aliquotam accipiant, qua utrumque Concilium gaudeat.

XXX. His Conciliis alia subdinentur in unaquaque urbe, quorum etiam membra ad vitam eligi non debent; sed etiam quotannis pars aliqua eligenda ex solis familiis, quae in eadem habitant: sed opus non est haec latius persequi.

XXXI. Militiae stipendia nulla solvenda tempore pacis, tempore autem belli iis tantummodo quotidiana stipendia danda, qui quotidiano opere vitam sustentant. At duces, et reliqui officarii cohortium nulla alia emolumenta ex bello exspectanda habeant praeter hostium praedam.

XXXII. Si quis peregrinus alicujus civis filiam in uxorem duxerit, ejus liberi sunt cives censendi, et in catalogo familiae matris inscribendi. Qui autem ex peregrinis parentibus in ipso imperio nati, et educati sunt, iis constituto aliquo pretio Jus civis ex Chiliarchis alicujus familiae emere liceat, et in catalogum ejusdem familiae referantur: nec imperio, tametsi Chiliarchae lucri causa aliquem peregrinum infra constitutum pretium in numerum suorum civium receperint, aliquod inde detrimentum oriri potest; sed contra media excogitanda, quibus facilius civium augeri possit numerus, et magna hominum detur confluentia. At, qui in catalogum civium non referuntur, aequum est, ut tempore saltem belli otium suum labore, aut exactione aliqua compensent.

XXXIII. Legati, qui tempore pacis ad alias Civitates pacis contrahendae, vel conservandae causa mitti debent, ex solis Nobilibus eligendi sunt, et ex Civitatis aerario sumptus iisdem suppeditandi, non autem ex Regis domestico aerario.

XXXIV. Qui aulam frequentant, et Regis domestici sunt, quibusque ex suo aerario domestico stipendia solvit, ab omni Civitatis ministerio, seu officio secludendi sunt. Dico expresse, quibus Rex ex aerario suo domestico stipendia solvit, ut corporis custodes ab iisdem secludam. Nam corporis custodes nulli praeter cives ejusdem urbis in aula, servatis vicibus, vigilare pro Rege ante fores debent.

XXXV. Bellum non nisi pacis causa inferendum, ut eo finito arma cessent. Urbibus igitur Jure belli captis, et hoste subacto pacis conditiones instituendae sunt, ut captae urbes nullo praesidio servari debeant, sed vel ut hosti, pacis foedere accepto, potestas concedatur easdem pretio redimendi, vel (si ea ratione

timor semper a tergo maneat formidine loci) prorsus delendae sunt, et incolae alio locorum ducendi.

XXXVI. Regi nullam extraneam matrimonio sibi jungere, sed tantum ex consanguineis, vel civibus aliquam in uxorem ducere liceat, ea tamen conditione, si scilicet civem aliquam duxerit, ut qui uxori sanguine sint proximi, nullum Civitatis officium administrare possint.

XXXVII. Imperium indivisibile esse debet. Si igitur Rex plures liberos procreaverit, illorum major natu jure succedat, minime autem concedendum, ut imperium inter ipsos dividatur, nec ut indivisum omnibus, vel aliquibus tradatur, et multo minus, ut partem imperii dotem filiae dare liceat. Nam, filias in haereditatem imperii venire, nulla ratione concedendum.

XXXVIII. Si Rex liberis masculis orbus obierit, ille, qui ipsi sanguine proximus, haeres imperii habendus, nisi forte uxorem extraneam duxerit, quam repudiare nolit.

XXXIX. Ad Cives quod attinet, patet ex Art. 5. Ca. eorum unumquemque ad omnia Regis mandata, sive edicta a Concilio magno promulgata (vide de hac conditione Art. 18. et 19. hujus Capitis) obtemperare debere, tametsi eadem absurdissima credat, vel jure ad id cogi. Atque haec Imperii Monarchici fundamenta sunt, quibus superstrui debet, ut stabile sit, quemadmodum in seq. Cap. demonstrabimus.

XL. Ad Religionem quod attinet, nulla plane templa urbium sumptibus aedificanda, nec jura de opinionibus statuenda, nisi seditiosae sint, et Civitatis fundamenta evertant. Ii igitur, quibus Religionem publice exercere conceditur, templum si velint, suis sumptibus aedificent. At Rex ad Religionem, cui addictus est, exercendam templum in aula sibi proprium habeat.

CAPUT VII.



I. IMPERII MONARCHICI fundamentis explicatis, eadem hic ordine demonstrare suscepi; ad quod apprime notandum est, praxi nullo modo repugnare, quod jura adeo firma constituentur, quae nec ab ipso Rege aboleri queant. Persae enim Reges suos inter Deos colere solebant, et tamen ipsi Reges potestatem non habebant jura semel instituta revocandi, ut ex Dan. Ca. (18) patet; et nullibi, quod sciam, Monarcha absolute eligitur, nullis expressis conditionibus. Imo nec rationi, nec obedientiae absolutae, quae Regi debetur, repugnat; nam fundamenta imperii veluti Regis aeterna decreta habenda sunt, adeo ut ejus ministri ei omnino obediant, si, quando aliquid imperat, quod imperii fundamentis repugnat, mandata exequi velle negent. Quod exemplo Ulissis clare explicare possumus. Socii enim Ulissis ipsius mandatum exequiebantur, quando navis malo alligatum, et cantu Syrenum mente captum, religare noluerunt; tametsi id modis multis minitando imperabat, et prudentiae ejusdem imputatur, quod postea sociis gratias egerit, quod ex prima ipsius mente ipsi obtemperaverint. Et ad hoc Ulissis exemplum solent etiam Reges judices instruere, ut scilicet justitiam exerceant, nec quenquam respiciant, nec ipsum Regem, si quid singulari aliquo casu imperaverit, quod contra institutum jus esse noverint. Reges enim non Dii, sed homines sunt, qui Syrenum capiuntur saepe cantu. Si igitur omnia ab inconstanti unius voluntate penderent, nihil fixum esset. Atque adeo imperium Monarchicum, ut stabile sit, instituendum est, ut omnia quidem ex solo Regis decreto fiant, hoc est, ut omne jus sit Regis explicata voluntas; at non ut omnis Regis voluntas jus sit, de quo vide Art. 3. 5. et 6. praec. Cap.

II. Deinde notandum, quod in jaciendis fundamentis maxime humanos affectus observare necesse est, nec ostendisse sufficit, quid oporteat fieri, sed apprime, qui fieri possit, ut homines, sive affectu, sive ratione ducantur, jura tamen rata,

fixaque habeant. Nam si imperii jura, sive libertas publica solo invalido legum auxilio nitatur, non tantum nulla ejus obtinendae erit civibus securitas, ut Art. 3. Cap. praec. ostendimus, sed etiam exitio erit. Nam hoc certum est, nullam Civitatis conditionem miseriorem esse, quam optimae, quae labascere incipit, nisi uno actu, et ictu cadat, et in servitutem ruat (quod sane impossibile videtur esse), ac proinde subditis multo satius esset suum jus absolute in unum transferre, quam incertas, et vanas, sive irritas libertatis conditiones stipulari, atque ita posteris iter ad servitutem crudelissimam parare. At si imperii Monarchici fundamenta, quae in praec. Cap. retuli, firma esse ostendero, nec divelli posse, nisi cum indignatione maximae partis armatae multitudinis, et ex iis Regi, et multitudini pacem, et securitatem sequi, atque haec ex communi natura deduxero, dubitare nemo poterit eadem optima esse, et vera, ut patet ex Art. 9. Ca. et Art. 3. et 8. praec. Cap. Quod autem hujus illa naturae sint, quam paucis potero, ostendam.

III. Quod officium ejus, qui imperium tenet, sit Imperii statum, et conditionem semper noscere, et communi omnium saluti vigilare, et id omne, quod majori subditorum parti utile est, efficere, apud omnes in confesso est. Cum autem unus solus omnia perlustrare nequeat, nec semper animum praesentem habere, et ad cogitandum instituere, et saepe morbo, aut senectute, aut aliis de causis rebus vacare (19) publicis prohibeatur necesse ergo est, ut Monarcha Consiliarios habeat, qui rerum statum noscant, et Regem consilio juvent, et ipsius locum saepe suppleant; atque adeo fiat, ut imperium, seu Civitas una semper, eademque mente constet.

IV. Sed quia cum humana natura ita comparatum est, ut unusquisque suum privatum utile summo cum affectu quaerat, et illa jura aequissima esse judicet, quae rei suae conservandae, et augendae necessaria esse, et alterius causam eatenus defendat, quatenus rem suam eo ipso stabilire credit, hinc sequitur Consiliarios necessario debere eligi, quorum privatae res, et utilitas a communi omnium salute, et pace pendeant; atque adeo patet, quod, si ex unoquoque civium genere, sive classe aliquot eligantur, id majori subditorum parti utile erit, quod in hoc Concilio plurima habuerit suffragia. Et quamvis hoc Concilium, quod ex adeo

magno civium numero componitur, frequentari necessario debeat a multis rudi admodum ingenio, hoc tamen certum est, unumquemque in negotiis, quae diu magno cum affectu exercuit, satis callidum, atque astutum esse. Quapropter si nulli alii eligantur, nisi ii, qui ad quinquagesimum aetatis annum usque negotia sua sine ignominia exercuerunt, satis apti erunt, ut consilia res suas concernentia dare possint, praesertim si in rebus majoris ponderis tempus ad meditandum concedatur. Adde quod longe abest, ut Concilium, quod paucis constat, a similibus non frequentetur. Nam contra maxima ejus pars ex hominibus ejusmodi constat: quandoquidem unusquisque ibi maxime conatur socios habere bardos, qui ab ipsius ore pendeant, quod in magnis Conciliis locum non habet.

V. Praeterea certum est, unumquemque malle regere, quam regi. Nemo enim volens imperium alteri concedit, ut habet Salustius in prima ad Caesarem oratione. Ac proinde patet, quod multitudo integra nunquam jus suum in paucos, aut unum transferet, si inter ipsam convenire possit, nec ex controversiis, quae plerumque in magnis Conciliis excitantur, in seditiones ire; atque adeo multitudo id libere tantummodo in Regem transfert, quod absolute in potestate ipsa habere nequit, hoc est, controversiarum diremptionem, et in decernendo expeditionem. Nam quod saepe etiam fit, ut Rex belli causa eligatur, quia scilicet bellum a Regibus multo felicius geritur, inscitia sane est, nimirum quod, ut bellum felicius gerant, in pace servire velint; si quidem pax eo in imperio potest concipi, cujus summa potestas sola belli causa in unum translata est, qui propterea virtutem suam, et quid omnes in ipso uno habeant, maxime in bello ostendere potest; cum contra imperium Democraticum hoc praecipuum habeat, quod ejus virtus multo magis in pace, quam in bello valet. Sed quacunque de causa Rex eligatur, ipse solus, ut jam diximus, quid imperio utile sit, scire nequit; sed ad hoc, ut in praec. Art. ostendimus necesse est, ut plures cives Consiliarios habeat, et quia concipere nequaquam possumus, quod aliquid de re consulenda potest concipi, quod tam magnum hominum numerum effugerit, sequitur, quod praeter omnes hujus Concilii sententias, quae ad Regem deferuntur, nulla poterit concipi ad populi salutem idonea. Atque adeo, quia populi salus suprema lex, seu Regis summum

jus est, sequitur jus Regis esse unam ex latis Concilii sententiis eligere, non autem contra totius Concilii mentem quicquam decernere, vel sententiam ferre (vide Art. 25. praeced. Cap.). Sed si omnes sententiae in Concilio latae ad Regem deferendae essent, fieri posset, ut Rex parvis urbibus, quae pauciora habent suffragia, semper faveret. Nam quamvis ex lege Concilii statutum sit, ut sententiae non indicatis earum authoribus deferantur, nunquam tamen tam bene cavere poterunt, ut non aliqua effluat, ac proinde necessario statuendum est, ut illa sententia, quae centum ad minimum suffragia non habuerit, irrita habeatur, quod quidem jus majores urbes summa vi defendere debebunt.

VI. Atque hic, nisi brevitati studerem, magnas hujus Concilii utilitates alias ostenderem; unam tamen, quae maximi videtur esse momenti, adducam. Nempe, quod nullum majus ad virtutem incitamentum dari potest, hac communi spe summum hunc honorem adipiscendi: nam gloria maxime ducimur omnes, ut in nostra Ethica fuse ostendimus.

VII. Quin majori hujus Concilii parti nunquam animus gerendi bellum, sed magnum pacis studium, et amor semper futurus sit, dubitari non potest. Nam, praeterquam quod ex bello ipsis timor semper erit bona sua cum libertate amittendi, accedit, quod ad bellum novi sumptus requirantur, quos suppeditare debent, ac etiam quod ipsorum liberi, et affines curis domesticis intenti, studium ad arma in bello applicare, et militatum ire cogentur, unde domum nihil praeter gratuitas cicatrices referre poterunt. Nam, uti Art. 31. (20) praeced. Cap. diximus, militiae stipendia nulla solvenda, et Art. 10. (21) ejusdem Cap. ipsa ex solis civibus, et ex nullis aliis formanda.

VIII. Ad pacem, et concordiam aliud praeterea, quod etiam magni est momenti, accedit, nempe quod nullus civis bona fixa habeat (vid. Art. 12. praeced. Cap.). Unde omnibus ex bello par propemodum periculum est: nam omnes lucri causa mercaturam exercere, vel argentum suum invicem credere, si, ut olim ab Atheniensibus, lex lata sit, qua prohibeatur unicuique argentum suum foenere aliis, quam incolis dare; atque adeo negotia tractare debebunt, quae vel invicem intricata sunt, vel quae eadem media, ut promoveantur, requirunt; atque adeo

hujus Concilii maximae parti circa res communes, et pacis artes una pierumque, eademque erit mens; nam, ut Art. 4. hujus Cap. diximus, unusquisque alterius causam eatenus defendit, quatenus eo ipso rem suam stabilire credit.

IX. Quod nemo unquam in animum inducet hoc Concilium muneribus corrumpere, dubitari non potest. Si enim aliquis ex tam magno hominum numero unum, aut alterum ad se trahat, sane nihil promovebit : nam, uti diximus, sententia, quae centum ad minimum (22) suffragia non habuerit, irrita est.

X. Quod praeterea hujus Concilii semel stabiliti membra ad minorem numerum redigi non poterunt, facile videbimus, si hominum communes affectus consideremus. Omnes enim gloria maxime ducuntur, et nullus est, qui sano corpore vivit, qui non speret in longam senectutem vitam trahere. Si itaque calculum ineamus eorum, qui revera annum quinquagesimum, aut sexagesimum aetatis attigerunt, et rationem praeterea habeamus magni istius Concilii numeri, qui quotannis eligitur, videbimus vix aliquem eorum, qui arma ferunt, dari posse, qui non magna spe teneatur, huc dignitatis ascendere; atque adeo omnes hoc Concilii jus, quantum poterunt, defendent. Nam notandum, quod corruptio, nisi paulatim irrepit, facile praevenitur; at quia facilius concipi potest, et minori invidia fieri, ut ex unaquaque familia, quam ut ex paucis minor numerus eligatur, aut ut una, aut alia secludatur, ergo (per Art. 15. (23) praeced. Cap.) Consiliariorum numerus non potest ad alium minorem redigi, nisi simul ab eo una tertia, quarta, aut quinta pars auferatur, quae sane mutatio admodum magna est, et consequenter a communi praxi omnino abhorrens. Nec mora praeterea, sive in eligendo negligentia timenda est, quia haec ab ipso Concilio suppletur. Vid. Art. 16. praeced. Cap.

XI. Rex igitur, sive multitudinis metu ductus, vel ut sibi armatae multitudinis majorem partem devinciat, sive animi generositate ductus, ut scilicet utilitati publicae consulat, illam semper sententiam, quae plurima suffragia habuerit, hoc est (per Art. 5. hujus Cap.), quae imperii majori parti est utilior, firmabit, aut discrepantes sententias, quae ad ipsum delatae sunt, si fieri potest, conciliare studebit, ut omnes ad se trahat, qua in re nervos intendet suos, et ut tam in pace,

quam in bello experiantur, quid in ipso uno habeant; atque adeo tum maxime sui juris erit, et imperium maxime habebit, quando maxime communi multitudinis saluti consulit.

XII. Nam Rex solus omnes metu continere nequit; sed ipsius potentia, ut diximus, nititur militum numero, et praecipue eorundem virtute, et fide, quae semper inter homines tamdiu constans erit, quamdiu indigentia, sive haec honesta, sive turpis sit, copulantur; unde fit, ut Reges incitare saepius milites, quam coërcere, et magis eorum vitia, quam virtutes dissimulare soleant, et plerumque, ut optimos premant, inertes, et luxu perditos inquirere, agnoscere, pecunia, aut gratia juvare, prehensare manus, jacere oscula, et omnia servilia pro dominatione agere. Ut itaque cives a Rege prae omnibus agnoscantur, et quantum status civilis, sive aequitas concedit, sui juris maneant, necesse est, ut militia ex solis civibus componatur, et ut ipsi a Consiliis sint; et contra eos omni no subactos esse, et aeterni belli fundamenta jacere, simulatque milites auxiliares duci patiuntur, quorum mercatura bellum est, et quibus in discordiis, et seditionibus plurima vis.

XIII. Quod Regis Consiliarii ad vitam eligi non debeant, sed in tres, quatuor, vel quinque ad summum annos, patet tam ex Art. 10. hujus Capitis, quam ex iis, quae in Art. 9. hujus etiam Capitis diximus. Nam, si ad vitam eligerentur, praeterquam quo maxima civium Pars vix ullam spem posset concipere eum honorem adipiscendi; atque adeo magna inde inter cives inaequalitas, unde invidia et continui rumores, et tandem seditiones orirentur, quae sane Regibus dominandi avidis non ingratae essent; magnam praeterea ad omnia licentiam (sublato scilicet succedentium metu) sumerent (24), Rege minime adversante. Nam, quo civibus magis invisi, eo magis Regi adhaerebunt, eique ad adulandum magis proni erunt. Imo quinque annorum intervallum nimium adhuc videtur, quia eo temporis spatio non adeo impossibile factu videtur, ut magna admodum Concilii (quam etiam magnum sit) pars muneribus, aut gratia corrumpatur; atque adeo longe securius res sese habebit, si quotannis ex unaquaque familia duo cedant, et totidem iisdem succedant (si nimirum ex unaquaque familia quinque

consilarii habendi sunt), praeterquam eo anno, quo juris prudens alicujus familiae cedit, et novus ejus loco eligitur.

XIV. Rex praeterea nullus majorem sibi securitatem polliceri potest, quam qui in hujusmodi Civitate regnat. Nani, praeterquam quod cito perit, quem sui milites salvum esse nolunt, certum est Regibus summum semper periculum esse ab iis, qui eis proximi sunt. Quo igitur Consilarii numero pauciores, et consequenter potentiores sunt, eo Regi majus ab ipsis periculum est, ne imperium in alium transferant. Nihil sane Davidem magis terruit, quam quod ipsius Consiliarius Achitophel partes Absolomi elegerat. Huc accedit, si omnis potestas in unum absolute translata fuerit, quae tum longe facilius ex uno in alium transferri potest. Suscepere enim duo Manipulares imperium Romanum transferre, et transtulerunt (Tacit. Hist. lib. I.). Omitto artes, et astus callidos Consiliariorum, quibus sibi cavere debent, ne invidiae immolentur, quia nimis noti sunt, et nemo, qui Historias legit, ignorare potest, Consiliariis fidem plerumque exitio fuisse; atque adeo, ut sibi caveant, eosdem callidos, non fidos esse oportet. Sed si Consilarii plures numero, quam ut in eodem scelere convenire possint, et omnes inter se aequales sint, nec ultra quadriennium eo officio fungantur, Regi nequaquam formidolosi esse queunt, nisi libertatem iis adimere tentet, quo omnes cives pariter offendet. Nam, (ut Ant. Perezus optime notat) imperio absoluto uti Principi admodum periculosum, subditis admodum odiosum, et institutis tam divinis, quam humanis adversum, ut innumera ostendunt exempla.

XV. Praeter haec, alia fundamenta in praec. Cap. jecimus, ex quibus Regi magna imperii, et civibus libertatis, ac pacis obtinendae securitas oritur, quae suis locis ostendemus. Nam quae ad supremum Concilium spectant, quaeque maximi ponderis sunt, ante omnia demonstrare volui, jam reliqua eo, quo ipsa proposui, ordine persequar.

XVI. Quod cives eo potentiores, et consequenter magis sui juris sint, quo majores urbes, et magis munitas habent, dubio caret: quo enim locus, in quo sunt, tutior est, eo libertatem suam melius tueri, sive hostem externum, vel internum minus timere possunt, et certum est, homines naturali ter securitati suae eo magis

consulere, quo divitiis potentiores sunt. Quae autem urbes alterius potentia, ut conserventur, indigent, aequale jus cum eo non habent, sed eatenus alterius sunt juris, quatenus alterius potentia indigent. Jus enim sola potentia definiri in 2. Cap. ostendimus.

XVII. Hac eadem etiam de causa, ut cives scilicet sui juris maneant, et libertatem tueantur, militia ex solis civibus nullo excepto constare debet. Etenim homo armatus magis, quam inermis sui juris (vide Art. 12. hujus Cap.), et ii cives suum jus in alterum absolute transferunt, ejusdemque fidei omnino committunt, cui arma dederunt, et urbium munimenta crediderunt. Huc accedit humana avaritia, qua plerique maxime ducuntur: fieri enim non potest, ut auxiliarius miles sine magnis sumptibus conducatur, et cives vix pati possunt exactiones, quae sustentandae otiosae militiae requiruntur. Quod autem nullus, qui integrae militiae, vel magnae ejus parti imperet, nisi, cogente necessitate, in annum ad summum eligendus sit, norunt omnes, qui historias, tam sacras, quam (25) profanas legerunt. Ratio autem nihil hoc clarius docet. Nam sane imperii robur ei omnino creditur, cui satis temporis conceditur, ut militarem gloriam occupet, ipsiusque nomen supra Regis attollatur, vel fidum sibi exercitum faciat obsequio, liberalitate, et reliquis artibus, ducibus assuetis, quibus alienum servitium, et sibi dominationem quaerunt. Denique ad majorem totius imperii securitatem addidi, quod hi militiae imperatores eligendi sunt ex Regis Consiliariis, vel qui eodem officio functi sunt, hoc est, viris, qui eo aetatis pervenerunt, qua homines plerumque vetera, et tuta, quam nova, et periculosa malint.

XVIII. Cives inter se familiis distinguendos esse dixi, et ex unaquaque aequalem Consiliariorum numerum eligendum, ut majores urbes plures haberent pro numero civium Consiliarios, et plura, ut aequum est, adferre possent suffragia. Nam imperii potentia et consequenter jus ex civium numero aestimanda est; nec credo, quod ad hanc inter cives aequalitatem servandam aliud medium aptius excogitari potest, qui omnes natura ita comparati sunt, ut unusquisque generi suo adscribi velit, et stirpe a reliquis internosci.

XIX. Praeterea in statu naturali unusquisque nihil minus sibi vindicare, et sui juris facere potest, quam solum, et quicquid solo ita adhaeret, ut id nusquam abscondere, nec portare, quo velit, potest. Solum igitur, et quicquid ei ea, qua diximus, conditione adhaeret, apprime communis Civitatis juris est, nempe eorum omnium, qui junctis viribus, vel ejus, cui omnes potestatem dederunt, qua id sibi vindicare possit, et consequenter solum, et quicquid ei adhaeret, tanti valere apud cives debet, quantum necesse est, ut pedem eo in loco figere, et commune jus, seu libertatem tueri possint. Caeterum utilitates, quas Civitas hinc necesse est, ut capiat (26), ostendimus Art. 8. hujus Capitis.

XX. Ut cives, quantum fieri potest, aequales sint, quod in Civitate apprime necessarium est, nulli, nisi a Rege oriundi, Nobiles censendi sunt. At si omnibus ex Rege oriundis uxorem ducere, seu liberos procreare liceret, successu temporis in magnum admodum numerum crescerent, et Regi, et omnibus non tantum oneri, sed formidolosissimi (27) insuper essent. Homines enim, qui otio abundant, scelera plerumque meditantur; unde fit, ut Reges maxime Nobilium causa inducantur bellum gerere, quia Regibus, Nobilibus stipatis, major ex bello, quam ex pace securitas, et quies. Sed haec, utpote satis nota, relinquo, ut et quae ex Art. 15. usque ad 27. in praec. Capite dixi: nam praecipua in hoc Cap. demonstrata, et reliqua per se manifesta sunt.

XXI. Quod Judices plures numero esse debeant, quam ut a viro privato magna ejus pars possit muneribus corrumpi, ut et quod suffragia non palam, sed clam ferre debeant, et quod vacationis praemium mereantur, omnibus etiam notum. Sed solent ubique annum habere stipendium; unde fit, ut non admodum festinent lites dirimere, et saepe, ut quaestionibus nullus sit finis. Deinde ubi bonorum publicatio Regum emolumenta sunt, ibi saepe non ius, aut verum in cognitionibus, sed magnitudo opum spectatur; passim delationes, et locupletissimus quisque in praedam correpti, quae gravia, et intoleranda, sed necessitate armorum excusata, etiam in pace manent. At Judicum avaritia, qui scilicet in duos, aut tres annos ad summum constituuntur, metu succedentium temperantur, ut jam taceam, quod Judices bona fixa nulla habere possunt, sed quod argentum suum lucri causa

concivibus credere debeant, atque adeo iis magis consulere, quam insidiari coguntur, praesertim si ipsi iudices magno, uti diximus, numero sint.

XXII. At militiae nullum decernendum esse stipendium diximus: nam summum militiae praemium libertas est. In statu enim naturali nititur unusquisque sola libertatis causa sese, quantum potest, defendere, nec aliud bellicae virtutis praemium exspectat, quam ut suus sit; in statu autem civili omnes simul cives considerandi perinde, ac homo in statu naturali, qui propterea, dum omnes pro eo statu militant, sibi cavent, sibi que vacant. At Consilarii, Iudices, Praetores, etc. plus aliis, quam sibi vacant, quare iis vacationis praemium decerni aequum est. Accedit, quod in bello nullum honestius, nec majus victoriae incitamentum esse potest, quam libertatis imago; sed si contra civium aliqua pars militiae designetur, qua de causa necesse etiam erit iisdem certum stipendium decernere, Rex necessario eosdem prae reliquis agnoscet (ut Art. 12. hujus Cap. ostendimus), homines scilicet, qui belli artes tantummodo norunt, et in pace propter nimium otium luxu corrumpuntur, et tandem propter inopiam rei familiaris nihil praeter rapinas, discordias civiles, et bella meditantur; atque adeo affirmare possumus imperium Monarchicum hujusmodi revera statum belli esse, et solam militiam libertate gaudere, reliquos autem servire.

XXIII. Quae de peregrinis in civium numerum recipiendis Art. 32. praeced. Cap. diximus, per se nota esse credo. Praeterea neminem dubitare (28) existimo, quod ii, qui Regi sanguine propinqui sunt, procul ab eo esse debeant, et non belli, sed pacis negotiis distrahi, ex quibus ipsis decus, et imperio quies sequatur. Quamvis nec hoc quidem Turcarum Tyrannis satis tutum visum fuerit, quibus propterea Religio est fratres omnes necare. Nec mirum; nam quo magis absolute imperii jus in unum translatum est, eo facilius ipsum (ut Art. 14. hujus Cap. exemplo ostendimus) ex uno in alium transferri potest. At imperium Monarchicum, quale hic concipimus, in quo scilicet mercenarius miles nullus est, satis hoc, quo diximus, modo Regis saluti cautum fore, extra dubium est.

XXIV. De iis etiam, quae Art. 34. et 35. praeced. Cap. diximus, ambigere nemo potest. Quod autem Rex extraneam in uxorem ducere non debet, facile

demonstratur. Nam praeterquam quod duae Civitates, quanquam foedere inter se sociatae, in statu tamen hostilitatis sunt (per Art. 14. Ca.), apprime cavendum est, ne bellum propter Regis res domesticas concitetur, et quia controversiae, et dissensiones ex societate praecipue, quae ex matrimonio fit, oriuntur, et quae inter duas Civitates quaestiones sunt, jure belli plerumque dirimuntur, hinc sequitur imperio exitiale esse arctam societatem cum alio inire. Hujus rei fatale exemplum in Scriptura legimus mortuo enim Salomone, qui filiam Regis Aegypti sibi matrimonio junxerat, filius ejus Rehabeam bellum cum Susaco (29) Aegyptiorum Rege infelicissime gessit, a quo omnino subactus est. Matrimonium praeterea Ludovici 14. Regis Galliarum cum filia Philippi quarti novi belli semen fuit, et praeter haec plurima exempla in historiis leguntur.

XXV. Imperii facies una, eademque servari, et consequenter Rex unus, et ejusdem sexus, et imperium indivisibile esse debet. Quod autem dixerim, ut filius Regis natu major patri jure succedat, vel (si nulli sint liberi) qui Regi sanguine proximus est, patet tam ex Artic. 13. praeced. Cap., quam quia Regis electio, quae a multitudine fit, aeterna, si fieri potest, esse debet; alias necessario fiet, ut summa imperii potestas saepe ad multitudinem transeat, quae mutatio summa est, et consequenter periculosissima. Qui autem statuunt, Regem ex eo, quod imperii Dominus est, idque jure absoluto tenet, posse, cui vellet, idem tradere, et successorem, quem velit, eligere, atque adeo Regis filium imperii haeredem jure esse, falluntur sane. Nam Regis voluntas tam diu vim juris habet, quamdiu Civitatis gladium tenet; imperii namque jus sola potentia definitur. Rex igitur regno cedere quidem potest, sed non imperium alteri tradere, nisi connivente multitudine, vel parte ejus validiore. Quod ut clarius intelligatur, venit notandum, quod liberi non jure naturali, sed civili parentum haeredes sunt: nam sola Civitatis potentia fit, ut unusquisque quorundam bonorum sit dominus; quare eadem potentia, sive jure, quo fit, ut voluntas alicujus, qua de suis bonis statuit, rata sit, eodem fit, ut eadem voluntas etiam post ipsius mortem rata maneat, quamdiu Civitas permanet, et hac ratione unusquisque in statu civili idem jus, quod dum in vivis est, etiam post mortem obtinet, quia, uti diximus, non tam sua, quam

Civitatis potentia, quae aeterna est, de suis bonis quicquam statuere potest. At Regis alia prorsus est ratio: nam Regis voluntas ipsum jus Civile est, et rex ipsa Civitas; mortuo igitur Rege obiit quodammodo Civitas, et status Civilis ad naturalem, et consequenter summa potestas ad multitudinem naturaliter redit, quae propterea jure potest leges novas condere, et veteres abrogare. Atque adeo apparet, neminem Regi jure succedere, nisi quem multitudo successorem vult, vel in Theocratia, qualis Hebraeorum Civitas olim fuit, quem Deus per Prophetam elegerit. Possemus praeterea haec inde deducere, quod Regis gladius, sive jus sit revera ipsius multitudinis, sive validioris ejus partis voluntas, vel etiam ex eo, quod homines ratione praediti nunquam suo jure ita cedunt, ut homines esse desinant, et perinde ac pecudes habeantur. Sed haec ulterius persequi non est opus.

XXVI. Caeterum Religionis, sive Deum colendi jus nemo in alium transferre potest. Sed de hoc in duobus ultimis Capitibus Tractatus Theologico-Politici prolixè egimus, quae hic repetere superfluum est. Atque his me optimi imperi i Monarchici fundamenta satis clare, quamvis breviter, demonstrasse autumo. Eorum autem cohaerentiam, sive imperii analogiam facile unusquisque observabit, qui eadem simul aliqua cum attentione contemplari velit. Superest tantum monere, me hic imperium Monarchicum concipere, quod a libera multitudine instituitur, cui solummodo haec ex usu esse possunt; nam multitudo, quae alii imperii formae assuevit, non poterit sine magno eversionis periculo totius imperii recepta fundamenta evellere, et totius imperii fabricam mutare.

XXVII. Atque haec, quae scripsimus, risu forsan excipientur ab iis, qui vitia, quae omnibus mortalibus insunt, ad solam plebem restringunt; nempe quod in vulgo nihil modicum, terrere, ni paveant, et quod plebs aut humiliter servit, aut superbe dominatur, nec ei veritas, aut judicium, etc. At natura una, et communis omnium est. Sed potentia, et cultu decipimur, unde est, ut duo cum idem faciunt, saepe dicamus, hoc licet impune facere huic, illi non licet, non quod dissimilis res sit, sed qui facit. Dominantibus propria est superbia. Superbiunt homines annua designatione: quid nobiles, qui honores in aeternum agitant. Sed eorum arrogantia

fastu, luxu, prodigalitate, certoque vitiorum concentu, et docta quadam insipientia et turpitudinis elegantia adornatur, ita ut vitia, quorum singula seorsim spectata, quia tum maxime eminent, faeda et turpia sunt, honesta, et decora imperitis, et ignaris videantur. Nihil praeterea in vulgo modicum, terrere, nisi paveant: nam libertas, et servitium haud facile miscentur. Denique quod plebi nulla veritas, neque iudicium sit, mirum non est, quando praecipua imperii negotia clam ipsa agitantur, et non nisi ex paucis, quae celari nequeunt, conjecturam facit. Iudicium enim suspendere rara est virtus. Velle igitur clam civibus omnia agere, et me de iisdem prava iudicia ferant, neque ut res omnes sinistre interpretentur, summa est inscitia. Nam si plebs sese temperare, et de rebus parum cognitis iudicium suspendere, vel ex paucis praecognitis recte de rebus iudicare posset, dignior sane esset, ut regeret, quam ut regeretur. Sed, uti diximus, natura omnibus eadem est; superbiunt omnes dominatione: terrent, nisi paveant, et ubique veritas plerumque infringitur ab infensis, vel obnoxiis, praesertim ubi unus, vel pauci dominantur, qui non jus, aut verum in cognitionibus, sed magnitudinem opum spectant.

XXVIII. Milites deinde stipendiarii, militari scilicet disciplinae assueti, aliorum, et inediae patientes, civium turbam contemnere solent, utpote ad expugnationes, vel aperto Marte dimicandum longe inferiorem. Sed quod imperium ea de causa infelicius sit, aut minus constans, nullus, cui mens sana est, affirmabit. Sed contra unusquisque aequus rerum aestimator illud imperium omnium constantius esse non negabit, quod parta tantum tueri, nec aliena appetere potest, quodque propterea bellum omnibus modis declinare, et pacem tueri summo studio conatur.

XXIX. Caeterum fateor hujus imperii consilia celari vix posse. Sed unusquisque mecum etiam fatebitur multo fatius esse, ut recta imperii consilia hostibus pateant, quam ut prava tyrannorum arcana clam civibus habeantur. Qui imperii negotia secreto agitare possunt, idem absolute in potestate habent, et ut hosti in bello, ita civibus in pace insidiantur. Quod silentium imperio saepe ex usu sit, negare nemo potest, sed quod absque eodem idem imperium subsistere nequeat, nemo unquam probabit. At contra Rempublicam alicui absolute credere, et simul libertatem obtinere, fieri nequaquam potest; atque adeo inscitia est,

parvum damnum summo malo vitare velle. Verum eorum, qui sibi imperium absolutum concupiscunt, haec unica fuit cantilena, civitatis omnino interesse, ut ipsius negotia secreto agitentur, et alia hujusmodi, quae quanto magis utilitatis imagine teguntur, tanto ad infensius servitium erumpunt.

XXX. Denique quamvis nullum, quod sciam, imperium his omnibus, quas diximus, conditionibus institutum fuerit, poterimus tamen ipsa etiam experientia ostendere, hanc Monarchici imperii formam optimam esse, si causas conservationis cujuscunque imperii non barbari, et ejusdem eversionis considerare velimus. Sed hoc non sine magno lectoris taedio hic facere possem; attamen unum exemplum, quod memoria dignum videtur, silentio praeterire nolo; nempe Aragonensium imperium, qui singulari erga suos reges fide affecti, et pari constantia regni instituta inviolata servaverunt. Nam hi simulatque servile Maurorum jugum a cervicibus dejecerant, Regem sibi eligere statuerunt; quibus autem conditionibus, non satis inter eosdem conveniebat, et hac de causa summum Pontificem Romanum de ea re consulere constituerunt. Hic, Christi profecto vicarium hac in re se gerens, eos castigavit, quod non satis Hebraeorum exemplo moniti Regem adeo obfirmato animo petere voluerint; sed si sententiam mutare nollent, suasit, ne Regem eligerent, nisi institutis prius ritibus satis aequis, et ingenio gentis consentaneis, et apprime ut supremum aliquod Concilium crearent, quod regibus, ut Lacedaemoniorum Ephori, opponeretur, et jus absolutum haberet lites dirimendi, quae inter Regem, et cives orirentur. Hoc igitur consilium sequuti, jura, quae ipsis omnium aequissima visa sunt, instituerunt, quorum summus interpres, et consequenter supremus judex non Rex, sed Concilium esset, quod septendecim vocant, et cujus praeses Justitia appellatur. Hic igitur Justitia et hi septendecim nullis suffragiis, sed sorte ad vitam electi, jus absolutum habent omnes sententias in civem quemcunque ab aliis Conciliis tam Politicis, quam Ecclesiasticis, vel ab ipso Rege latas revocandi, et damnandi, ita ut quilibet civis jus haberet ipsum etiam Regem coram hoc judicio vocandi. Praeterea olim jus etiam habuerunt Regem eligendi, et potestate privandi; sed multis post elapsis annis Rex Don Pedro, qui dicitur Pugio, ambiendo, largiendo,

pollicitando, omniumque officiorum genere tandem effecit, ut hoc jus rescinderetur (quod simulac obtinuit, manum pugione coram omnibus amputavit, vel, quod facilius crediderim, laesit, addens, non sine sanguinis Regii impendio licere subditis Regem eligere), ea tamen conditione: ut potuerint, et possint arma capere contra vim quamcunque, qua aliquis imperium ingredi in ipsorum damnum velit, imo contra ipsum Regem et principem futurum haeredem, si hoc modo (imperium) ingrediatur. Qua sane conditione praecedens illud jus non tam aboleverunt, quam correxerunt. Nam ut Art. 5. et 6. Ca. ostendimus, Rex non jure civili, sed jure belli dominandi potentia privari potest, vel ipsius vim vi solummodo repellere subditis licet. Praeter hanc alias stipulati sunt conditiones, quae ad nostrum scopum non faciunt. Hi ritus (30) ex omnium sententia instructi incredibili temporis spatio inviolati manserunt, pari semper fide Regum erga subditos, ac subditorum erga Regem. Sed postquam regnum Castellae Ferdinando, qui omnium primus Catholicus nuncupatus fuit, haereditate cessit, incepit haec Arragonensium libertas Castellanis esse invisa, qui propterea ipsum Ferdinandum suadere non cessabant, ut jura illa rescinderet. At ille, nondum imperio absoluto assuetus, nihil tentare ausus, Consiliariis haec respondit: praeterquam quod Arragonensium Regnum iis, quas noverant, conditionibus acceperit, quodque easdem servare sanctissime juraverit, et praeterquam quod inhumanum sit fidem da tam solvere, se in animum induxisse, suum Regnum stabile fore, quamdiu securitatis ratio non major Regi, quam subditis esset, ita ut nec Rex subditis, nec contra subditi Regi praeponderarent; nam si alterutra pars potentior evadat, pars debilior non tantum pristinam aequalitatem recuperare, sed dolore accepti damni in alteram contra referre conabitur, unde vel alterutrius, vel utriusque ruina sequeretur. Quae sane sapientia verba non satis mirari possem, si prolata fuissent a Rege, qui servis, non liberis hominibus imperare consuevisset. Retinuerunt igitur Arragonenses post Ferdinandum libertatem, non jam jure, sed Regum potentiorum gratia usque ad Philippum secundum, qui eosdem feliciori quidem fato, sed non minori saevitia, quam Confoederatorum Provincias oppressit. Et quamvis Philippus tertius omnia in integrum restituisse videatur,

Arragonenses tamen, quorum plerique cupidine potentioribus affentandi (nam inscitia est contra stimulos calces mittere), et reliqui metu territi, nihil praeter libertatis speciosa vocabula, et inanes ritus retinuerunt.

XXXI. Concludimus itaque multitudinem satis amplam libertatem sub Rege servare posse, modo efficiat, ut Regis potentia sola ipsius multitudinis potentia determinetur, et ipsius multitudinis praesidio servetur. Atque haec unica fuit Regula, quam in jaciendis imperii Monarchici fundamentis sequutus sum.

CAPUT VIII.



QUOD IMPERIUM ARISTOCRATICUM magno Patriciorum numero constare debet: de ejus praestantia, et quod ad absolutum magis, quam Monarchicum accedat, et hac de causa Libertati conservandae aptius sit.

I. Huc usque de Imperio Monarchico. Qua autem ratione Aristocraticum instituendum sit, ut permanere possit, hic jam dicemus. Aristocraticum imperium illud esse diximus, quod non unus, sed quidam ex multitudine selecti tenent, quos imposterum Patricios appellabimus. Dico expresse, quod quidam selecti tenent. Nam haec praecipua est differentia inter hoc, et Democraticum imperium, quod scilicet in Imperio Aristocratico gubernandi jus a sola electione pendeat : in Democratico autem maxime a jure quodam innato, vel fortuna adepto (ut suo loco dicemus), atque adeo, tametsi imperii alicujus integra multitudo in numerum Patriciorum recipiatur, modo illud jus haereditarium non sit, nec lege aliqua communi ad alios descendat, imperium tamen Aristocraticum omnino erit, quandoquidem nulli, nisi expresse electi, in numerum Patriciorum recipiuntur. At si hi duo tantummodo fuerint, alter altero potior esse conabitur, et imperium facile, ob nimiam uniuscujusque (31) potentiam, in duas partes dividetur, et in tres, aut quatuor, aut quinque, si tres, aut quatuor, aut quinque id tenuerint sed partes eo debiliores erunt, quo in plures ipsum imperium delatum fuerit: ex quo sequitur, in imperio Aristocratico, ut stabile sit, ad minimum Patriciorum numerum determinandum, necessario habendam esse rationem magnitudinis ipsius imperii.

II. Ponatur itaque pro mediocris imperii magnitudine satis esse, ut centum optimi viri dentur, in quos summa imperii potestas delata sit, et quibus consequenter jus competat Collegas Patricios eligendi, quando eorum aliquis vita excessit. Hi sane omni modo conabuntur, ut eorum liberi, vel qui iis sanguine

proximi sunt, sibi succedant: unde fiet, ut summa imperii potestas semper penes eos erit, quos fortuna Patriciis liberos, aut consanguineos dedit, et quia ex centum hominibus, qui fortunae causa ad honores ascendunt, vix tres reperiuntur, qui arte, et consilio pollent, vigentque, fiet ergo, ut imperii potestas non penes centum, sed penes duos tantummodo, aut tres sit, qui animi virtute pollent, quique facile omnia ad se trahere, et unusquisque more humanae cupidinis viam ad Monarchiam sternere poterit: atque adeo, si recte calculum ineamus, necesse est, ut summa potestas imperii, cujus magnitudinis ratio centum optimatum ad minimum exigit, in quinquies mille ad minimum Patricios (32) deferatur. Hac enim ratione nunquam deerit, quin centum reperiantur animi virtute excellentes, posito scilicet, quod ex quinquaginta, qui honores ambiunt, eosque adipiscuntur, unus semper reperiatur optimis non inferior, praeter alios, qui optimorum virtutes aemulantur, quique propterea digni etiam sunt, qui regant.

III. Solent frequentius Patricii cives esse unius urbis, quae caput totius imperii est, ita ut Civitas, sive Respublica ex eadem habeat vocabulum, ut olim Romana, hodie Veneta, Genuensis, etc. At Hollandorum Respublica nomen ex integra Provincia habet, ex quo oritur, ut hujus imperii subditi majori libertate gaudeant. Jam antequam fundamenta, quibus hoc imperium Aristocraticum niti debet, determinare possimus, notanda est differentia inter imperium, quod in unum, et id (33), quod in satis magnum Concilium transfertur, quae sane permagna est. Nam primo unius hominis potentia integro imperio sustinendo (ut Art. 5. Ca. diximus) longe impar est, quod sine manifesto aliquo absurdo de Concilio satis magno enunciare nemo potest: qui enim Concilium satis magnum esse affirmat, simul negat idem imperio sustinendo esse impar. Rex igitur Consiliariis omnino indiget, Concilium autem hujusmodi minime. Deinde Reges mortales sunt, Concilia contra aeterna: atque adeo imperii potentia, quae semel in Concilium satis magnum translata est, numquam ad multitudinem redit, quod in imperio Monarchico locum non habet, ut Art. 25. Cap. praeced. ostendimus. Tertio Regis imperium vel ob ejus pueritiam, aegritudinem, senectutem, vel aliis de causis saepe precarium est; hujusmodi autem Concilii potentia econtra una, eademque

semper manet. Quarto unius hominis voluntas varia admodum, et inconstans est: et hac de causa imperii Monarchici omne quidem jus est Regis explicata voluntas (ut in Art. 1. Cap. praeced. diximus): at non omnis Regis voluntas jus esse debet, quod de voluntate Concilii satis magni dici nequit. Nam quandoquidem ipsum Concilium (ut modo ostendimus) nullis Consiliariis indiget, debet necessario omnis ejus explicata voluntas jus esse. Ac proinde concludimus, imperium, quod in Concilium satis magnum transfertur, absolutum esse, vel ad absolutum maxime accedere. Nam si quod imperium absolutum datur, illud revera est, quod integra multitudo tenet.

IV. Attamen quatenus hoc imperium Aristocraticum nunquam (ut modo ostensum) ad multitudinem redit, nec ulla in eo multitudini consultatio, sed absolute omnis ejusdem Concilii voluntas jus est, debet omnino ut absolutum considerari, et consequenter ejus fundamenta sola ejusdem Concilii voluntate, et judicio niti debent, non autem multitudinis vigilantia, quandoquidem ipsa tam a consiliis, quam suffragiis ferendis arcetur. Causa igitur, cur in praxi imperium absolutum non sit, nulla alia esse potest, quam quia multitudo imperantibus formidolosa est, quae propterea aliquam sibi libertatem obtinet, quam, si non expressa lege, tacite tamem sibi vendicat, obtinetque.

V. Apparet itaque hujus imperii conditionem optimam fore, si ita institutum fuerit, ut ad absolutum maxime accedat, hoc est, ut multitudo, quantum fieri potest, minus timenda sit, nullamque libertatem obtineat, nisi quae ex ipsius imperii constitutione ipsi necessario tribui debet, quaeque adeo non tam multitudinis, quam totius imperii jus sit, quod soli Optimates ut suum vendicant, conservantque; hoc enim modo praxis cum theoria maxime conveniet, ut ex Art. praeced. patet, et per se etiam manifestum est: nam dubitare non possumus, imperium eo minus penes Patricios esse, quo plura sibi plebs jura vendicat, qualia solent in inferiori Germania opificum Collegia, Gilden vulgo dicta, habere.

VI. Neque hinc, quod scilicet imperium in Concilium absolute delatum est, ullum ab eodem infensi servitii periculum plebi metuendum. Nam Concilii adeo magni voluntas non tam a libidine, quam a ratione determinari potest; quippe

homines ex malo affectu diversi trahuntur, nec una veluti mente duci possunt, nisi quatenus honesta appetunt, vel saltem quae speciem honesti habent.

VII. In determinandis igitur imperii Aristocratici fundamentis apprime observandum est, ut eadem sola voluntate, et potentia supremi ejusdem Concilii nitantur, ita ut ipsum Concilium, quantum fieri potest, sui juris sit, nullumque a multitudine periculum habeat. Ad haec fundamenta, quae scilicet sola supremi Concilii voluntate, et potentia nitantur, determinandum, fundamenta pacis, quae imperii Monarchici propria, et ab hoc imperio aliena sunt, videamus. Nam si his alia aequipollentia fundamenta imperio Aristocratico idonea substituerimus, et reliqua, ut jam jacta sunt, reliquerimus, omnes absque dubio seditionum causae sublatae erunt, vel saltem hoc imperium non minus securum, quam Monarchicum, sed contra eo magis securum, et ipsius conditio eo melior erit, quo magis quam Monarchicum absque pacis, et libertatis detrimento (vid. Art. 3. et 6. hujus Cap.) ad absolutum accedit; nam quo jus summae potestatis majus est, eo imperii forma cum rationis dictamine magis convenit (per Art. 5. Ca.), et consequenter paci, et libertati conservandae aptior est. Percurramus igitur, quae Ca. Art. 9. diximus, ut illa, quae ab hoc aliena sunt, rejiciamus, et quae ei congrua sunt, videamus.

VIII. Quod primo necesse sit, urbem unam, aut plures condere, et munire, nemo dubitare potest. Sed illa praecipue munienda est, quae totius imperii est caput, et praeterea illae, quae in limitibus imperii sunt. Illa enim, quae totius imperii caput est, jusque summum habet, omnibus potentior esse debet. Caeterum in hoc imperio superfluum omnino est, ut incolae omnes in familias dividantur.

IX. Ad militiam quod attinet, quoniam in hoc imperio non inter omnes, sed tantum inter Patricios aequalitas quaerenda est, et praecipue Patriciorum potentia major est, quam plebis, certum est, ad leges, seu jura fundamentalia hujus imperii non pertinere, ut militia ex ullis aliis, quam ex subditis, formetur. Sed hoc apprime necesse est, ut nullus in Patriciorum numerum recipiatur, nisi qui artem militarem recte noverit. Subditos autem extra militiam esse, ut quidam volunt, inscitia sane est. Nam praeterquam quod militiae stipendium, quod subditis solvitur, in ipso regno manet, cum contra id, quod militi extraneo solvitur, omne

pereat accedit, quod maximum imperii robur debilitaretur. Nam certum est, illos singulari animi virtute certare, qui pro aris, et focis certant. Unde etiam apparet, illos etiam non minus errare, qui belli duces, tribunos, centuriones etc. ex solis Patriciis eligendos statuunt. Nam qua virtute ii milites certabunt, quibus omnis gloriae, et honores adipiscendi spes adimitur. Verum contra legem stabilire, ne Patriciis militem extraneum liceat conducere, quando res postulat, vel ad sui defensionem, et seditiones coërcendas, vel ob alias quascunque causas, praeterquam quod inconsultum est, repugnaret etiam summo Patriciorum juri, de quo vide Art. 3.4. et 5. huj. Cap. Caeterum unius exercitus, vel totius militiae dux in bello tantummodo, et ex solis Patriciis eligendus, qui annum ad summum imperium habeat nec continuari in imperio, nec postea eligi possit; quod jus cum in Monarchico, tum maxime in hoc imperio necessarium est. Nam, quamvis multo facilius, ut supra jam diximus, imperium ex uno in alium, quam ex libero Concilio in unum hominem transferri possit, fit tamen saepe, ut Patricii a suis Ducibus opprimantur, idque multo majori Reipublicae damno; quippe quando Monarcha e medio tollitur, non imperii, sed tantummodo Tyranni mutatio fit. At in imperio Aristocratico fieri id nequit absque eversione imperii, et maximorum virorum clade. Cujus rei funestissima exempla Roma dedit. Caeterum ratio, cur in imperio Monarchico diximus, quod Militia sine stipendio servire debeat, locum in hujusmodi imperio non habet. Nam, quandoquidem subditi tam a Consiliis, quam suffragiis ferendis arcentur, perinde ac peregrini censendi sunt, qui propterea non iniquiore conditione, ac peregrini, ad militandum conducendi sunt. Neque hic periculum est, ut a Concilio prae reliquis agnoscantur. Quinimo ne unusquisque suorum factorum iniquus, ut fit, aestimator sit, consultius est, ut Patricii certum praemium militibus pro servitio decernant.

X. Praeterea hac etiam de causa, quod omnes praeter Patricios peregrini sunt, fieri non potest absque totius imperii periculo, ut agri, et domus, et omne solum publici juris maneant, et ut incolis annuo pretio locentur. Nam subditi, qui nullam in imperio partem habent, facile omnes in adversis urbes desererent, si bona, quae possident, portare, quo vellent, liceret. Quare agri, et fundi hujus imperii subditis

non locandi, sed vendendi sunt, ea tamen conditione, ut etiam ex annuo proventu partem aliquotam singulis annis numerent, etc., ut in Hollandia fit.

XI. His consideratis, ad fundamenta, quibus supremum Concilium niti, et firmari debet, pergo. Hujus Concilii membra in mediocri imperio quinque circiter millia esse debere ostendimus Art. 2. hujus Cap., atque adeo ratio quaerenda est, qua fiat, ne paulatim ad pauciores deveniat imperium, sed contra, ut pro ratione incrementi ipsius imperii eorum augeatur numerus, deinde ut inter Patricios aequalitas, quantum fieri potest, servetur, ut praeterea in Conciliis celeris detur expeditio, ut communi bono consulatur, et denique ut Patriciorum, seu Concilii major sit, quam multitudinis, potentia, sed ita, ut nihil inde multitudo detrimenti patiatur.

XII. Ad primum autem obtinendum maxima oritur difficultas ex invidia. Sunt enim homines, ut diximus, natura hostes, ita ut, quamvis legibus copulentur, adstringanturque, retineant tamen naturam. Atque hinc fieri existimo, ut imperia Democratica in Aristocratica, et haec tandem in Monarchica mutantur. Nam plane mihi persuadeo, pleraque Aristocratica imperia Democratica prius fuisse, quod scilicet quaedam multitudo novas sedes quaerens, iisque inventis, et cultis, imperandi aequale jus integra retinuit, quia nemo imperium alteri dat volens. Sed, quamvis eorum unusquisque aequum esse cenleat, ut idem jus, quod alteri in ipsum est, ipsi etiam in alterum sit, iniquum tamen esse putat, ut peregrinis, qui ad ipsos confluunt, aequale cum ipsis jus sit in imperio, quod sibi labore quaesierant, et sui sanguinis impendio occupaverant. Quod nec ipsi peregrini renuunt, qui nimirum non ad imperandum, sed ad res suas privatas curandum eo migrant, et satis sibi concedi putant, si modo ipsis libertas concedatur res suas cum securitate agendi. Sed interim multitudo ex peregrinorum confluentia augetur, qui paulatim illius gentis mores induunt, donec demum nulla alia diversitate dignoscuntur, quam hoc solo, quod adipiscendorum honorum jure careant; et dum horum numerus quotidie crescit, civium contra multis de causis minuitur. Quippe saepe familiae extinguuntur, alii ob scelera exclusi, et plerique ob rei domesticae angustiam Rempublicam negligunt, dum interea potentiores nihil studeant, quam

soli regnare; et sic paulatim imperium ad paucos, et tandem ob factiones ad unum redigitur. Atque his alias causas, quae hujusmodi imperia destruunt, adjungere possemus; sed, quia satis nota sunt, iisdem supersedeo, et leges, quibus hoc imperium, de quo agimus, conservari debet, ordine jam ostendam.

XIII. Primaria hujus imperii Lex esse debet, qua determinatur ratio numeri Patriciorum ad multitudinem. Ratio enim (per Art. 1. hujus Cap.) inter hanc, et illos habenda est, ita ut pro incremento multitudinis Patriciorum numerus augeatur. Atque haec (per illa, quae Art. 2. hujus Cap. diximus) debet esse circiter ut I ad 50, hoc est, ut inaequalitas numeri Patriciorum ad multitudinem nunquam major sit. Nam (per Art. 1. hujus Cap.) servata imperii forma, numerus Patriciorum multo major esse potest numero multitudinis. Sed in sola eorum paucitate periculum est. Qua autem ratione cavendum sit, ut haec lex inviolata servetur, suo loco mox ostendam.

XIV. Patricii ex quibusdam tantummodo familiis aliquibus in locis eliguntur. Sed hoc expresso jure statuere perniciosum est. Nam, praeterquam quod familiae saepe extinguuntur, et quod nunquam reliquae absque ignominia excluduntur, accedit, quod hujus imperii formae repugnat, ut patricia dignitas haereditaria sit (per Art. 1. hujus Cap.). Sed imperium hac ratione Democraticum potius videtur, quale in Art. 12. hujus Cap. descripsimus, quod scilicet paucissimi tenent cives. Attamen contra cavere, ne Patricii filios suos, et consanguineos eligant, et consequenter ne imperandi jus in quibusdam familiis maneat, impossibile est, imo absurdum, ut Art. 39. hujus Cap. ostendam. Verum, modo id nullo expresso jure obtineant, nec reliqui (qui scilicet in imperio nati sunt, et patrio sermone utuntur, nec uxorem peregrinam habent, nec infames sunt, nec (34) serviunt, nec denique servili aliquo officio vitam sustentant, inter quos etiam Oenopolae et Cerevisiarii numerandi sunt) excludantur, retinebitur nihilominus imperii forma, et ratio inter Patricios, et multitudinem servari semper poterit.

XV. Quod si praeterea lege statuatur, ut nulli juniores eligantur, nunquam fiet, ut paucae familiae jus imperandi retineant; atque adeo lege statuendum, ut nullus,

nisi qui ad annum aetatis trigesimum pervenit, in catalogum eligendorum referri possit.

XVI. Tertio deinde statuendum est, ut Patricii omnes in quodam urbis loco statutis certis temporibus congregari debeant, et qui, nisi morbo, aut publico aliquo negotio impeditus, Concilio non interfuerit, sensibili aliqua pecuniae poena mulctetur. Nam ni hoc fieret, plurimi ob rei domesticae curam publicam negligerent.

XVII. Hujus Concilii officium sit leges condere, et abrogare, Collegas Patricios, et omnes imperii ministros eligere. Non enim fieri potest, ut is, qui supremum jus habet, ut hoc Concilium habere statuimus, alicui potestatem det leges condendi, et abrogandi, quin simul jure suo cedat, et in illum id transferat, cui illam potestatem dedit; quippe, qui vel uno solo die potestatem habet leges condendi, et abrogandi, ille totam imperii formam mutare potest. At quotidiana imperii negotia aliis ad tempus secundum constituta jura administranda tradere, retento supremo suo jure, potest. Praeterea, si imperii ministri ab alio, quam ab hoc Concilio eligerentur, tum hujus Concilii membra pupilli potius, quam Patricii appellandi essent.

XVIII. Huic Concilio solent quidam Rectorem, seu Principem creare, vel ad vitam, ut Veneti, vel ad tempus, ut Genuenses, sed tanta cum cautione, ut satis appareat, id non sine magno imperii periculo fieri. Et sane dubitare non possumus, quin imperium hac ratione ad Monarchicum accedat, et quantum ex eorum historiis conjicere possumus, nulla alia de causa id factum est, quam quia ante constituta haec Concilia sub Rectore, vel Duce, veluti sub Rege, fuerant; atque adeo Rectoris creatio Gentis quidem, sed non imperii Aristocratici absolute considerati, requisitum necessarium est.

XIX. Attamen, quia summa hujus imperii potestas penes universum hoc Concilium, non autem penes unumquodque ejusdem membrum est (nam alias coetus esset inordinatae multitudinis), necesse ergo est, ut Patricii omnes Legibus ita astringantur, ut unum veluti corpus, quod una regitur mente, componant. At leges per se solae invalidae sunt, et facile franguntur, ubi earum vindices ii ipsi

sunt, qui peccare possunt, quique soli exemplum ex supplicio capere debent, et collegas ea de causa punire, ut suum appetitum ejusdem supplicii metu frenent, quod magnum est absurdum; atque adeo medium quaerendum est, quo supremi hujus Concilii ordo, et imperii jura inviolata servantur, ita tamen, ut inter Patricios aequalitas, quanta dari potest, sit.

XX. Cum autem ex uno Rectore, vel Principe, qui etiam in Conciliis suffragium ferre potest, magna necessario oriri debeat inaequalitas, praesertim ob potentiam, quae ipsi necessario concedi debet, ut suo officio securius fungi possit, nihil ergo, si omnia recte perpendamus, communi saluti utilius institui potest, quam quod huic supremo Concilio aliud subordinetur ex quibusdam Patriciis, quorum officium solummodo sit observare, ut imperii jura, quae Concilia, et imperii Ministros concernunt, inviolata servantur, qui propterea potestatem habeant delinquentem quemcunque imperii Ministrum, qui scilicet contra jura, quae ipsius ministerium concernunt, peccavit, coram suo judicio vocandi, et secundum constituta jura damnandi; atque hos imposterum Syndicos appellabimus.

XXI. Atque hi ad vitam eligendi sunt. Nam si ad tempus eligerentur, ita ut postea ad alia imperii officia vocari possent (35), in absurdum, quod Art. 19. hujus Cap. modo ostendimus, incideremus. Sed, ne longa admodum dominatione nimium (36) superbiant, nulli ad hoc ministerium eligendi sunt, nisi qui ad annum aetatis sexagesimum, aut ultra pervenerunt, et Senatorio officio (de quo infra) functi sunt.

XXII. Horum praeterea numerum facile determinabimus, si consideremus hos Syndicos ad Patricios sese habere, ut omnes simul Patricii ad multitudinem, quam regere nequeunt, si justo numero pauciores sunt; ac proinde Syndicorum numerus ad Patriciorum numerum debet esse, ut horum numerus ad numerum multitudinis, hoc est (per Art. 13. hujus Cap.), ut 1 ad 50.

XXIII. Praeterea ut hoc Concilium secure suo officio fungi possit, militiae pars aliqua eidem decernenda est, cui imperare, quid velit, possit.

XXIV. Syndicis, vel cuicunque status ministro stipendium nullum, sed emolumenta decernenda sunt talia, ut non possint sine magno suo damno Rempublicam prave administrare. Nam, quod hujus imperii ministris aequum sit vacationis (37) praemium decerni, dubitare non possumus, quia major hujus imperii pars plebs est, cujus securitati Patricii invigilant, dum ipsa nullam Reip. sed tantum privatae curam habet. Verum quia contra nemo (ut Art. 4. Ca. diximus) alterius causam defendit, nisi quatenus rem suam eo ipso stabilire credit, res necessario ita ordinandae sunt, ut ministri, qui Reipublicae curam habent, tum maxime sibi consulant, cum maxime communi bono invigilant.

XXV. Syndicis igitur, quorum officium, uti diximus, est observare, ut imperii jura inviolata servantur, haec emolumenta decernenda sunt, videlicet ut unusquisque Paterfamilias, qui in aliquo imperii loco habitat, quotannis nummum parvi valoris, nempe argenti unciae quartam partem solvere teneatur Syndicis, ut inde numerum inhabitantium cognoscere possint, atque adeo observare, quotam ejus partem Patricii efficiant. Deinde ut unusquisque Patricius tyro, ut electus est, Syndicis numerare debeat summam aliquam magnam, ex. gr. viginti, aut viginti quinque argenti libras. Praeterea pecunia illa, qua absentes Patricii (qui scilicet convocato Concilio non interfuerunt) condemnantur, Syndicis etiam decernenda est, et insuper ut pars bonorum delinquentium Ministrorum, qui eorum judicio stare tenentur, et qui certa pecuniae summa mulctantur, vel quorum bona proscribuntur, iisdem dedicetur, non quidem omnibus, sed iis tantummodo, qui quotidie sedent, et quorum officium est Syndicorum Concilium convocare, de quibus vide Art. 28. hujus Cap. Ut autem Syndicorum Concilium suo semper numero constet, ante omnia in supremo Concilio, solito tempore convocato, de eo quaestio habenda est. Quod si a Syndicis neglectum fuerit, ut tum ei, qui Senatui (de quo mox erit nobis dicendi locus) praeest, supremum Concilium ea de re monere incumbat, et a Syndicorum praeside silentii habiti causam exigere, et, quid de ea supremi Concilii sententia sit, inquirere. Quod si is etiam tacuerit, ut causa ab eo, qui supremo judicio praeest, vel eo etiam tacente ab alio quocunque Patricio suscipiatur, qui tam a Syndicorum, quam Senatus, et Judicum praeside

silentii rationem exigat. Denique ut lex illa, qua juniores secluduntur, stricte etiam observetur, statuendum est, ut omnes, qui ad annum aetatis trigesimum pervenerunt, quique expresso jure a Regimine non secluduntur, suum nomen in catalogo coram Syndicis inscribi curent, et accepti honoris signum quoddam, statuto aliquo pretio, ab iisdem accipere, ut ipsis liceat certum ornatum, iis tantummodo concessum, induere, quo dignoscantur, et in honore a reliquis habeantur; et interim jure constitutum sit, ut in electionibus nulli Patricio quenquam nominare liceat, nisi cujus nomen in communi catalogo inscriptum est, idque sub gravi poena. Et praeterea ne cuiquam liceat officium, sive munus, ad quod subeundum eligitur, recusare. Denique, ut omnia absolute fundamentalia imperii jura aeterna sint, statuendum est, si quis in Supremo Concilio quaestionem de jure aliquo fundamentalis moverit, utpote de prolonganda alicujus Ducis exercitus dominatione, vel de numero Patriciorum minuendo, et similibus, ut reus Majestatis sit, et non tantum mortis damnetur, ejusque bona proscribantur, sed ut supplicii aliquod signum in aeternam rei memoriam in publico emineat. Ad reliqua vero communia imperii jura stabiliendum sufficit, si modo statuatur, ut Lex nulla abrogari, nec nova condi possit, nisi prius Syndicorum Concilium, et deinde supremi Concilii tres quartae, aut quatuor quintae partes in eo convenerint.

XXVI. Jus praeterea supremum Concilium convocandi, resque decernendas in eodem proponendi penes Syndicos sit, quibus etiam primus locus in Concilio concedatur, sed sine jure suffragii. Verum, antequam sedeant, jurare debent per salutem supremi illius Concilii, perque libertatem publicam, se fummo studio conaturos, ut jura patria inviolata servantur, et communi bono consulatur; quo facto res proponendas ordine aperiant per ministrum, qui ipsis a Secretis est.

XXVII. Ut autem in decernendo, et in eligendis imperii ministris omnibus Patriciis aequa sit potestas, et celeris expeditio in omnibus detur, omnino probandus est ordo, quem Veneti observant, qui scilicet ad nominandos imperii ministros aliquot e Concilio sorte eligunt, et ab his ordine ministris eligendis nominatis, unusquisque Patricius sententiam suam, qua propositum ministerium eligendum probat, vel reprobat, indicat calculis, ita ut postea ignoretur, quisnam

hujus, aut illius sententiae fuerit auctor: quo fit non tantum, ut omnium Patriciorum in decernendo auctoritas aequalis sit, et ut negotia cito expediantur, sed etiam ut unusquisque absolutam libertatem, quod in Conciliis apprime necessarium est, habeat suam sententiam absque ullo invidiae periculo proferendi.

XXVIII. In Syndicorum etiam, et reliquis Conciliis idem ordo observandus est, ut scilicet suffragia calculis ferantur. Jus autem Syndicorum Concilium convocandi, resque in eodem decernendas proponendi penes eorundem praesidem esse oportet, qui cum aliis decem, aut pluribus Syndicis quotidie sedeat, ad plebis de ministris querelas, et secretas accusationes audiendum, et accusatores, si res postulat, asservandos, et Concilium convocandum, etiam ante constitutum tempus, quo congregari solet, si in mora periculum esse eorum aliquis judicaverit. At hic praeses, et qui cum ipso quotidie congregantur, a supremo Concilio eligi, et quidem ex Syndicorum numero debent, non quidem ad vitam, sed in sex menses, nec continuari, nisi post tres, aut quatuor annos: atque his, ut supra diximus, proscripta bona, et pecuniarum mulctae, vel eorum pars aliqua decernenda est. Reliqua, quae Syndicos spectant, suis in locis dicemus.

XXIX. Secundum Concilium, quod supremo subordinandum est, Senatum appellabimus, cujus officium sit publica negotia agere, ex. gr. imperii jura promulgare, urbium munimenta secundum jura ordinare, diplomata militiae dare, tributa subditis imponere, eaque collocare, externis legatis respondere, et, quo legati mittendi sunt, decernere. Sed ipsos legatos eligere supremi Concilii officium sit. Nam id apprime observandum est, ne Patricius ad aliquod imperii ministerium vocari possit, nisi ab ipso supremo Concilio, ne ipsi Patricii Senatus gratiam aucupari studeant. Deinde illa omnia ad supremum Concilium deferenda sunt, quae praesentem rerum statum aliqua ratione mutant, uti sunt belli, et pacis decreta; quare Senatus decreta de bello, et pace, ut rata sint, supremi Concilii auctoritate firmanda sunt: et hac de causa judicarem, ad solum supremum Concilium, non ad Senatum pertinere, nova tributa imponere.

XXX. Ad Senatorum numerum determinandum haec considerata veniunt: primo ut omnibus Patriciis spes aequae magnae sit ordinem Senatorium recipiendi,

deinde ut nihilominus iidem Senatores, quorum tempus, in quod electi fuerant, elapsum est, non magno post intervallo continuari possint, ut sic imperium a viris peritis, et expertis semper regatur, et denique ut inter Senatores plures reperiantur sapientia, et virtute clari. Ad has autem omnes conditiones obtinendas, nihil aliud excogitari potest, quam quod lege institutum sit, ut nullus, nisi qui ad annum aetatis quinquagesimum pervenit, in ordinem Senatorium recipiatur, et ut quadringenti, hoc est, ut Patriciorum una circiter duodecima pars in annum eligatur, quo elapso post biennium iidem continuari iterum possint; hoc namque modo semper Patriciorum una circiter duodecima pars, brevibus tantummodo interpositis intervallis, munus Senatorium subibit; qui sane numerus una cum illo, quem Syndici conficiunt, non multum superabitur a numero Patriciorum, qui annum aetatis quinquagesimum attigerunt, atque adeo omnibus Patriciis magna semper erit spes Senatorum, aut Syndicorum ordinem adipiscendi, et nihilominus iidem Patricii, interpositis tantummodo, uti diximus, brevibus intervallis, Senatorium ordinem semper tenebunt, et (per illa, quae Art. 2. hujus Cap. diximus) nunquam in Senatu deerunt viri praestantissimi, qui consilio, et arte pollent. Et, quia haec lex frangi non potest absque magna multorum Patriciorum invidia, nulla alia cautione, ut valida semper sit, opus est, quam ut unusquisque Patricius, qui eo, quo diximus, aetatis pervenit, Syndicis ejus rei testimonium ostendat, qui ipsius nomen in catalogum eorum, qui Senatoriis muneribus adipiscendis destinantur, reponent, et in supremo Concilio legent, ut locum in hoc supremo Concilio similibus dicatum, et qui Senatorum loco proximus sit, cum reliquis ejusdem ordinis occupet.

XXXI. Senatorum emolumenta talia esse debent, ut iis major utilitas ex pace, quam ex bello sit; atque adeo ex mercibus, quae ex imperio in alias regiones, vel quae ex aliis regionibus in imperium portantur, una centesima, aut quinquagesima pars ipsis decernatur. Nam dubitare non possumus, quin hac ratione pacem, quantum poterunt, tuebuntur, et bellum nunquam protrahere studebunt. Nec ab hoc vectigali solvendo ipsi Senatores, si eorum aliqui mercatores fuerint, immunes esse debent: nam talis immunitas non sine magna commercii jactura

concedi potest, quod neminem ignorare credo. Porro contra statuendum lege est, ut Senator, vel qui Senatoris officio functus est, nullo militiae munere fungi possit, et praeterea ut nullum ducem, vel praetorem, quos tempore belli tantummodo exercitui praebendos diximus Art. 9. hujus Capituli, renunciare liceat ex iis, quorum Pater, vel no avus Senator est, vel Senatoriam dignitatem intra biennium habuit. Nec dubitare possumus, quin Patricii, qui extra Senatum sunt, haec jura summa vi defendant, atque adeo fiet, ut Senatoribus majus semper emolumentum ex pace, quam ex bello sit, qui propterea bellum nunquam, nisi summa imperii necessitate cogente, suadebunt. At objici nobis potest, quod hac ratione, si scilicet Syndicis, et Senatoribus adeo magna emolumenta decernenda sunt, imperium Aristocraticum non minus onerosum subditis erit, quam quodcunque Monarchicum. Sed, praeterquam quod Regiae aulae majores sumptus requirunt, qui (38) tamen ad pacem tutandam non praebentur, et quod pax nunquam nimis caro pretio emi possit, accedit primo, quod id omne, quod in Monarchico imperio in unum, aut paucos, in hoc in plurimos confertur. Deinde Reges, eorumque ministri onera imperii cum subditis non ferunt, quod in hoc contra accidit; nam Patricii, qui semper ex ditioribus eliguntur, maximam partem Reipublicae conferunt. Denique imperii Monarchici onera non tam ex Regiis sumptibus, quam ex ejusdem arcanis oriuntur. Onera enim imperii, quae pacis, et libertatis tutandae causa civibus imponuntur, quamvis magna sint, sustinentur tamen, et pacis utilitate feruntur. Quae gens unquam tot, tamque gravia vectigalia pendere debuit, ut Hollandica? atque haec non tantum non exhausta, quin contra opibus adeo potens fuit, ut ejus fortunam omnes inviderent. Si itaque imperii Monarchici onera pacis causa imponerentur, cives non premerent; sed, uti dixi, ex hujusmodi imperii arcanis sit, ut subditi oneri succumbant. Nempe quia Regum virtus magis in bello, quam in pace valet, et quod ii, qui soli regnare volunt, summopere conari debent, ut subditos inopes habeant, ut jam alia taceam, quae prudentissimus Belga V. H. olim notavit, quia ad meum institutum, quod solummodo est imperii cujuscunque optimum statum describere, non spectant.

XXXII. In Senatu aliqui ex Syndicis, a supremo Concilio electis, sedere debent, sed sine suffragii jure: nempe ut observent, num jura, quae illud Concilium spectant, recte servantur, et ut supremum Concilium convocari curent, quando ex Senatu ad ipsum supremum Concilium aliquid deferendum est. Nam jus supremum non hoc Concilium convocandi, resque in eo decernendas proponendi penes Syndicos, ut jam diximus, est. Sed, antequam de similibus suffragia colligantur, qui Senatui tum praesidet, rerum statum, et quatenam de re proposita ipsius Senatus sit sententia, et quibus de causis, docebit, quo facto, suffragia solito ordine colligenda erunt.

XXXIII. Integer Senatus non quotidie, sed, ut omnia magna Concilia, statuto quodam tempore congregari debet. Sed quia interim imperii negotia exercenda sunt, opus est ergo, ut Senatorum aliqua pars eligatur, quae dimisso Senatu ejus vicem suppleat, cujus officium sit, ipsum Senatum, quando eo opus est, convocare, ejusque decreta de Republica exsequi, Epistolas Senatui, supremoque Concilio scriptas legere, et denique de rebus in Senatu proponendis consulere. Sed, ut haec omnia, et universi hujus Concilii ordo facilius concipiatur, rem totam accuratius describam.

XXXIV. Senatores in annum, ut jam diximus, eligendi, in quatuor, aut sex ordines dividendi sunt, quorum primus primis tribus, vel duobus mensibus in Senatu sedeat, quibus elapsis secundus ordo locum primi occupet, et sic porro, servatis vicibus, unusquisque ordo eodem temporis intervallo primum locum in Senatu teneat, ita ut, qui primis mensibus primus, is secundis ultimus sit. Praeterea quot ordines, totidem Praesides, totidemque eorundem Vicarii, qui ipsorum vicem, quando opus est, suppleant, eligendi sunt, hoc est, ex quocunque ordine duo eligendi sunt, quorum alter Praeses, alter Vicarius ejusdem ordinis sit, et qui primi ordinis Praeses est, primis etiam mensibus Senatui praesideat, vel si absit, ejus Vicarius ipsius vicem gerat, et sic porro reliqui, servato ut supra ordine. Deinde ex primo ordine aliqui forte, vel suffragio eligendi sunt, qui cum Praeside, et Vicario ejusdem ordinis Senatus vicem, postquam dimissus est, suppleant; idque eodem temporis intervallo, quo idem eorum ordo primum locum in Senatu

tenet : quippe eo elapso ex secundo ordine totidem iterum sorte, vel suffragio eligendi sunt, qui cum suo Praeside, et Vicario primi ordinis locum occupent, vicemque Senatus suppleant, et sic porro reliqui, nec opus est, ut horum electio, quos scilicet no sorte, vel suffragio singulis tribus, vel duobus mensibus eligendos dixi, et quos imposterum Consules appellabimus, a supremo Concilio fiat. Nam ratio, quam in Art. 29. hujus Cap. dedimus, locum hic non habet, et multo minus illa Art. 17. Sufficiet igitur, si a Senatu, et Syndicis, qui praesentes adsunt, eligantur.

XXXV. Horum autem numerum determinare non ita accurate possum. At tamen hoc certum est, plures esse debere, quam ut facile corrumpi possint: nam, tametsi de Republica nihil soli decernant, possunt tamen Senatum protrahere, vel quod pessimum esset, ipsum deludere proponendo illa, quae nullius, et illa reticendo, quae majoris momenti essent: ut jam taceam, quod si nimis pauci essent, sola unius, aut alterius absentia moram publicis negotiis adferre posset. Sed, quoniam contra hi Consules ideo creantur, quia magna Concilia publicis negotiis quotidie vacare nequeunt, medium necessario hic quaerendum est, et defectus numeri temporis brevitatem supplendus. Atque adeo, si modo triginta, aut circiter in duos, aut tres menses eligantur, plures erunt, quam ut hoc brevi tempore corrumpi possint, et hac de causa etiam monui, ut ii, qui in eorum locum succedunt, nullo modo eligendi sint, nisi eo tempore, quo ipsi succedunt, et alii discedunt.

XXXVI. Horum praeterea officium esse diximus, Senatum, quando eorum aliqui, licet pauci sint, opus esse judicaverint, convocare, resque in eodem decernendas proponere, Senatum dimittere, ejusque de negotiis publicis decreta exequi. Quo autem id fieri ordine debeat, ne res inutilibus quaestionibus diu protrahantur, paucis jam dicam. Nempe Consules de re in Senatu proponenda, et, quid factu opus sit, consulant, et, si de eo omnibus una fuerit mens, tum convocato Senatu, et quaestione ordine exposita, quanam eorum sit sententia, doceant, nec alterius sententia expectata suffragia ordine colligant. Sed si Consules plures, quam unam sententiam foverint, tum in Senatu illa de quaestione

proposita sententia prior dicenda erit, quae a majori Consulum numero defendebatur, et si eadem a majori Senatus, et Consulum parte non fuerit probata, sed quod numerus dubitantium, et negantium simul major fuerit, quod ex calculis, ut jam monuimus, constare debet, tum alteram sententiam, quae pauciora, quam prior, habuerit inter Consules suffragia, doceant, et sic porro reliquas; quod si nulla a majori totius Senatus parte probata fuerit, Senatus in sequentem diem, aut in tempus breve dimittendus, ut Consules interim videant, num alia media, quae magis possint placere, queant invenire; quod si nulla alia invenerint, vel si, quae invenerint, Senatus major pars non probaverit, tum Senatoris cujusque sententia audienda est, in quam si etiam major Senatus pars non iverit, tum de unaquaque sententia iterum suffragia ferenda, et non tantum affirmantium, ut huc usque factum, sed dubitantium etiam, et negantium calculi numerandi sunt, et si plures reperientur affirmantes, quam dubitantes, aut negantes, ut tum sententia rata maneat, et contra irrita, si plures invenientur negantes, quam dubitantes, aut affirmantes; sed si de omnibus sententiis major dubitantium quam negantium, aut affirmantium fuerit numerus, ut tum Syndicorum Concilium Senatui adjungatur, qui simul cum Senatoribus suffragia ferant, calculis solummodo affirmantibus, aut negantibus, omissis iis, qui animum ambiguum indicant. Circa res, quae ad supremum Concilium a Senatu deferuntur, idem ordo tenendus est. Haec de Senatu.

XXXVII. Ad forum quod attinet, sive tribunal, non potest iisdem fundamentis niti, quibus illud, quod sub Monarcha est, ut illud in Ca. Art. 26. et seq. descripsimus. Nam (per Art. 14. hujus Cap.) cum fundamentis hujus imperii non convenit, ut ulla ratio stirpium, sive familiarum habeatur. Deinde quia Judices ex solis Patriciis electi, metu quidem succedentium Patriciorum contineri possent, ne in eorum aliquem iniquam aliquam sententiam pronuncient, et forte ut neque eos secundum merita punire sustineant, sed contra in plebeios omnia auderent, et locupletes quotidie in praedam raperent. Scio hac de causa Genuensium consilium a multis probari, quod scilicet non ex Patriciis, sed ex Peregrinis Judices eligant; sed hoc mihi rem abstracte consideranti absurde institutum videtur, ut Peregrini,

et non Patricii ad Leges interpretandas vocentur. Nam quid aliud Judices sunt, nisi Legum interpretes; quare mihi persuadeo, Genuenses in hoc etiam negotio magis suae gentis ingenium, quam ipsam hujus imperii naturam respexisse. Nobis igitur rem abstracte considerantibus media excogitanda sunt, quae cum hujus regiminis forma optime conveniunt.

XXXVIII. Sed ad Judicum numerum quod attinet, nullum singularem hujus status ratio exigit; sed, ut in imperio Monarchico, ita etiam in hoc apprime observari debet, ut plures sint, quam ut a viro privato corrumpi possint. Nam eorum officium solummodo est providere, ne quisquam privatus alteri injuriam faciat, atque adeo quaestiones inter privatos tam Patricios, quam plebeios dirimere, et poenas delinquentibus, etiam ex Patriciis, Syndicis, et Senatoribus, quatenus contra jura, quibus omnes tenentur, deliquerunt, sumere. Caeterum quaestiones, quae inter urbes, quae sub imperio sunt, moveri possunt, in supremo Concilio dirimendae sunt.

XXXIX. Temporis praeterea, in quod eligendi sunt, ratio est eadem in quocunque imperio, et etiam ut quotannis aliqua eorum pars cedat, et denique, quamvis non opus sit, ut unusquisque ex diversa sit familia, necesse tamen est, ne duo sanguine propinqui simul in subselliis locum occupent: quod in reliquis Conciliis observandum est, praeterquam in supremo, in quo sufficit, si modo in electionibus lege cautum sit, ne cuiquam propinquum nominare, nec de eo, si ab alio nominatus sit, suffragium ferre liceat, et praeterea ne ad imperii ministrum quemcunque nominandum duo propinqui sortem ex urna tollant: hoc, inquam, sufficit in Concilio, quod ex tam magno hominum numero componitur, et cui nulla singularia emolumenta decernuntur. Atque adeo imperio inde nihil erit detrimenti, ut absurdum sit, legem ferre, qua omnium Patriciorum propinqui a supremo Concilio secludantur, ut Art. 14. hujus Cap. diximus. Quod autem id absurdum sit, patet. Nam jus illud ab ipsis Patriciis institui non posset, quin eo ipso omnes absolute suo jure eatenus cederent, ac proinde ejusdem juris vindices non ipsi Patricii, sed plebs esset, quod iis directe repugnat, quae in Art. 5. et 6. hujus Cap. ostendimus. Lex autem illa imperii, qua statuitur, ut una, eademque

ratio inter numerum Patriciorum, et multitudinis servetur, id maxime respicit, ut Patriciorum jus, et potentia conservetur, ne scilicet pauciores sint, quam ut multitudinem possint regere.

XL. Caeterum Judices a supremo Concilio ex ipsis Patriciis, hoc est (per Art. 17. hujus Cap.), ex ipsis legum conditoribus eligendi sunt, et sententiae, quas tulerunt tam de rebus civilibus, quam criminalibus, ratae erunt, si servato ordine, et absque partium studio prolatae fuerint, de qua re Syndicis lege permissum erit cognoscere, judicare, et statuere.

XLI. Judicum emolumenta eadem esse debent, quae Art. Ca. diximus, nempe ut ex unaquaque sententia, quam de rebus civilibus tulerint, ab eo, qui causa cecidit, pro ratione totius summae partem aliquotam accipiant. At circa sententias de rebus criminalibus haec sola hic differentia sit, ut bona ab ipsis proscripita, et quaecunque summa, qua minora crimina mulctantur, ipsis solis designetur, ea tamen conditione, ut nunquam iis liceat quenquam tormentis cogere quippiam confiteri, et hoc modo satis cautum erit, ne iniqui in plebeios sint, et ne metus causa nimium Patriciis faveant. Nam, praeterquam quod hic metus sola avaritia, eaque specioso justitiae nomine adumbrata, temperetur, accedit, quod plures sint numero, et quod suffragia non palam, sed calculis ferantur, ita ut si quis ob damnatam suam causam stomachetur, nihil tamen habeat, quod uni imputare possit. Porro ne iniquam, aut saltem ne absurdam aliquam sententiam pronuncient, et ne eorum quispiam dolo quicquam faciat, Syndicorum reverentia prohibebit, praeterquam quod in tam magno Judicum numero unus semper, aut alter reperietur, quem iniqui formident. Ad plebeios denique quod attinet, satis iis etiam cavebitur, si ad Syndicos iisdem appellare liceat, quibus, uti dixi, jure permissum sit de Judicum rebus cognoscere, judicare, et statuere. Nam certum est, quod Syndici multorum Patriciorum odium vitare non poterunt, et plebi contra gratissimi semper erunt, cujus applausum, quantum ipsi etiam poterunt, captare studebunt; quem in finem data occasione non omittent sententias contra leges fori prolatas revocare, et quemcunque judicem examinare, et poenas ex iniquis sumere; nihil enim hoc magis multitudinis animos movet. Nec obstat,

quod similia exempla raro contingere possint, sed contra maxime prodest. Nam, praeterquam quod illa Civitas prave constituta sit, ubi quotidie exempla in delinquentes eduntur (ut Ca. Art. 2. ostendimus), illa profecto rarissima esse debent, fama quae maxime celebrantur.

XLII. Qui in urbes, vel provincias Proconsules mittuntur, ex ordine Senatorio eligendi essent, quia Senatorum officium est de urbium munimentis, aerario, militia, etc. curam habere. Sed, qui in regiones aliquantulum remotas mitterentur, Senatum frequentare non possent, et hac de causa ii tantummodo ex ipso Senatu vocandi sunt, qui urbibus in patrio solo conditis destinantur ; at quos ad magis remota loca mittere volunt, ex iis eligendi sunt, quorum aetas a Senatorio gradu non abest. Sed neque hac ratione paci totius imperii satis cautum fore existimo, si nimirum urbes circumvicinae jure suffragii omnino prohibeantur, nisi adeo impotentes omnes sint, ut palam contemni possint, quod sane concipi nequit: atque adeo necesse est, ut urbes circumvicinae jure Civitatis donentur, et ex unaquaque viginti, triginta, aut quadraginta (nam numerus pro magnitudine urbis major, aut minor esse debet) cives electi in numerum Patriciorum adscribantur, ex quibus tres, quatuor, aut quinque quotannis eligi debent, qui ex Senatu sint, et unus ad vitam Syndicus. Atque hi, qui ex Senatu sunt, Proconsules in urbem, ex qua electi sunt, mittantur una cum Syndico.

XLIII. Caeterum Judices, in unaquaque urbe constituendi, ex Patriciis ejusdem urbis eligendi sunt. Sed de his non necesse judico prolixius agere, quia ad singularis hujus imperii fundamenta non pertinent.

XLIV. Qui in quocunque Concilio a Secretis sunt, et alii ejusmodi ministri, quia suffragii jus non habent, eligendi sunt ex plebe. Sed, quia hi diuturna negotiorum tractatione maximam rerum agendarum notitiam habent, fit saepe, ut eorum consilio plus, quam par est, deferatur, et ut status totius imperii ab eorum directione maxime pendeat; quae res Hollandis exitio fuit. Nam id sine magna multorum optimorum invidia fieri nequit. Et sane dubitare non possumus, quin Senatus, cujus prudentia non a Senatorum, sed ab administrorum consilio derivatur, maxime ab inertibus frequentetur, et hujus imperii conditio non multo

melior erit, quam imperii Monarchici, quod pauci Regis Consiliarii regunt, de quo vide Ca. Art. 5. 6. et 7. Verumenimvero imperium, prout recte, vel prave institutum fuerit, eo minus, aut magis erit huic malo obnoxium. Nam imperii libertas, quae non satis firma habet fundamenta, nunquam sine periculo defenditur; quod Patricii ne subeant, ministros gloriae cupidos ex plebe eligunt, qui postea vertentibus rebus, veluti hostiae, caeduntur ad placandam eorum iram, qui libertati insidiantur. At ubi libertatis fundamenta satis firma sunt, ibi Patricii ipsi ejusdem tutandae gloriam sibi expetunt, studentque, ut rerum agendarum prudentia ab eorum tantummodo consilio derivetur: quae duo in jaciendis hujus imperii fundamentis apprime observavimus, nempe ut plebs tam a consiliis, quam a suffragiis ferendis arceretur (vid. Art. 3. et 4. hujus Cap.). Atque adeo ut suprema imperii potestas penes omnes Patricios, auctoritas autem penes Syndicos, et Senatum, et jus denique Senatum convocandi, resque, ad communem salutem pertinentes penes Consules, ex ipso Senatu electos, esset. Quod si praeterea statuatur, ut qui a Secretis in Senatu, vel in aliis Conciliis est, in quatuor, aut quinque ad summum annos eligatur, atque ei secundus, qui a Secretis in idem tempus designatus sit, adjungatur, qui interim laboris partem ferat, vel si in Senatu non unus, sed plures a Secretis sint, quorum alius his, alius aliis negotiis detinetur, nunquam fiet, ut administrorum potentia alicujus sit momenti.

XLV. Aerarii Tribuni ex plebe etiam eligendi sunt, qui ejus rationem non tantum Senatui, sed etiam Syndicis reddere teneantur.

XLVI. Ad Religionem quae spectant, satis prolixè ostendimus in Tract. Theologico-Politico. Quaedam tamen tum omisimus, de quibus ibi non erat agendi locus. Nempe quod omnes Patricii ejusdem Religionis, sumptuissimae scilicet, et maxime Catholicae, qualem in eodem Tractatu descripsimus, esse debeant. Nam apprime cavendum est, ne ipsi Patricii in sectas dividantur, et ne alii his, alii aliis plus faveant, et deinde, ne superstitione capti libertatem subditis dicendi ea, quae sentiunt, adimere studeant. Deinde quamvis unicuique libertas dicendi ea, quae sentit, danda est, magni tamen conventus prohibendi sunt: atque adeo iis, qui alii (52) Religioni addicti sunt, concedendum quidem est, tot, quot

velint, templa aedificare, sed parva, et certae cujusdam mensurae, et in locis aliquantulum ab invicem dissitis. At templa, quae patriae Religioni dicantur, multum refert, ut magna, et sumptuosa sint, et ut praecipuo ipsius cultui solis Patriciis, vel Senatoribus manus admoveere liceat, atque adeo ut solis Patriciis liceat baptizare, matrimonium consecrare, manus imponere, et absolute ut templorum veluti Sacerdotes, patriaeque Religionis vindices, et interpretes agnoscantur. Ad concionandum autem, et ecclesiae aerario, ejusque quotidianis negotiis administrandis aliqui ex plebe ab ipso Senatu eligendi sunt, qui Senatus quasi vicarii sint, cui propterea rationem omnium reddere teneantur.

XLVII. Atque haec illa sunt, quae hujus imperii fundamenta spectant, quibus pauca alia minus quidem principalia, sed magni tamen momenti addam, nempe ut Patricii veste quadam, seu habitu singulari, quo dignoscantur, incedant, et ut singulari quodam titulo salutentur, et unusquisque ex plebe iis loco cedat, et si aliquis Patricius bona sua aliquo infortunio, quod vitari nequit, amiserit, idque liquido docere poterit, ut in integrum ex publicis bonis restituatur. Sed si contra constet, eundem largitate, fastu, ludo, scortis, etc. eadem consumpsisse, vel quod absolute plus debet, quam est solvendo, ut dignitate cedat, et omni honore, officioque indignus habeatur. Qui enim seipsum, resque suas privatas regere nequit, multo minus publicis consulere poterit.

XLVIII. Quos lex jurare cogit, a perjurio multo magis cavebunt, si per salutem patriae, et libertatem, perque supremum Concilium, quam si per Deum jurare jubeantur. Nam, qui per Deum jurat, privatum bonum interponit, cujus ille aestimator est: at qui jurejurando libertatem, patriaeque salutem interponit, is per commune omnium bonum, cujus ille aestimator non est, jurat, et, si pejerat, eo ipso (39) se patriae hostem declarat.

XLIX. Academiae, quae sumptibus Reipublicae fundantur, non tam ad ingenia colenda, quam ad eadem coercenda instituuntur. Sed in libera Republica tum scientiae, et artes optime excoluntur, si unicuique veniam petenti concedatur publice docere, idque suis sumptibus, suaeque famae periculo. Sed haec, et

similia ad alium locum reservo. Nam hic de iis solummodo agere constitueram,
quae ad solum imperium Aristocraticum pertinent.

CAPUT IX.



I. HUC USQUE hoc imperium consideravimus, quatenus ab una sola urbe, quae totius imperii caput est, nomen habet. Tempus jam est, ut de eo agamus, quod plures urbes tenent, quodque ego praecedenti praeferendum existimo. Sed ut utriusque differentiam, et praestantiam noscamus, singula praecedentis imperii fundamenta perlustrabimus, et, quae ab hoc aliena sunt, rejiciemus, et alia, quibus niti debeat, eorum loco jaciemus.

II. Urbes itaque, quae Civitatis jure gaudent, ita conditae, et munitae esse debent, ut unaquaeque sola sine reliquis subsistere quidem non possit, sed contra etiam, ut a reliquis deficere nequeat absque magno totius imperii detrimento; hoc enim modo semper unitae manebunt. At quae ita constitutae sunt, ut nec se conservare, nec reliquis formidini esse queant, eae sane non sui, sed reliquarum juris absolute sunt.

III. Quae autem Art. 9. et 10. praec. Cap. ostendimus, ex communi imperii Aristocratici natura deducuntur, ut et ratio numeri Patriciorum ad numerum multitudinis, et qualis eorum aetas, et conditio esse debeat, qui Patricii sunt creandi, ita ut nulla circa haec oriri possit differentia, sive imperium una, sive plures urbes teneant. At supremi Concilii alia hic debet esse ratio. Nam, si quae imperii Urbs supremo huic Concilio congregando destinaretur, illa revera ipsius imperii caput esset; atque adeo vel vices servandae essent, vel talis locus huic Concilio esset designandus, qui Civitatis jus non habeat, quique ad omnes aequae pertineat. Sed tam hoc, quam illud, ut dictu facile, ita factu difficile est, ut scilicet tot hominum millia extra Urbes saepe ire, vel ut jam hoc, jam alio in loco convenire debeant.

IV. Verum ut recte, quid in hac re fieri oporteat, et qua ratione hujus imperii Concilia instituenda sint, ex ipsius natura, et conditione concludere possimus,

haec considerata sunt, nempe quod unaquaeque Urbs tanto plus juris, quam vir privatus habeat, quanto viro privato potentior est (per Art. 4. Ca.); et consequenter unaquaeque hujus imperii Urbs (vide Art. 2. hujus Cap.) tantum juris intra moenia, seu suae jurisdictionis limites habeat, quantum potest. Deinde quod omnes urbes non ut confoederatae, sed ut unum imperium constituentes invicem sociatae, et unitae sint, sed ita, ut unaquaeque urbs tanto plus juris in imperium, quam reliquae obtineat, quanto reliquis est potentior; nam qui inter inaequales aequalitatem quaerit, absurdum quid quaerit. Cives quidem aequales merito aestimantur, quia uniuscujusque potentia cum potentia totius imperii comparata nullius est considerationis. At urbis cujuscunque potentia magnam partem potentiae ipsius imperii constituit, et eo majorem, quo ipsa urbs major est; ac proinde omnes urbes aequales haberi nequeunt. Sed ut uniuscujusque potentia, ita etiam ejusdem jus ex ipsius magnitudine aestimari debet. Vincula vero, quibus adstringi debent, ut unum imperium componant, apprime sunt (per Art. 1. Ca.) Senatus, et forum. Quomodo autem eae omnes his vinculis ita copulandae sunt, ut earum tamen unaquaeque sui juris, quantum fieri potest, maneat, breviter hic ostendam. ` V. Nempe uniuscujusque urbis Patricios, qui pro magnitudine urbis (per Art. 3. hujus Cap.) plures, aut pauciores esse debent, summum in suam urbem jus habere concipio, eosque in Concilio, quod illius urbis supremum est, summam habere potestatem urbem muniendi, ejusque moenia dilatandi, vectigalia imponendi, leges condendi, et abrogandi, et omnia absolute agendi, quae ad suae urbis conservationem, et incrementum necessaria esse judicant. Ad communia autem imperii negotia tractanda Senatus creandus est iis omnino conditionibus, quas in praeced. Cap. diximus, ita ut inter hunc Senatum, et illum nulla alia sit differentia, quam quod hic auctoritatem etiam habeat dirimendi quaestiones, quae inter urbes oriri possunt. Nam hoc in hoc imperio, cujus nulla urbs caput est, non potest, ut in illo, a supremo Concilio fieri (vide Art. 38. praec. Cap.).

VI. Caeterum in hoc imperio supremum Concilium convocandum non est, nisi opus sit ipsum imperium reformare, vel in arduo aliquo negotio, ad quod peragendum Senatores se impares esse credent, atque adeo raro admodum fiet, ut

omnes Patricii in Concilium vocentur. Nam praecipuum supremi Concilii officium esse diximus (Art. 17. praec. Cap.) leges condere, et abrogare, et deinde imperii ministros eligere. At leges, sive communia totius imperii jura, simulatque instituta sunt, immutari non debent. Quod si tamen tempus, et occasio ferat, ut novum aliquod jus instituendum sit, aut jam statutum mutandum, potest prius de eodem Quaestio in Senatu haberi, et postquam Senatus in eo convenerit, tum deinde legati ad urbes ab ipso Senatu mittantur, qui uniuscujusque urbis Patricios Senatus sententiam doceant, et si denique major urbium pars in sententiam Senatus iverit, ut tum ipsa rata maneat, alias irrita. Atque hic idem ordo in eligendis ducibus exercitus, et legatis in alia regna mittendis, ut et (40) circa decreta de bello inferendo, et pacis conditionibus acceptandis, teneri potest. Sed in reliquis imperii ministris eligendis, quia (ut in Art. 4. hujus Cap. ostendimus) unaquaeque urbs, quantum fieri potest, sui juris manere debet, et in imperio tanto plus juris obtinere, quanto reliquis est potentior, hic ordo necessario servandus est. Nempe, Senatores a Patriciis uniuscujusque urbis eligendi sunt; videlicet unius urbis Patricii in suo Concilio certum Senatorum numerum ex suis Civibus collegis eligent, qui ad numerum Patriciorum ejusdem urbis se habeat (vide Art. 30. praeced. Cap.), ut 1 ad 12. Et quos primi, secundi, tertii, etc. ordinis esse volunt, designabunt; et sic reliquarum urbium Patricii pro magnitudine sui numeri plures, paucioresve Senatores eligent, et in tot ordines distribuent, in quot Senatum dividendum esse diximus (vid. Art. 34. praeced. Cap.): quo fiet, ut in unoquoque Senatorum ordine pro magnitudine cujuscunque urbis plures, paucioresve ejusdem Senatores reperiantur. At ordinum praesides, eorumque Vicarii, quorum numerus minor est urbium numero, a Senatu ex Consulibus electis sorte eligendi sunt. In Judicibus praeterea supremis imperii eligendis idem ordo retinendus est, scilicet ut uniuscujusque urbis Patricii ex suis collegis pro magnitudine sui numeri plures, aut pauciores Judices eligant. Atque adeo fiet, ut unaquaeque urbs in eligendis ministris sui juris, quantum fieri potest, sit, et ut unaquaeque, quo potentior est, eo etiam plus juris tam in Senatu, quam in foro obtineat, posito

scilicet, quod Senatus, et fori ordo in decernendis imperii rebus, et quaestionibus dirimendis (41) talis omnino sit, qualem Art. 33. et 34. praec. Cap. descripsimus.

VII. Cohortium deinde Duces, et militiae Tribuni e Patriciis etiam eligendi sunt. Nam quia aequum est, ut unaquaeque urbs pro ratione suae magnitudinis certum militum numerum ad communem totius imperii securitatem conducere teneatur, aequum etiam est, ut e Patriciis uniuscujusque urbis pro numero legionum, quas alere tenentur, tot tribunos, duces, signiferos etc. eligere liceat, quot ad illam militiae partem, quam imperio suppeditant, ordinandam requiruntur.

VIII. Vectigalia nulla etiam a Senatu subditis imponenda, sed ad sumptus, qui ad negotia publica peragenda ex Senatus decreto requiruntur, non subditi, sed urbes ipsae ab ipso Senatu ad censum vocandae sunt, ita ut unaquaeque urbs pro ratione suae magnitudinis sumptuum partem majorem, vel minorem ferre debeat; quam quidem partem ejusdem urbis Patricii a suis Urbanis ea, qua velint, via exigent, eos scilicet vel ad censum trahendo, vel, quod multo aequius est, iisdem vectigalia imponendo.

IX. Porro quamvis omnes hujus imperii urbes maritimae non sint, nec Senatores ex solis urbibus maritimis vocentur, possunt tamen iisdem eadem emolumenta decerni, quae Art. 31. praec. Cap. diximus; quem in finem pro imperii constitutione media excogitari poterunt, quibus urbes invicem arctius copulentur. Caeterum reliqua ad Senatum, et forum, et absolute ad universum imperium spectantia, quae in praec. Cap. tradidi, huic etiam imperio applicanda sunt. Atque adeo videmus, quod in imperio, quod plures urbes tenent, non necesse sit supremo Concilio convocando certum tempus, aut locum designare. At Senatui, et foro locus dicandus est in pago, vel in urbe, quae suffragii jus non habet. Sed ad illa, quae ad singulas urbes spectant, revertor.

X. Ordo supremi Concilii unius urbis in eligendis urbis, et imperii ministris, et in rebus decernendis idem ille, quem Art. 27. et 36. praec. Cap. tradidi, esse debet. Nam eadem hic, quam illic, est ratio. Deinde Syndicorum Concilium huic subordinandum est, quod ad urbis Concilium se habeat, ut illud Syndicorum praeced. Cap. ad Concilium totius imperii, et cujus officium intra limites

jurisdictionis urbis idem etiam sit, iisdemque emolumentis gaudeat. Quod si urbs, et consequenter Patriciorum numerus adeo exiguus fuerit, ut non nisi unum, aut duos Syndicos creare possit, qui duo Concilium facere nequeunt, tum Syndicis in cognitionibus pro re nata Judices a supremo urbis Concilio designandi sunt, vel quaestio ad supremum Syndicorum Concilium deferenda. Nam ex unaquaque urbe aliqui etiam ex Syndicis in locum, ubi Senatus residet, mittendi sunt, qui prospiciant, ut jura universi imperii inviolata servantur, quique in Senatu absque jure suffragii sedeant.

XI. Urbium Consules a Patriciis etiam ejusdem urbis eligendi sunt, qui veluti Senatum illius urbis constituent. Horum autem numerum determinare non possum, nec etiam necesse esse existimo, quandoquidem ejusdem urbis negotia, quae magni ponderis sunt, a supremo ejusdem Concilio, et, quae ad universum imperium spectant, a magno Senatu peraguntur. Caeterum si pauci fuerint, necesse erit, ut in suo Concilio palam suffragia ferant, non autem calculis, ut in magnis Conciliis. In parvis enim Conciliis, ubi suffragia clam indicantur, qui aliquanto callidior est, facile cujusque suffragii auctorem noscere, et minus attentiores multis modis eludere potest.

XII. In unaquaque praeterea urbe Judices a supremo ejusdem Concilio constituendi sunt, a quorum tamen sententia supremum imperii judicium appellare liceat, praeterquam reo palam convicto, et confitenti debitori. Sed haec ulterius persequi non est opus.

XIII. Superest igitur, ut de urbibus, quae sui juris non sunt, loquamur. Hae si in ipsa imperii provincia, vel regione conditae, et earum incolae ejusdem nationis et linguae sint, debent necessario, sicuti pagi, veluti urbium vicinarum partes censer, ita ut earum unaquaeque sub regimine hujus, aut illius urbis, quae sui juris est, esse debeat. Cujus rei ratio est, quod Patricii non a supremo hujus imperii, sed a supremo uniuscujusque urbis Concilio eligantur, qui in unaquaque urbe pro numero incolarum intra limites jurisdictionis ejusdem urbis plures, paucioresve sunt (per Art. 5. hujus Cap.). Atque adeo necesse est, ut multitudo urbis, quae sui juris non est, ad censum multitudinis alterius, quae sui juris sit,

referatur, et ab ejus directione pendeat. At urbes jure belli captae, et quae imperio accesserunt, veluti imperii Sociae habendae, et beneficio victae obligandae, vel Coloniae, quae jure Civitatis gaudeant, eo mittendae, et gens alio ducenda, vel omnino delenda est.

XIV. Atque haec sunt, quae ad hujus imperii fundamenta spectant. Quod autem ejus conditio melior sit, quam illius, quod nomen ab una urbe sola habet, hinc concludo: quod scilicet uniuscujusque urbis Patricii, more humanae cupidinis, suum jus tam in urbe, quam in Senatu retinere, et, si fieri potest, augere studebunt; atque adeo, quantum poterunt, conabuntur multitudinem ad se trahere, et consequenter imperium beneficiis magis, quam metu agitare, suumque numerum augere: quippe quo plures numero fuerint, eo plures (per Art. 6. (42) hujus Cap.) ex suo Concilio Senatores eligent, et consequenter (per Art. eundem) plus juris in imperio obtinebunt. Nec obstat, quod, dum unaquaeque urbs sibi consulit, reliquisque invidet, saepius inter se discordent, et tempus disputando consumant. Nam, si, dum Romani deliberant, perit Sagunthus, dum contra pauci ex solo suo affectu omnia decernunt, perit libertas, communeque bonum sunt namque humana ingenia hebetiora, quam ut omnia statim penetrare possint; sed consulendo, audiendo, et disputando acuuntur, et, dum omnia tentant media, ea, quae volunt, tandem inveniunt, quae omnes probant, et de quibus nemo antea cogitasset. Quod si quis regerat, hoc Hollandorum imperium non diu absque Comite, vel Vicario, qui vicem Comitis suppleret, stetisse, hoc sibi responsum habeat, quod Hollandi ad obtinendam libertatem satis putaverunt Comitem deserere, et imperii corpus capite obtruncare, nec de eodem reformando cogitarunt; sed omnia ejus membra, uti antea constituta fuerant, reliquerunt, ita ut Hollandiae comitatus fine Comite, veluti corpus fine capite, ipsumque imperium sine nomine manserit. Atque adeo minime mirum, quod subditi plerique ignoraverint, penes quos summa esset imperii potestas. Et quamvis hoc non esset, ii tamen, qui imperium revera tenebant, longe pauciores erant, quam ut multitudinem regere, et potentes adversarios opprimere possent. Unde factum, ut hi saepe impune iis insidiari, et tandem evertere potuerint. Subita itaque ejusdem

Reipublicae eversio non ex eo orta est, quod tempus in deliberationibus inutiliter consumeretur, sed ex deformi ejusdem imperii statu, et paucitate regentium.

XV. Est praeterea hoc Aristocraticum imperium, quod plures urbes tenent, alteri praeferendum, quia non opus est, ut in praecedenti, cavere, ne universum supremum ejus Concilium subito impetu opprimatur, quandoquidem (per Art. 9. hujus Cap.) eidem convocando nullum tempus, nec locus designatur. Sunt praeterea potentes cives in hoc imperio minus timendi. Nam, ubi plures urbes libertate gaudent, non sufficit ei, qui viam ad imperium affectat, urbem unam occupare, ut imperium in reliquis obtineat. Est denique in hoc imperio libertas pluribus communis. Nam ubi una sola urbs regnat, eatenus reliquarum bono consulitur, quatenus regnanti huic urbi expedit.

CAPUT X.



I. IMPERII UTRIUSQUE Aristocratici fundamentis explicatis, et ostensis, superest ut inquiramus, an aliqua causa culpabili possint dissolvi, aut in aliam formam mutari. Primaria causa, unde hujusmodi imperia dissolvuntur, illa est, quam acutissimus Florentinus Disc. 1. lib. 3. in Tit. Livium observat, videlicet quod imperio, sicuti humano corpori quotidie aggregatur aliquid, quod quandoque indiget curatione; atque adeo necesse esse, ait, ut aliquando aliquid accidat, quo imperium ad suum principium, quo stabiliri incepit, redigatur. Quod si intra debitum tempus non acciderit, vitia eo usque crescent, ut tolli nequeant, nisi cum ipso imperio. Atque hoc, inquit, vel casu contingere potest, vel consilio, et prudentia legum, aut viri eximiae virtutis. Nec dubitare possumus, quin haec res maximi sit ponderis, et quod, ubi huic incommodo provisum non sit, non poterit imperium sua virtute, sed sola fortuna permanere, et contra ubi huic malo remedium idoneum adhibitum fuerit, non poterit ipsum suo vitio, sed solummodo inevitabili aliquo fato cadere, ut mox clarius docebimus. Primum quod huic malo remedium occurrebat, hoc fuit, ut scilicet singulis lustris supremus aliquis Dictator in mensem unum, aut duos crearetur (43), cui jus esset de Senatorum, et cujuscunque ministri factis cognoscendi, judicandi, et statuendi, et consequenter imperium ad suum principium restituendi. Sed qui imperii incommoda vitare studet, remedia adhibere debet, quae cum imperii natura conveniant, et quae ex ipsius fundamentis deduci queant, alias in Scyllam incidet, cupiens vitare Charybdin. Est quidem hoc verum, quod omnes, tam qui regunt, quam qui reguntur, metu supplicii, aut damni contineri debeant, ne impune, vel cum lucro peccare liceat; sed contra certum etiam est, quod si hic metus bonis, et malis hominibus communis fuerit, versetur necessario imperium in summo periculo. Cum igitur Dictatoria potestas absoluta sit, non potest non esse omnibus

formidabilis, praesertim si statuto tempore, ut requiritur, Dictator crearetur (44), quia tum unusquisque gloriae cupidus eum honorem summo studio ambiret, et certum est, quod in pace non tam virtus, quam opulentia spectatur, ita ut quo quisque superbior, eo facilius honores adipiscatur: et forte hac de causa Romani nullo constituto tempore, sed fortuita quadam necessitate coacti Dictatorem facere consueverant. At nihilominus rumor (45) Dictatoris, ut Ciceronis verba referam, bonis injucundus fuit. Et sane, quandoquidem haec Dictatoria potestas Regia absolute est, potest non absque magno Reipublicae periculo imperium aliquando in Monarchicum mutari, tametsi in tempus, quantumvis breve, id fiat. Adde quod, si ad creandum Dictatorem nullum certum tempus designatum sit, ratio tum nulla temporis intercedentis ab uno ad alium, quam maxime servandam esse diximus, haberetur, et quod res etiam vaga admodum esset, ut facile negligeretur. Nisi itaque haec Dictatoria potestas aeterna sit, et stabilis, quae servata imperii forma in unum deferri nequit, erit ergo ipsa, et consequenter Reipublicae salus, et conservatio admodum incerta.

II. At contra dubitare nequaquam possumus (per Art. 3. Ca.), quod si possit servata imperii forma Dictatoris gladius perpetuus, et malis tantummodo formidini esse, nunquam eo usque vitia invalescere poterunt, ut tolli, aut emendari nequeant. Ut igitur has omnes conditiones obtineamus, Syndicorum Concilium Concilio supremo subordinandum diximus, ut scilicet dictatorius ille gladius perpetuus esset non penes personam aliquam naturalem, sed civilem, cujus membra plura sint, quam ut imperium inter se possint dividere (per Art. 1. et 2. Ca. (46)), vel in scelere aliquo convenire: ad quod accedit, quod a reliquis imperii muneribus subeundis prohibeantur, quod militiae stipendia non solvant, et quod denique ejus aetatis sint, ut praesentia, ac tuta, quam nova, et periculosa malint. Quare imperio nullum ab iis periculum, et consequenter non bonis, sed malis tantummodo formidini esse queunt, et revera erunt. Nam, ut ad scelera peragenda debiliores, ita ad militiam coërcendam potentiores sunt. Nam praeterquam quod principiis obstare possunt (quia Concilium aeternum est), sunt praeterea numero satis magno, ut sine invidiae timore potentem unum, aut alterum accusare, et

damnare audeant, praesertim quia suffragia calculis feruntur, et sententia nomine totius Concilii pronunciatur.

III. At Romae plebis Tribuni perpetui etiam erant verum impares, ut Scipionis alicujus potentiam premerent: et praeterea id, quod salutare esse judicabant, ad ipsum Senatum deferre debebant, a quo etiam saepe eludebantur, efficiendo scilicet, ut plebs ei magis faveret, quem ipsi Senatores minus timebant. Ad quod accedit, quod Tribunorum contra Patricios auctoritas plebis favore defenderetur, et quotiescunque ipsi plebem vocabant, seditionem potius movere, quam Concilium convocare viderentur. Quae sane incommoda in imperio, quod in praecedd. duob. Capp. descripsimus, locum non habent (47).

IV. Verumenimvero haec Syndicorum auctoritas hoc solummodo praestare poterit, ut imperii forma servetur, atque adeo prohibere, ne leges infringantur, et ne cuiquam cum lucro peccare liceat; sed nequaquam efficere poterit, ne vitia, quae lege prohiberi nequeunt, gliscant, ut sunt illa, in quae homines otio abundantes incidunt, et ex quibus imperii ruina non raro sequitur. Homines enim in pace deposito metu paulatim ex ferocibus barbaris civiles, seu humani, et ex humanis molles, et inertes fiunt, nec alius alium virtute, sed fastu, et luxu excellere studet; unde patrios mores fastidire, alienos induere, hoc est, servire incipiunt.

V. Ad haec mala vitandum multi conati sunt leges sumptuarias condere, sed frustra. Nam omnia jura, quae absque ulla alterius injuria violari possunt, ludibrio habentur, et tantum abest, ut hominum cupiditates, et libidinem frenent, quin contra easdem intendant : nam nitimur in vetitum semper, cupimusque negata. Nec unquam hominibus otiosis ingenium deest ad eludenda jura, quae instituuntur de rebus, quae absolute prohiberi nequeunt, ut sunt convivium, ludi, ornatus, et alia hujusmodi, quorum tantummodo excessus malus, et ex umuscujusque fortuna aestimandus est, ita ut lege nulla universali determinari queat.

VI. Concludo itaque, communia illa pacis vitia, de quibus hic loquimur, nunquam directe, sed indirecte prohibenda esse, talia scilicet imperii fundamenta jaciendo, quibus fiat, ut plerique, non quidem sapienter vivere studeant (nam hoc

impossibile est), sed ut iis ducantur affectibus, ex quibus Reipublicae major sit utilitas. Atque adeo huic rei maxime studendum, ut divites si non parci, avari tamen sint. Nam non dubium est, quin, si hic avaritiae affectus, qui universalis est, et constans, gloriae cupidine foveatur, plerique rei suae sine ignominia augendae summum ponant studium, quo honores adipiscantur, et summum dedecus vitent.

VII. (48) Si itaque ad fundamenta utriusque imperii Aristocratici, quae praeced. duobus Capp. explicui, attendamus, hoc ipsum ex iisdem sequi videbimus. Numerus enim regentium in utroque adeo magnus est, ut divitum maximae parti aditus ad regimen pateat, et ad imperii honores adipiscendos. Quod si praeterea (uti diximus Art. 47. Ca.) statuatur, ut Patricii, qui plus debent, quam sunt solvendo, ordine Patricio deturbentur, et qui bona sua infortunio perdiderunt, ut in integrum restituantur, non dubium est, quin omnes, quantum poterunt, conabuntur bona sua conservare. Peregrinos praeterea habitus nunquam concupiscent, nec patrios fastidient, si lege constituatur, ut Patricii, et qui honores ambiunt, singulari veste dignoscantur: de quo vide Art. 25. et 47. Ca. Et praeter haec alia in quocunque imperio cum natura loci, et gentis ingenio consentanea excogitari possunt, et in eo apprime vigilari, ut subditi magis sponte, quam lege coacti suum officium faciant.

VIII. Nam imperium, quod nihil aliud prospicit, quam ut homines metu ducantur, magis sine vitiis erit, quam cum virtute. Sed homines ita ducendi sunt, ut non duci, sed ex suo ingenio, et libero suo decreto vivere sibi videantur; atque adeo ut solo libertatis amore, et rei augendae studio, speque imperii honores adipiscendi retineantur. Caeterum imagines, triumphus, et alia virtutis incitamenta magis servitutis, quam libertatis sunt signa. Servis enim, non liberis virtutis praemia decernuntur. Fateor quidem homines his stimulis maxime incitari, sed ut haec in initio viris magnis, ita postea crescente invidia ignavis, et opum magnitudine tumidis decernuntur, magna omnium bonorum indignatione. Deinde qui parentum triumphos, et imagines ostentant, injuriam sibi fieri credunt, nisi reliquis praeferantur. Denique, ut alia taceam, hoc certum est, quod aequalitas,

qua semel exuta communis libertas necessario perit, conservari nullo modo possit, simulatque alicui Viro virtute claro singulares honores jure publico decernuntur.

IX. His positis, videamus jam, an hujusmodi imperia culpabili aliqua causa possint destrui. Verum, si quod imperium aeternum esse potest, illud necessario erit, cujus semel recte instituta jura inviolata manent. Anima enim imperii jura sunt. His igitur servatis servatur necessario imperium. At jura invicta esse nequeunt, nisi et ratione, et communi hominum affectu defendantur, alias si scilicet solo rationis auxilio nituntur, invalidae sane sunt, facileque vincuntur. Cum itaque utriusque imperii Aristocratici jura fundamentalia cum ratione, et communi hominum affectu convenire ostenderimus, possumus ergo affirmare, si quae ulla imperia, haec necessario aeterna fore, vel nulla culpabili causa, sed fato tantummodo aliquo inevitabili posse destrui.

X. At objici nobis adhuc potest, quod, quamvis imperii jura in praeced. ostensa ratione, et communi hominum affectu defendantur, possint nihilominus aliquando vinci. Nam nullus affectus est, qui aliquando a fortiori, et contrario affectu non vincatur; timorem namque mortis a cupidine rei alienae saepe vinci videmus. Qui hostem metu territi fugiunt, nullo alterius rei metu detineri possunt, sed sese in flumina praecipitant, vel in ignem ruunt, ut hostium ferrum fugiant. Quantumvis igitur civitas recte ordinata, et jura optime instituta sint, in maximis tamen imperii angustiis, quando omnes, ut fit, terrore quodam panico capiuntur, tum omnes id solum, quod praesens metus suadet, nulla futuri, neque legum habita ratione, probant, omnium ora in Virum victoriis clarum vertuntur, eundemque legibus solvunt, atque ipsi imperium (pessimo exemplo) continuant, totamque Rempublicam ipsius fidei conimittunt, quae res sane Romani imperii exitii fuit causa. Sed ut huic Objectioni respondeam, dico primo, quod in recte constituta Republica similis terror non oritur, nisi ex justa causa; atque adeo is terror, et confusio ex eo orta nulli caunnsae, quae prudentia humana vitari poterat, adscribi potest. Deinde notandum, quod in Republica, qualem in praeced. descripsimus, fieri non potest (per Art. 9. et 25. Ca.), ut unus, aut alter virtutis fama ita excellat, ut omniumora in se vertat. Sed necesse est, ut plures habeat aemulos, quibus

plures alii faveant. Quamvis itaque ex terrore confusio aliqua in Republica oriatur, leges tamen fraudare, atque aliquem contra jus ad imperium militare renunciare nemo poterit, quin statim contentio alios petentium oriatur, quae ut dirimatur, necesse tandem erit ad semel statuta, et ab omnibus probata jura recurrere, atque res imperii secundum leges latas ordinare. Possum igitur absolute affirmare, cum imperium, quod una sola Urbs, tum praecipue illud, quod plures Urbes tenent, aeternum esse, sive nulla interna causa posse dissolvi, aut in aliam formam mutari.

CAPUT XI



I. TRANSEO TANDEM ad tertium, et omnino absolutum imperium, quod Democraticum appellamus. Hujus ab Aristocratico differentiam in hoc potissimum consistere diximus, quod in eo a sola supremi Concilii voluntate, et libera Electione pendeat, ut hic, aut ille Patricius creetur, ita ut nemo jus suffragii, et munera imperii subeundi (49) haereditarium habeat, nemoque id jus sibi poscere jure possit, ut in hoc, de quo jam agimus, imperio sit. Nam omnes, qui ex parentibus civibus, vel qui in patrio illo solo nati, vel qui de Republica bene meriti sunt, vel ob alias causas, ob quas Lex alicui jus civis dare jubet, ii, inquam, omnes jus suffragii in supremo Concilio, muneraque imperii subeundi jure sibi poscunt, nec denegare iis licet, nisi ob crimen, aut infamiam.

II. Si igitur jure institutum sit, ut Seniores tantummodo, qui ad certum aetatis annum pervenerunt, vel ut soli primogeniti, simulatque per aetatem licet, vel qui certam pecuniae summam Reipublicae contribuunt, jus suffragii in supremo Concilio, et imperii negotia tractandi habeant, quamvis hac ratione fieri posset, ut supremum Concilium ex paucioribus civibus componeretur, quam illud imperii Aristocratici, de quo supra egimus, erunt nihilominus hujusmodi imperia Democratica appellanda, quoniam eorum cives, qui ad regendam Rempublicam destinantur, non a supremo Concilio, ut optimi, eliguntur, sed lege ad id destinantur. Et, quamvis hac ratione hujusmodi imperia, ubi scilicet non qui optimi, sed qui forte fortuna divites, vel qui primi nati sunt, ad regimen destinantur, imperio Aristocratico cedere videantur, tamen si praxin, seu communem hominum conditionem spectemus, res eodem redibit. Nam Patriciis ii semper optimi videbuntur (50), qui divites, vel ipsis sanguine proximi, vel amicitia conjuncti sunt. Et sane, si cum Patriciis ita comparatum esset, ut liberi ab omni affectu, et solo studio publicae salutis ducti, collegas Patricios eligerent,

nullum esset imperium cum Aristocratico comparandum. Sed rem contra omnino sese habere, satis superque ipsa experientia docuit, praesertim in oligarchiis, ubi Patriciorum voluntas ob defectum aemulantium maxime lege soluta est. Ibi enim studio optimos a Concilio arcent Patricii, et eos sibi socios in Concilio quaerunt, qui ab eorum ore pendent, ita ut in simili imperio multo infelicius res ejus sese habeant, propterea quod Patriciorum Electio ab absoluta quorundam libera, sive omni lege soluta voluntate pendeat. Sed ad inceptum redeo.

III. Ex dictis in praeced. Art. patet, nos posse imperii Democratici diversa genera concipere, sed meum institutum non est de unoquoque, sed de eo solummodo agere, in quo omnes absolute, qui solis legibus patriis tenentur, et praeterea sui juris sunt, honesteque vivunt, jus suffragii in supremo (51) Concilio habent, muneraque imperii subeundi. Dico expresse, qui solis legibus patriis tenentur, ut peregrinos secludam, qui sub alterius imperio esse censentur. Addidi praeterea, quod, praeterquam quod legibus imperii teneantur, in reliquis sui juris sint, ut mulieres, et servos secluderem, qui in potestate virorum, et dominorum, ac etiam liberos et pupillos, quamdiu sub potestate parentum, et tutorum sunt. Dixi denique, honesteque vivunt, ut ii apprime secluderentur, qui ob crimen, aut aliquod turpe vitae genus infames sunt.

IV. Sed forsitan rogabit aliquis, num foeminae ex natura, an ex instituto sub potestate virorum sint? Nam, si ex solo instituto id factum est, nulla ergo ratio nos coegit foeminas a regimine secludere. Sed si ipsam experientiam consulamus, id ex earum imbecillitate oriri videbimus. Nam nullibi factum est, ut viri, et foeminae simul regnarent, sed ubicunque terrarum viri, et foeminae reperiuntur, ibi viros regnare, et foeminas regi videmus, et hac ratione utrumque sexum concorditer vivere. Sed contra Amazonae, quas olim regnasse fama proditum est, viros in patrio solo morari non patiebantur, sed foeminas tantummodo alebant, mares autem, quos pepererant, necabant. Quod si ex natura foeminae viris aequales essent, et animi fortitudine, et ingenio, in quo maxime humana potentia, et consequenter jus consistit, aequae pollerent, sane inter tot, tamque diversas nationes quaedam reperirentur, ubi uterque sexus pariter regeret, et aliae ubi a

foeminis viri regerentur, atque ita educarentur, ut ingenio minus possent: quod cum nullibi factum sit, affirmare omnino licet, foeminas ex natura non aequale cum viris habere jus, sed eas viris necessario cedere, atque adeo fieri non posse, ut uterque sexus pariter regat, et multo minus, ut viri a foeminis regantur. Quod si praeterea humanos affectus consideremus, quod scilicet viri plerumque ex solo libidinis affectu foeminas ament, et earum ingenium, et sapientiam tanti aestiment, quantum ipsae pulchritudine pollent, et praeterea quod viri aegerrime ferant, ut foeminae, quas amant, aliis aliquo modo faveant, et id genus alia, levi negotio videbimus, non posse absque magno pacis detrimento fieri, ut viri, et foeminae pariter regant. Sed de his satis.

Reliqua desiderantur.

Selected Letters



Translated by R. H. M. Elwes

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Henry Oldenburg by Jan van Cleve — Henry Oldenburg (1619-1677) was a German theologian known as a diplomat, a natural philosopher and as the creator of scientific peer review. He was one of the foremost intelligencers of Europe of the seventeenth century, with a network of correspondents to rival those of Fabri de Peiresc, Marin Mersenne and Ismaël Boulliau. Oldenburg was also a frequent correspondent with Spinoza.

Henry Oldenburg
London, 16/26; Aug., 1661
London
Benedict de Spinoza

LETTER I. Henry Oldenburg to B. de Spinoza.



[OLDENBURG, AFTER COMPLIMENTING Spinoza, asks him to enter into a philosophical correspondence.]

ILLUSTRIOUS Sir, and most worthy Friend, —

So painful to me was the separation from you the other day after our meeting in your retreat at Rhijnsburg, that it is my first endeavour, now that I am returned to England, to renew, as far as is possible by correspondence, my intercourse with you. Solid learning, conjoined with courtesy and refinement of manners (wherewith both nature and art have most amply endowed you), carries with it such charms as to command the love of every honourable and liberally-educated man. Let us then, most excellent sir, join hands in sincere friendship, and let us foster the feeling with every zealous endeavour and kind office in our power. Whatever my poor means can furnish I beg you to look on as your own. Allow me in return to claim a share in the riches of your talents, as I may do without inflicting any loss on yourself.

We conversed at Rhijnsburg of God, of extension, of infinite thought, of the differences and agreements between these, of the nature of the connection between the human soul and body, and further, of the principles of the Cartesian and Baconian philosophies.

But, as we then spoke of these great questions merely cursorily and by the way, and as my mind has been not a little tormented with them since, I will appeal to the rights of our newly cemented friendship, and most affectionately beg you to

give me at somewhat greater length your opinion on the subjects I have mentioned. On two points especially I ask for enlightenment, if I may presume so far; first: In what do you place the true distinction between thought and matter? secondly: What do you consider to be the chief defects in the Cartesian and Baconian philosophies, and how do you think they might best be removed, and something more sound substituted? The more freely you write to me on these and similar subjects, the more closely will you tie the bonds of our friendship, and the stricter will be the obligation laid on me to repay you, as far as possible, with similar services.

There is at present in the press a collection of physiological discourses written by an Englishman of noble family and distinguished learning. They treat of the nature and elasticity of the air, as proved by forty-three experiments; also of its fluidity, solidity, and other analogous matters. As soon as the work is published, I shall make a point of sending it to you by any friend who may be crossing the sea. Meanwhile, farewell, and remember your friend, who is

Yours, in all affection and zeal,

Henry Oldenburg.

London,
16/26 Aug., 1661.
Benedict de Spinoza
Henry Oldenburg

LETTER II. Spinoza to Oldenburg.



[ANSWER TO LETTER I. Spinoza defines “God,” and “attribute,” and sends definitions, axioms, and first four propositions of Book I. of Ethics. Some errors of Bacon and Descartes discussed.]

Illustrious Sir, —

How pleasant your friendship is to me, you may yourself judge, if your modesty will allow you to reflect on the abundance of your own excellences. Indeed the thought of these makes me seem not a little bold in entering into such a compact, the more so when I consider that between friends all things, and especially things spiritual, ought to be in common. However, this must lie at the charge of your modesty and kindness rather than of myself. You have been willing to lower yourself through the former and to fill me with the abundance of the latter, till I am no longer afraid to accept the close friendship, which you hold out to me, and which you deign to ask of me in return; no effort on my part shall be spared to render it lasting.

As for my mental endowments, such as they are, I would willingly allow you to share them, even though I knew it would be to my own great hindrance. But this is not meant as an excuse for denying to you what you ask by the rights of friendship. I will therefore endeavour to explain my opinions on the topics you

touched on; though I scarcely hope, unless your kindness intervene, that I shall thus draw the bonds of our friendship closer.

I will then begin by speaking briefly of God, Whom I define as a Being consisting in infinite attributes, whereof each is infinite or supremely perfect after its kind. You must observe that by attribute I mean everything, which is conceived through itself and in itself, so that the conception of it does not involve the conception of anything else. For instance, extension is conceived through itself and in itself, but motion is not. The latter is conceived through something else, for the conception of it implies extension.

That the definition above given of God is true appears from the fact, that by God we mean a Being supremely perfect and absolutely infinite. That such a Being exists may easily be proved from the definition; but as this is not the place for such proof, I will pass it over. What I am bound here to prove, in order to satisfy the first inquiry of my distinguished questioner, are the following consequences; first, that in the universe there cannot exist two substances without their differing utterly in essence; secondly, that substance cannot be produced or created — existence pertains to its actual essence; thirdly, that all substance must be infinite or supremely perfect after its kind.

When these points have been demonstrated, my distinguished questioner will readily perceive my drift, if he reflects at the same time on the definition of God. In order to prove them clearly and briefly, I can think of nothing better than to submit them to the bar of your judgment proved in the geometrical method. I therefore enclose them separately and await your verdict upon them.

Again, you ask me what errors I detect in the Cartesian and Baconian philosophies. It is not my custom to expose the errors of others, nevertheless I will yield to your request. The first and the greatest error is, that these philosophers have strayed so far from the knowledge of the first cause and origin of all things; the second is, that they did not know the true nature of the human mind; the third, that they never grasped the true cause of error. The necessity for

correct knowledge on these three points can only be ignored by persons completely devoid of learning and training.

That they have wandered astray from the knowledge of the first cause, and of the human mind, may easily be gathered from the truth of the three propositions given above; I therefore devote myself entirely to the demonstration of the third error. Of Bacon I shall say very little, for he speaks very confusedly on the point, and works out scarcely any proofs: he simply narrates. In the first place he assumes, that the human intellect is liable to err, not only through the fallibility of the senses, but also solely through its own nature, and that it frames its conceptions in accordance with the analogy of its own nature, not with the analogy of the universe, so that it is like a mirror receiving rays from external objects unequally, and mingling its own nature with the nature of things, &c.

Secondly, that the human intellect is, by reason of its own nature, prone to abstractions; such things as are in flux it feigns to be constant, &c.

Thirdly, that the human intellect continually augments, and is unable to come to a stand or to rest content. The other causes which he assigns may all be reduced to the one Cartesian principle, that the human will is free and more extensive than the intellect, or, as Verulam himself more confusedly puts it, that “the understanding is not a dry light, but receives infusion from the will.” (We may here observe that Verulam often employs “intellect” as synonymous with mind, differing in this respect from Descartes). This cause, then, leaving aside the others as unimportant, I shall show to be false; indeed its falsity would be evident to its supporters, if they would consider, that will in general differs from this or that particular volition in the same way as whiteness differs from this or that white object, or humanity from this or that man. It is, therefore, as impossible to conceive, that will is the cause of a given volition, as to conceive that humanity is the cause of Peter and Paul.

Hence, as will is merely an entity of the reason, and cannot be called the cause of particular volitions, and as some cause is needed for the existence of such volitions, these latter cannot be called free, but are necessarily such as they are

determined by their causes; lastly, according to Descartes, errors are themselves particular volitions; hence it necessarily follows that errors, or, in other words, particular volitions, are not free, but are determined by external causes, and in nowise by the will. This is what I undertook to prove.

Henry Oldenburg

27 Sept., 1661

London

Benedict de Spinoza

LETTER III. Oldenburg to Spinoza.



[OLDENBURG PROPOUNDS SEVERAL questions concerning God and His existence, thought, and the axioms of Eth. I. He also informs Spinoza of a philosophical society, and promises to send Boyle's book.]

Most excellent Friend, —

Your learned letter has been delivered to me, and read with great pleasure.

I highly approve of your geometrical method of proof, but I must set it down to my dulness, that I cannot follow with readiness what you set forth with such accuracy. Suffer me, then, I beg, to expose the slowness of my understanding, while I put the following questions, and beg of you to answer them.

First. Do you clearly and indisputably understand solely from the definition you have given of God, that such a Being exists? For my part, when I reflect that definitions contain only the conceptions formed by our minds, and that our mind forms many conceptions of things which do not exist, and is very fertile in multiplying and amplifying what it has conceived, I do not yet see, that from the conception I have of God I can infer God's existence. I am able by a mental combination of all the perfections I perceive in men, in animals, in vegetables, in minerals, &c., to conceive and to form an idea of some single substance uniting in itself all such excellences; indeed my mind is able to multiply and augment such excellences indefinitely; it may thus figure forth for itself a most perfect and

excellent Being, but there would be no reason thence to conclude that such a Being actually exists.

Secondly. I wish to ask, whether you think it unquestionable, that body cannot be limited by thought, or thought by body; seeing that it still remains undecided, what thought is, whether it be a physical motion or a spiritual act quite distinct from body?

Thirdly. Do you reckon the axioms, which you have sent to me, as indemonstrable principles known by the light of nature and needing no proof? Perhaps the first is of this nature, but I do not see how the other three can be placed in a like category. The second assumes that nothing exists in the universe save substances and accidents, but many persons would say that time and place cannot be classed either as one or the other. Your third axiom, that things having different attributes have no quality in common, is so far from being clear to me, that its contrary seems to be shown in the whole universe. All things known to us agree in certain respects and differ in others. Lastly, your fourth axiom, that when things have no quality in common, one cannot be produced by another, is not so plain to my groping intelligence as to stand in need of no further illumination. God has nothing actually in common with created things, yet nearly all of us believe Him to be their cause.

As you see that in my opinion your axioms are not established beyond all the assaults of doubt, you will readily gather that the propositions you have based upon them do not appear to me absolutely firm. The more I reflect upon them, the more are doubts suggested to my mind concerning them.

As to the first, I submit that two men are two substances with the same attribute, inasmuch as both are rational; whence I infer that there can be two substances with the same attribute.

As to the second, I opine that, as nothing can be its own cause, it is hardly within the scope of our intellect to pronounce on the truth of the proposition, that substance cannot be produced even by any other substance. Such a proposition asserts all substances to be self-caused, and all and each to be independent of one

another, thus making so many gods, and therefore denying the first cause of all things. This, I willingly confess, I cannot understand, unless you will be kind enough to explain your theory on this sublime subject somewhat more fully and simply, informing me what may be the origin and mode of production of substances, and the mutual interdependence and subordination of things. I most strenuously beg and conjure you by that friendship which we have entered into, to answer me freely and faithfully on these points; you may rest assured, that everything which you think fit to communicate to me will remain untampered with and safe, for I will never allow anything to become public through me to your hurt or disadvantage. In our philosophical society we proceed diligently as far as opportunity offers with our experiments and observations, lingering over the compilation of the history of mechanic arts, with the idea that the forms and qualities of things can best be explained from mechanical principles, and that all natural effects can be produced through motion, shape, and consistency, without reference to inexplicable forms or occult qualities, which are but the refuge of ignorance.

I will send the book I promised, whenever the Dutch Ambassadors send (as they frequently do) a messenger to the Hague, or whenever some other friend whom I can trust goes your way. I beg you to excuse my prolixity and freedom, and simply ask you to take in good part, as one friend from another, the straightforward and unpolished reply I have sent to your letter, believing me to be without deceit or affectation,

Yours most faithfully,
Henry Oldenburg.

London,
27 Sept., 1661.
Benedict de Spinoza
Henry Oldenburg

LETTER IV. Spinoza to Oldenburg.



[SPINOZA ANSWERS SOME of Oldenburg's questions and doubts, but has not time to reply to all, as he is just setting out for Amsterdam.]

Illustrious Sir, —

As I was starting for Amsterdam, where I intend staying for a week or two, I received your most welcome letter, and noted the objections you raise to the three propositions I sent you. Not having time to reply fully, I will confine myself to these three.

To the first I answer, that not from every definition does the existence of the thing defined follow, but only (as I showed in a note appended to the three propositions) from the definition or idea of an attribute, that is (as I explained fully in the definition given of God) of a thing conceived through and in itself. The reason for this distinction was pointed out, if I mistake not, in the above-mentioned note sufficiently clearly at any rate for a philosopher, who is assumed to be aware of the difference between a fiction and a clear and distinct idea, and also of the truth of the axiom that every definition or clear and distinct idea is true. When this has been duly noted, I do not see what more is required for the solution of your first question.

I therefore proceed to the solution of the second, wherein you seem to admit that, if thought does not belong to the nature of extension, then extension will not

be limited by thought; your doubt only involves the example given. But observe, I beg, if we say that extension is not limited by extension but by thought, is not this the same as saying that extension is not infinite absolutely, but only as far as extension is concerned, in other words, infinite after its kind? But you say: perhaps thought is a corporeal action: be it so, though I by no means grant it: you, at any rate, will not deny that extension, in so far as it is extension, is not thought, and this is all that is required for explaining my definition and proving the third proposition.

Thirdly. You proceed to object, that my axioms ought not to be ranked as universal notions. I will not dispute this point with you; but you further hesitate as to their truth, seeming to desire to show that their contrary is more probable. Consider, I beg, the definition which I gave of substance and attribute, for on that they all depend. When I say that I mean by substance that which is conceived through and in itself; and that I mean by modification or accident that, which is in something else, and is conceived through that wherein it is, evidently it follows that substance is by nature prior to its accidents. For without the former the latter can neither be nor be conceived. Secondly, it follows that, besides substances and accidents, nothing exists really or externally to the intellect. For everything is conceived either through itself or through something else, and the conception of it either involves or does not involve the conception of something else. Thirdly, it follows that things which possess different attributes have nothing in common. For by attribute I have explained that I mean something, of which the conception does not involve the conception of anything else. Fourthly and lastly, it follows that, if two things have nothing in common, one cannot be the cause of the other. For, as there would be nothing in common between the effect and the cause, the whole effect would spring from nothing. As for your contention that God has nothing actually in common with created things, I have maintained the exact opposite in my definition. I said that God is a Being consisting of infinite attributes, whereof each one is infinite or supremely perfect after its kind. With regard to what you say concerning my first proposition, I beg you, my friend, to

bear in mind, that men are not created but born, and that their bodies already exist before birth, though under different forms. You draw the conclusion, wherein I fully concur, that, if one particle of matter be annihilated, the whole of extension would forthwith vanish. My second proposition does not make many gods but only one, to wit, a Being consisting of infinite attributes, &c.

Henry Oldenburg

Benedict de Spinoza

LETTER V. Oldenburg to Spinoza.



[OLDENBURG SENDS BOYLE'S book, and laments that Spinoza has not been able to answer all his doubts.]

Most Respected Friend, —

Please accept herewith the book I promised you, and write me in answer your opinion on it, especially on the remarks about nitre, and about fluidity, and solidity. I owe you the warmest thanks for your learned second letter, which I received to-day, but I greatly grieve that your journey to Amsterdam prevented you from answering all my doubts. I beg you will supply the omission, as soon as you have leisure. You have much enlightened me in your last letter, but have not yet dispelled all my darkness; this result will, I believe, be happily accomplished, when you send me clear and distinct information concerning the first origin of things. Hitherto I have been somewhat in doubt as to the cause from which, and the manner in which things took their origin; also, as to what is the nature of their connection with the first cause, if such there be. All that I hear or read on the subject seems inconclusive. Do you then, my very learned master, act, as it were, as my torch-bearer in the matter. You will have no reason to doubt my confidence and gratitude. Such is the earnest petition of

Yours most faithfully,

Henry Oldenburg.

Benedict de Spinoza

Henry Oldenburg

LETTER VI. Spinoza to Oldenburg.



[CONTAINING DETAILED CRITICISMS by Spinoza of Robert Boyle's book.]
Omitted.

LETTER VII. Oldenburg to Spinoza.



[AFTER THANKING SPINOZA, in the name of himself and Boyle, Oldenburg mentions the foundation of the Royal Society, and begs his correspondent to publish his theological and philosophical works.]

* * * * *

The body of philosophers which I formerly mentioned to you has now, by the king's grace, been constituted as a Royal Society, and furnished with a public charter, whereby distinguished privileges are conferred upon it, and an excellent prospect afforded of endowing it with the necessary revenues.

I would by all means advise you not to begrudge to the learned those works in philosophy and theology, which you have composed with the talent that distinguishes you. Publish them, I beg, whatever be the verdict of petty theologians. Your country is free; the course of philosophy should there be free also. Your own prudence will, doubtless, suggest to you, that your ideas and opinions should be put forth as quietly as possible. For the rest, commit the issue to fortune. Come, then, good sir, cast away all fear of exciting against you the pigmies of our time. Long enough have we sacrificed to ignorance and pedantry. Let us spread the sails of true knowledge, and explore the recesses of nature more thoroughly than heretofore. Your meditations can, I take it, be printed in your country with impunity; nor need any scandal among the learned be dreaded because of them. If these be your patrons and supporters (and I warrant me you will find them so), why should you dread the carpings of ignorance? I will not let

you go, my honoured friend, till I have gained my request; nor will I ever, so far as in me lies, allow thoughts of such importance as yours to rest in eternal silence. I earnestly beg you to communicate to me, as soon as you conveniently can, your decision in the matter. Perhaps events will occur here not unworthy of your knowledge. The Society I have mentioned will now proceed more strenuously on its course, and, if peace continues on our shores, will possibly illustrate the republic of letters with some extraordinary achievement. Farewell, excellent sir, and believe me,

Your most zealous and friendly,

Henry Oldenburg.

3 April, 1663

London

LETTER VIII . Oldenburg to Spinoza.



[AFTER FURTHER REPLYING to Spinoza's criticisms on Boyle's book, Oldenburg again exhorts his correspondent to publish.]

* * * * *

I now proceed to the question which has arisen between us. First, permit me to ask you whether you have finished the important little work, in which you treat "of the origin of things and their dependence on the first cause, and of the improvement of our understanding." Truly, my dear sir, I believe nothing more pleasing or acceptable to men of true learning and discrimination could possibly be published than such a treatise. This is what a man of your talent and

disposition should look to, far more than the gratification of theologians of our time and fashion. The latter have less regard for truth than for their own convenience. I, therefore, conjure you, by the bond of our friendship, by every duty of increasing and proclaiming the truth, not to begrudge us, or withhold from us your writings on these subjects. If anything of greater importance than I can foresee prevents you from publishing the work, I earnestly charge you to give me a summary of it by letter.

Another book is soon to be published by the learned Boyle, which I will send you as an exchange. I will add papers, which will acquaint you with the whole constitution of our Royal Society, whereof I, with twenty others, am on the Council, and, with one other, am Secretary. I have no time to discourse of any further subjects. All the confidence which honest intentions can inspire, all the readiness to serve, which the smallness of my powers will permit, I pledge to you, and am heartily,

Dear sir, yours wholly,

H. Oldenburg.

London,
3 April, 1663.

LETTER IX. Spinoza to Oldenburg.



[SPINOZA INFORMS OLDENBURG that he has removed to Rhijnsburg, and has spent some time at Amsterdam for the purpose of publishing the “Principles of Cartesian Philosophy.” He then replies to Boyle’s objections.]

Distinguished Sir, —

I have at length received your long wished for letter, and am at liberty to answer it. But, before I do so, I will briefly tell you, what has prevented my replying before. When I removed my household goods here in April, I set out for Amsterdam. While there certain friends asked me to impart to them a treatise containing, in brief, the second part of the principles of Descartes treated geometrically, together with some of the chief points treated of in metaphysics, which I had formerly dictated to a youth, to whom I did not wish to teach my own opinions openly. They further requested me, at the first opportunity, to compose a similar treatise on the first part. Wishing to oblige my friends, I at once set myself to the task, which I finished in a fortnight, and handed over to them. They then asked for leave to print it, which I readily granted on the condition that one of them should, under my supervision, clothe it in more elegant phraseology, and add a little preface warning readers that I do not acknowledge all the opinions there set forth as my own, inasmuch as I hold the exact contrary to much that is there written, illustrating the fact by one or two examples. All this the friend who took charge of the treatise promised to do, and this is the cause for my prolonged stay in Amsterdam. Since I returned to this village, I have hardly been able to call

my time my own, because of the friends who have been kind enough to visit me. At last, my dear friend, a moment has come, when I can relate these occurrences to you, and inform you why I allow this treatise to see the light. It may be that on this occasion some of those, who hold the foremost positions in my country, will be found desirous of seeing the rest of my writings, which I acknowledge as my own; they will thus take care that I am enabled to publish them without any danger of infringing the laws of the land. If this be as I think, I shall doubtless publish at once; if things fall out otherwise, I would rather be silent than obtrude my opinions on men, in defiance of my country, and thus render them hostile to me. I therefore hope, my friend, that you will not chafe at having to wait a short time longer; you shall then receive from me either the treatise printed, or the summary of it which you ask for. If meanwhile you would like to have one or two copies of the work now in the press, I will satisfy your wish, as soon as I know of it and of means to send the book conveniently.

[The rest of the letter is taken up with criticisms on Boyle's book.]

LETTERS X-XIV.

[Contain further correspondence concerning Boyle's book, and kindred subjects.]

LETTER XIII.a. Oldenburg to Spinoza.



[THE PLACE OF this letter is between Letters XIII. and XIV. It was written apparently in September, 1665. It mentions the plague, which was then at its height, the war, and the labours of the Royal Society, and especially of Boyle. Then comes the passage here given. The letter terminates with references to the comets, and to Huyghens.]

* * * * *

I see that you are engaged not so much in philosophy as in theology, if I may say so. That is, you are recording your thoughts about angels, prophecy, and miracles, but you are doing this, perhaps, in a philosophical manner; however that may be, I am certain that the work is worthy of you, and that I am most anxious to have it. Since these most difficult times prevent free intercourse, I beg at least that you will not disdain to signify to me in your next letter your design and aim in this writing of yours.

Here we are daily expecting news of a second naval battle, unless indeed your fleet has retired into port. Virtue, the nature of which you hint is being discussed among your friends, belongs to wild beasts not to men. For if men acted according to the guidance of reason, they would not so tear one another in pieces, as they evidently do. But what is the good of my complaining? Vices will exist while men do; but yet they are not continuous, but compensated by the interposition of better things.

* * * * *

LETTER XV. Spinoza to Oldenburg.



[SPINOZA WRITES TO his friend concerning the reasons which lead us to believe, that “every part of nature agrees with the whole, and is associated with all other parts.” He also makes a few remarks about Huyghens.]

Distinguished Sir, —

For the encouragement to pursue my speculations given me by yourself and the distinguished R. Boyle, I return you my best thanks. I proceed as far as my slender abilities will allow me, with full confidence in your aid and kindness. When you ask me my opinion on the question raised concerning our knowledge of the means, whereby each part of nature agrees with its whole, and the manner in which it is associated with the remaining parts, I presume you are asking for the reasons which induce us to believe, that each part of nature agrees with its whole, and is associated with the remaining parts. For as to the means whereby the parts are really associated, and each part agrees with its whole, I told you in my former letter that I am in ignorance. To answer such a question, we should have to know the whole of nature and its several parts. I will therefore endeavour to show the reason, which led me to make the statement; but I will premise that I do not attribute to nature either beauty or deformity, order or confusion. Only in relation to our imagination can things be called beautiful or deformed, ordered or confused.

By the association of parts, then, I merely mean that the laws or nature of one part adapt themselves to the laws or nature of another part, so as to cause the least possible inconsistency. As to the whole and the parts, I mean that a given number of things are parts of a whole, in so far as the nature of each of them is adapted to the nature of the rest, so that they all, as far as possible, agree together. On the other hand, in so far as they do not agree, each of them forms, in our mind, a

separate idea, and is to that extent considered as a whole, not as a part. For instance, when the parts of lymph, chyle, &c., combine, according to the proportion of the figure and size of each, so as to evidently unite, and form one fluid, the chyle, lymph, &c., considered under this aspect, are part of the blood; but, in so far as we consider the particles of lymph as differing in figure and size from the particles of chyle, we shall consider each of the two as a whole, not as a part.

Let us imagine, with your permission, a little worm, living in the blood, able to distinguish by sight the particles of blood, lymph, &c., and to reflect on the manner in which each particle, on meeting with another particle, either is repulsed, or communicates a portion of its own motion. This little worm would live in the blood, in the same way as we live in a part of the universe, and would consider each particle of blood, not as a part, but as a whole. He would be unable to determine, how all the parts are modified by the general nature of blood, and are compelled by it to adapt themselves, so as to stand in a fixed relation to one another. For, if we imagine that there are no causes external to the blood, which could communicate fresh movements to it, nor any space beyond the blood, nor any bodies whereto the particles of blood could communicate their motion, it is certain that the blood would always remain in the same state, and its particles would undergo no modifications, save those which may be conceived as arising from the relations of motion existing between the lymph, the chyle, &c. The blood would then always have to be considered as a whole, not as a part. But, as there exist, as a matter of fact, very many causes which modify, in a given manner, the nature of the blood, and are, in turn, modified thereby, it follows that other motions and other relations arise in the blood, springing not from the mutual relations of its parts only, but from the mutual relations between the blood as a whole and external causes. Thus the blood comes to be regarded as a part, not as a whole. So much for the whole and the part.

All natural bodies can and ought to be considered in the same way as we have here considered the blood, for all bodies are surrounded by others, and are

mutually determined to exist and operate in a fixed and definite proportion, while the relations between motion and rest in the sum total of them, that is, in the whole universe, remain unchanged. Hence it follows that each body, in so far as it exists as modified in a particular manner, must be considered as a part of the whole universe, as agreeing with the whole, and associated with the remaining parts. As the nature of the universe is not limited, like the nature of blood, but is absolutely infinite, its parts are by this nature of infinite power infinitely modified, and compelled to undergo infinite variations. But, in respect to substance, I conceive that each part has a more close union with its whole. For, as I said in my first letter (addressed to you while I was still at Rhijnsburg), substance being infinite in its nature, it follows, as I endeavoured to show, that each part belongs to the nature of substance, and, without it, can neither be nor be conceived.

You see, therefore, how and why I think that the human body is a part of nature. As regards the human mind, I believe that it also is a part of nature; for I maintain that there exists in nature an infinite power of thinking, which, in so far as it is infinite, contains subjectively the whole of nature, and its thoughts proceed in the same manner as nature — that is, in the sphere of ideas. Further, I take the human mind to be identical with this said power, not in so far as it is infinite, and perceives the whole of nature, but in so far as it is finite, and perceives only the human body; in this manner, I maintain that the human mind is a part of an infinite understanding.

But to explain, and accurately prove, all these and kindred questions, would take too long; and I do not think you expect as much of me at present. I am afraid that I may have mistaken your meaning, and given an answer to a different question from that which you asked. Please inform me on this point.

You write in your last letter, that I hinted that nearly all the Cartesian laws of motion are false. What I said was, if I remember rightly, that Huyghens thinks so; I myself do not impeach any of the laws except the sixth, concerning which I

think Huyghens is also in error. I asked you at the same time to communicate to me the experiment made according to that hypothesis in your Royal Society; as you have not replied, I infer that you are not at liberty to do so. The above-mentioned Huyghens is entirely occupied in polishing lenses. He has fitted up for the purpose a handsome workshop, in which he can also construct moulds. What will be the result I know not, nor, to speak the truth, do I greatly care. Experience has sufficiently taught me, that the free hand is better and more sure than any machine for polishing spherical moulds. I can tell you nothing certain as yet about the success of the clocks or the date of Huyghens' journey to France.

Henry Oldenburg

8 Dec., 1665

London

LETTER XVI. Oldenburg to Spinoza.



[AFTER SOME REMARKS on Spinoza's last letter, and an account of experiments at the Royal Society and at Oxford, Oldenburg mentions a report about the return of the Jews to Palestine].

* * * * *

But I pass on to politics. Everyone here is talking of a report that the Jews, after remaining scattered for more than two thousand years, are about to return to their country. Few here believe in it, but many desire it. Please tell your friend what you hear and think on the matter. For my part, unless the news is confirmed from trustworthy sources at Constantinople, which is the place chiefly concerned, I shall not believe it. I should like to know, what the Jews of Amsterdam have heard about the matter, and how they are affected by such important tidings which, if true, would assuredly seem to harbinger the end of the world. * * * Believe me to be

Yours most zealously,

Henry Oldenburg

London,

8 Dec., 1665.

P.S. I will shortly (d.v.) tell you the opinion of our philosophers on the recent comets.

Henry Oldenburg

8 June, 1675

London

Benedict de Spinoza

LETTER XVII. Oldenburg to Spinoza.



[OLDENBURG THANKS SPINOZA for the Tractatus Theologico-Politicus despatched but not received, and modifies an adverse verdict expressed in a former letter (now lost).]

I was unwilling to let pass the convenient opportunity offered me by the journey to Holland of the learned Dr. Bourgeois, an adherent of the Reformed religion, for expressing my thanks a few weeks ago for your treatise forwarded to me, but not yet arrived. But I am doubtful whether my letter was duly delivered. I indicated in them my opinion on the treatise; but on deeper and more careful inspection I now think that my verdict was hasty. Certain arguments seemed to me to be urged at the expense of religion, as measured by the standard supplied by the common run of theologians and the received formulas of creeds which are evidently biassed. But a closer consideration of the whole subject convinced me, that you are far from attempting any injury to true religion and sound philosophy, but, on the contrary, strive to exalt and establish the true object of the Christian religion and the divine loftiness of fruitful philosophy.

Now that I believe that this is your fixed purpose, I would most earnestly beg you to have the kindness to write frequently and explain the nature of what you are now preparing and considering with this object to your old and sincere friend, who is all eager for the happy issue of so lofty a design. I sacredly promise you, that I will not divulge a syllable to anyone, if you enjoin silence; I will only endeavour gently to prepare the minds of good and wise men for the reception of those truths, which you will some day bring before a wider public, and I will try to dispel the prejudices, which have been conceived against your doctrines. Unless I am quite mistaken, you have an insight deeper than common into the nature and powers of the human mind, and its union with the human body. I

earnestly beg you to favour me with your reflections on this subject. Farewell,
most excellent Sir, and favour the devoted admirer of your teaching and virtue,

Henry Oldenburg.

London,

8 June, 1675.

Henry Oldenburg

LETTER XVIII. Oldenburg to Spinoza.



[OLDENBURG REJOICES AT the renewal of correspondence, and alludes to the five books of the Ethics which Spinoza (in a letter now lost) had announced his intention of publishing.]

Our correspondence being thus happily renewed, I should be unwilling to fall short of a friend's duty in the exchange of letters. I understand from your answer delivered to me on July 5, that you intend to publish your treatise in five parts. Allow me, I beg, to warn you by the sincerity of your affection for me, not to insert any passages which may seem to discourage the practice of religion and virtue; especially as nothing is more sought after in this degenerate and evil age than doctrines of the kind, which seem to give countenance to rampant vice.

However, I will not object to receiving a few copies of the said treatise. I will only ask you that, when the time arrives, they may be entrusted to a Dutch merchant living in London, who will see that they are forwarded to me. There is no need to mention, that books of the kind in question have been sent to me: if they arrive safely to my keeping, I do not doubt that I can conveniently dispose of some copies to my friends here and there, and can obtain a just price for them. Farewell, and when you have leisure write to

Yours most zealously,

Henry Oldenburg.

London,

22 July, 1675.

Benedict de Spinoza

Henry Oldenburg

LETTER XIX. Spinoza to Oldenburg.



[SPINOZA RELATES HIS journey to Amsterdam for the purpose of publishing his Ethics; he was deterred by the dissuasions of theologians and Cartesians. He hopes that Oldenburg will inform him of some of the objections to the Tractatus Theologico-Politicus, made by learned men, so that they may be answered in notes.]

Distinguished and Illustrious Sir, —

When I received your letter of the 22nd July, I had set out to Amsterdam for the purpose of publishing the book I had mentioned to you. While I was negotiating, a rumour gained currency that I had in the press a book concerning God, wherein I endeavoured to show that there is no God. This report was believed by many. Hence certain theologians, perhaps the authors of the rumour, took occasion to complain of me before the prince and the magistrates; moreover, the stupid Cartesians, being suspected of favouring me, endeavoured to remove the aspersion by abusing everywhere my opinions and writings, a course which they still pursue. When I became aware of this through trustworthy men, who also assured me that the theologians were everywhere lying in wait for me, I determined to put off publishing till I saw how things were going, and I proposed to inform you of my intentions. But matters seem to get worse and worse, and I am still uncertain what to do. Meanwhile I do not like to delay any longer answering your letter. I will first thank you heartily for your friendly warning, which I should be glad to have further explained, so that I may know, which are the doctrines which seem to you to be aimed against the practice of religion and virtue. If principles agree with reason, they are, I take it, also most serviceable to virtue. Further, if it be not troubling you too much I beg you to point out the passages in the Tractatus Theologico-Politicus which are objected to by the

learned, for I want to illustrate that treatise with notes, and to remove if possible the prejudices conceived against it. Farewell.

Henry Oldenburg

15 Nov., 1675

London

Benedict de Spinoza

LETTER XX. Oldenburg to Spinoza.



AS I SEE from your last letter, the book you propose to publish is in peril. It is impossible not to approve your purpose of illustrating and softening down those passages in the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, which have given pain to its readers. First I would call attention to the ambiguities in your treatment of God and Nature: a great many people think you have confused the one with the other. Again, you seem to many to take away the authority and value of miracles, whereby alone, as nearly all Christians believe, the certainty of the divine revelation can be established.

Again, people say that you conceal your opinion concerning Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of the world, the only Mediator for mankind, and concerning His incarnation and redemption: they would like you to give a clear explanation of what you think on these three subjects. If you do this and thus give satisfaction to prudent and rational Christians, I think your affairs are safe. Farewell.

London,

15 Nov., 1675.

P.S. — Send me a line, I beg, to inform me whether this note has reached you safely.

Benedict de Spinoza

Henry Oldenburg

LETTER XXI. Spinoza to Oldenburg.



DISTINGUISHED SIR, —

I received on Saturday last your very short letter dated 15th Nov. In it you merely indicate the points in the theological treatise, which have given pain to readers, whereas I had hoped to learn from it, what were the opinions which militated against the practice of religious virtue, and which you formerly mentioned. However, I will speak on the three subjects on which you desire me to disclose my sentiments, and tell you, first, that my opinion concerning God differs widely from that which is ordinarily defended by modern Christians. For I hold that God is of all things the cause immanent, as the phrase is, not transient. I say that all things are in God and move in God, thus agreeing with Paul, and, perhaps, with all the ancient philosophers, though the phraseology may be different; I will even venture to affirm that I agree with all the ancient Hebrews, in so far as one may judge from their traditions, though these are in many ways corrupted. The supposition of some, that I endeavour to prove in the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* the unity of God and Nature (meaning by the latter a certain mass or corporeal matter), is wholly erroneous.

As regards miracles, I am of opinion that the revelation of God can only be established by the wisdom of the doctrine, not by miracles, or in other words by ignorance. This I have shown at sufficient length in Chapter VI. concerning miracles. I will here only add, that I make this chief distinction between religion and superstition, that the latter is founded on ignorance, the former on knowledge; this, I take it, is the reason why Christians are distinguished from the rest of the world, not by faith, nor by charity, nor by the other fruits of the Holy Spirit, but solely by their opinions, inasmuch as they defend their cause, like everyone else, by miracles, that is by ignorance, which is the source of all malice; thus they turn

a faith, which may be true, into superstition. Lastly, in order to disclose my opinions on the third point, I will tell you that I do not think it necessary for salvation to know Christ according to the flesh: but with regard to the Eternal Son of God, that is the Eternal Wisdom of God, which has manifested itself in all things and especially in the human mind, and above all in Christ Jesus, the case is far otherwise. For without this no one can come to a state of blessedness, inasmuch as it alone teaches, what is true or false, good or evil. And, inasmuch as this wisdom was made especially manifest through Jesus Christ, as I have said, His disciples preached it, in so far as it was revealed to them through Him, and thus showed that they could rejoice in that spirit of Christ more than the rest of mankind. The doctrines added by certain churches, such as that God took upon Himself human nature, I have expressly said that I do not understand; in fact, to speak the truth, they seem to me no less absurd than would a statement, that a circle had taken upon itself the nature of a square. This I think will be sufficient explanation of my opinions concerning the three points mentioned. Whether it will be satisfactory to Christians you will know better than I. Farewell.

Henry Oldenburg

16 Dec., 1675

London

Benedict de Spinoza

LETTER XXII. Oldenburg to Spinoza.



[OLDENBURG WISHES TO be enlightened concerning the doctrine of fatalism, of which Spinoza has been accused. He discourses on man's limited intelligence and on the incarnation of the Son of God.]

As you seem to accuse me of excessive brevity, I will this time avoid the charge by excessive prolixity. You expected, I see, that I should set forth those opinions in your writings, which seem to discourage the practice of religious virtue in your readers. I will indicate the matter which especially pains them. You appear to set up a fatalistic necessity for all things and actions; if such is conceded and asserted, people aver, that the sinews of all laws, of virtue, and of religion, are severed, and that all rewards and punishment are vain. Whatsoever can compel, or involves necessity, is held also to excuse; therefore no one, they think, can be without excuse in the sight of God. If we are driven by fate, and all things follow a fixed and inevitable path laid down by the hard hand of necessity, they do not see where punishment can come in. What wedge can be brought for the untying of this knot, it is very difficult to say. I should much like to know and learn what help you can supply in the matter.

As to the opinions which you have kindly disclosed to me on the three points I mentioned, the following inquiries suggest themselves. First, In what sense do you take miracles and ignorance to be synonymous and equivalent terms, as you appear to think in your last letter?

The bringing back of Lazarus from the dead, and the resurrection from death of Jesus Christ seem to surpass all the power of created nature, and to fall within the scope of divine power only; it would not be a sign of culpable ignorance, that it was necessary to exceed the limits of finite intelligence confined within certain bounds. But perhaps you do not think it in harmony with the created mind and

science, to acknowledge in the uncreated mind and supreme Deity a science and power capable of fathoming, and bringing to pass events, whose reason and manner can neither be brought home nor explained to us poor human pigmies? “We are men;” it appears, that we must “think everything human akin to ourselves.”

Again, when you say that you cannot understand that God really took upon Himself human nature, it becomes allowable to ask you, how you understand the texts in the Gospel and the Epistle to the Hebrews, whereof the first says, “The Word was made flesh,” and the other, “For verily he took not on him the nature of angels; but he took on him the seed of Abraham.” Moreover, the whole tenor of the Gospel infers, as I think, that the only begotten Son of God, the Word (who both was God and was with God), showed Himself in human nature, and by His passion and death offered up the sacrifice for our sins, the price of the atonement. What you have to say concerning this without impugning the truth of the Gospel and the Christian religion, which I think you approve of, I would gladly learn.

I had meant to write more, but am interrupted by friends on a visit, to whom I cannot refuse the duties of courtesy. But what I have already put on paper is enough, and will perhaps weary you in your philosophizing. Farewell, therefore, and believe me to be ever an admirer of your learning and knowledge.

London,

16 Dec., 1675.

Benedict de Spinoza

Henry Oldenburg

LETTER XXIII. Spinoza to Oldenburg.



[SPINOZA EXPOUNDS TO Oldenburg his views on fate and necessity, discriminates between miracles and ignorance, takes the resurrection of Christ as spiritual, and deprecates attributing to the sacred writers Western modes of speech.]

Distinguished Sir, —

At last I see, what it was that you begged me not to publish. However, as it forms the chief foundation of everything in the treatise which I intended to bring out, I should like briefly to explain here, in what sense I assert that a fatal necessity presides over all things and actions. God I in no wise subject to fate: I conceive that all things follow with inevitable necessity from the nature of God, in the same way as everyone conceives that it follows from God's nature that God understands Himself. This latter consequence all admit to follow necessarily from the divine nature, yet no one conceives that God is under the compulsion of any fate, but that He understands Himself quite freely, though necessarily.

Further, this inevitable necessity in things does away neither with divine nor human laws. The principles of morality, whether they receive from God Himself the form of laws or institutions, or whether they do not, are still divine and salutary; whether we receive the good, which flows from virtue and the divine love, as from God in the capacity of a judge, or as from the necessity of the divine nature, it will in either case be equally desirable; on the other hand, the evils following from wicked actions and passions are not less to be feared because they are necessary consequences. Lastly, in our actions, whether they be necessary or contingent, we are led by hope and fear.

Men are only without excuse before God, because they are in God's power, as clay is in the hands of the potter, who from the same lump makes vessels, some to

honour, some to dishonour. If you will reflect a little on this, you will, I doubt not, easily be able to reply to any objections which may be urged against my opinion, as many of my friends have already done.

I have taken miracles and ignorance as equivalent terms, because those, who endeavour to establish God's existence and the truth of religion by means of miracles, seek to prove the obscure by what is more obscure and completely unknown, thus introducing a new sort of argument, the reduction, not to the impossible, as the phrase is, but to ignorance. But, if I mistake not, I have sufficiently explained my opinion on miracles in the Theologico-Political treatise. I will only add here, that if you will reflect on the facts; that Christ did not appear to the council, nor to Pilate, nor to any unbeliever, but only to the faithful; also that God has neither right hand nor left, but is by His essence not in a particular spot, but everywhere; that matter is everywhere the same; that God does not manifest himself in the imaginary space supposed to be outside the world; and lastly, that the frame of the human body is kept within due limits solely by the weight of the air; you will readily see that this apparition of Christ is not unlike that wherewith God appeared to Abraham, when the latter saw men whom he invited to dine with him. But, you will say, all the Apostles thoroughly believed, that Christ rose from the dead and really ascended to heaven: I do not deny it. Abraham, too, believed that God had dined with him, and all the Israelites believed that God descended, surrounded with fire, from heaven to Mount Sinai, and there spoke directly with them; whereas, these apparitions or revelations, and many others like them, were adapted to the understanding and opinions of those men, to whom God wished thereby to reveal His will. I therefore conclude, that the resurrection of Christ from the dead was in reality spiritual, and that to the faithful alone, according to their understanding, it was revealed that Christ was endowed with eternity, and had risen from the dead (using dead in the sense in which Christ said, "let the dead bury their dead"), giving by His life and death a matchless example of holiness. Moreover, He to this extent raises his disciples from the dead, in so far as they follow the example of His own life and death. It

would not be difficult to explain the whole Gospel doctrine on this hypothesis. Nay, 1 Cor. ch. xv. cannot be explained on any other, nor can Paul's arguments be understood: if we follow the common interpretation, they appear weak and can easily be refuted: not to mention the fact, that Christians interpret spiritually all those doctrines which the Jews accepted literally. I join with you in acknowledging human weakness. But on the other hand, I venture to ask you whether we "human pigmies" possess sufficient knowledge of nature to be able to lay down the limits of its force and power, or to say that a given thing surpasses that power? No one could go so far without arrogance. We may, therefore, without presumption explain miracles as far as possible by natural causes. When we cannot explain them, nor even prove their impossibility, we may well suspend our judgment about them, and establish religion, as I have said, solely by the wisdom of its doctrines. You think that the texts in John's Gospel and in Hebrews are inconsistent with what I advance, because you measure oriental phrases by the standards of European speech; though John wrote his gospel in Greek, he wrote it as a Hebrew. However this may be, do you believe, when Scripture says that God manifested Himself in a cloud, or that He dwelt in the tabernacle or the temple, that God actually assumed the nature of a cloud, a tabernacle, or a temple? Yet the utmost that Christ says of Himself is, that He is the Temple of God, because, as I said before, God had specially manifested Himself in Christ. John, wishing to express the same truth more forcibly, said that "the Word was made flesh." But I have said enough on the subject.

Henry Oldenburg

14 Jan., 1676

London

Benedict de Spinoza

LETTER XXIV. Oldenburg to Spinoza.



[OLDENBURG RETURNS TO the questions of universal necessity, of miracles, and of the literal and allegorical interpretation of Scripture.]

εὖ πράττειν.

You hit the point exactly, in perceiving the cause why I did not wish the doctrine of the fatalistic necessity of all things to be promulgated, lest the practice of virtue should thereby be aspersed, and rewards and punishments become ineffectual. The suggestions in your last letter hardly seem sufficient to settle the matter, or to quiet the human mind. For if we men are, in all our actions, moral as well as natural, under the power of God, like clay in the hands of the potter, with what face can any of us be accused of doing this or that, seeing that it was impossible for him to do otherwise? Should we not be able to cast all responsibility on God? Your inflexible fate, and your irresistible power, compel us to act in a given manner, nor can we possibly act otherwise. Why, then, and by what right do you deliver us up to terrible punishments, which we can in no way avoid, since you direct and carry on all things through supreme necessity, according to your good will and pleasure? When you say that men are only inexcusable before God, because they are in the power of God, I should reverse the argument, and say, with more show of reason, that men are evidently excusable, since they are in the power of God. Everyone may plead, “Thy power cannot be escaped from, O God; therefore, since I could not act otherwise, I may justly be excused.”

Again, in taking miracles and ignorance as equivalent terms, you seem to bring within the same limits the power of God and the knowledge of the ablest men; for

God is, according to you, unable to do or produce anything, for which men cannot assign a reason, if they employ all the strength of their faculties.

Again, the history of Christ's passion, death, burial, and resurrection seems to be depicted in such lively and genuine colours, that I venture to appeal to your conscience, whether you can believe them to be allegorical, rather than literal, while preserving your faith in the narrative? The circumstances so clearly stated by the Evangelists seem to urge strongly on our minds, that the history should be understood literally. I have ventured to touch briefly on these points, and I earnestly beg you to pardon me, and answer me as a friend with your usual candour. Mr. Boyle sends you his kind regards. I will, another time, tell you what the Royal Society is doing. Farewell, and preserve me in your affection.

London,

14 Jan., 1676.

Benedict de Spinoza

7 Feb., 1676

Henry Oldenburg

LETTER XXV. Written



7 FEB., 1676.

Spinoza to Oldenburg.

[Spinoza again treats of fatalism. He repeats that he accepts Christ's passion, death, and burial literally, but His resurrection spiritually.]

Distinguished Sir, —

When I said in my former letter that we are inexcusable, because we are in the power of God, like clay in the hands of the potter, I meant to be understood in the sense, that no one can bring a complaint against God for having given him a weak nature, or infirm spirit. A circle might as well complain to God of not being endowed with the properties of a sphere, or a child who is tortured, say, with stone, for not being given a healthy body, as a man of feeble spirit, because God has denied to him fortitude, and the true knowledge and love of the Deity, or because he is endowed with so weak a nature, that he cannot check or moderate his desires. For the nature of each thing is only competent to do that which follows necessarily from its given cause. That every man cannot be brave, and that we can no more command for ourselves a healthy body than a healthy mind, nobody can deny, without giving the lie to experience, as well as to reason. “But,” you urge, “if men sin by nature, they are excusable;” but you do not state the conclusion you draw, whether that God cannot be angry with them, or that they are worthy of blessedness — that is, of the knowledge and love of God. If you say the former, I fully admit that God cannot be angry, and that all things are done in accordance with His will; but I deny that all men ought, therefore, to be blessed — men may be excusable, and, nevertheless, be without blessedness and afflicted in many ways. A horse is excusable, for being a horse and not a man; but, nevertheless, he must needs be a horse and not a man. He who goes mad from the

bite of a dog is excusable, yet he is rightly suffocated. Lastly, he who cannot govern his desires, and keep them in check with the fear of the laws, though his weakness may be excusable, yet he cannot enjoy with contentment the knowledge and love of God, but necessarily perishes. I do not think it necessary here to remind you, that Scripture, when it says that God is angry with sinners, and that He is a Judge who takes cognizance of human actions, passes sentence on them, and judges them, is speaking humanly, and in a way adapted to the received opinion of the masses, inasmuch as its purpose is not to teach philosophy, nor to render men wise, but to make them obedient.

How, by taking miracles and ignorance as equivalent terms, I reduce God's power and man's knowledge within the same limits, I am unable to discern.

For the rest, I accept Christ's passion, death, and burial literally, as you do, but His resurrection I understand allegorically. I admit, that it is related by the Evangelists in such detail, that we cannot deny that they themselves believed Christ's body to have risen from the dead and ascended to heaven, in order to sit at the right hand of God, or that they believed that Christ might have been seen by unbelievers, if they had happened to be at hand, in the places where He appeared to His disciples; but in these matters they might, without injury to Gospel teaching, have been deceived, as was the case with other prophets mentioned in my last letter. But Paul, to whom Christ afterwards appeared, rejoices, that he knew Christ not after the flesh, but after the spirit. Farewell, honourable Sir, and believe me yours in all affection and zeal.

Henry Oldenburg

11 Feb., 1676

London

Benedict de Spinoza

LETTER XXV.a. Oldenburg to Spinoza.



[OLDENBURG ADDUCES CERTAIN further objections against Spinoza's doctrine of necessity and miracles, and exposes the inconsistency of a partial allegorization of Scripture.]

To the most illustrious Master Benedict de Spinoza Henry Oldenburg sends greetings.

In your last letter, written to me on the 7th of February, there are some points which seem to deserve criticism. You say that a man cannot complain, because God has denied him the true knowledge of Himself, and strength sufficient to avoid sins; forasmuch as to the nature of everything nothing is competent, except that which follows necessarily from its cause. But I say, that inasmuch as God, the Creator of men, formed them after His own image, which seems to imply in its concept wisdom, goodness, and power, it appears quite to follow, that it is more within the sphere of man's power to have a sound mind than to have a sound body. For physical soundness of body follows from mechanical causes, but soundness of mind depends on purpose and design. You add, that men may be inexcusable, and yet suffer pain in many ways. This seems hard at first sight, and what you add by way of proof, namely, that a dog mad from having been bitten is indeed to be excused, but yet is rightly killed, does not seem to settle the question. For the killing of such a dog would argue cruelty, were it not necessary in order to preserve other dogs and animals, and indeed men, from a maddening bite of the same kind.

But if God implanted in man a sound mind, as He is able to do, there would be no contagion of vices to be feared. And, surely, it seems very cruel, that God should devote men to eternal, or at least terrible temporary, torments, for sins which by them could be no wise avoided. Moreover, the tenour of all Holy

Scripture seems to suppose and imply, that men can abstain from sins. For it abounds in denunciations and promises, in declarations of rewards and punishments, all of which seem to militate against the necessity of sinning, and infer the possibility of avoiding punishment. And if this were denied, it would have to be said, that the human mind acts no less mechanically than the human body.

Next, when you proceed to take miracles and ignorance to be equivalent, you seem to rely on this foundation, that the creature can and should have perfect insight into the power and wisdom of the Creator: and that the fact is quite otherwise, I have hitherto been firmly persuaded.

Lastly, where you affirm that Christ's passion, death, and burial are to be taken literally, but His resurrection allegorically, you rely, as far as I can see, on no proof at all. Christ's resurrection seems to be delivered in the Gospel as literally as the rest. And on this article of the resurrection the whole Christian religion and its truth rest, and with its removal Christ's mission and heavenly doctrine collapse. It cannot escape you, how Christ, after He was raised from the dead, laboured to convince His disciples of the truth of the Resurrection properly so called. To want to turn all these things into allegories is the same thing, as if one were to busy one's self in plucking up the whole truth of the Gospel history.

These few points I wished again to submit in the interest of my liberty of philosophizing, which I earnestly beg you not to take amiss.

Written in

London,

11 Feb., 1676.

I will communicate with you shortly on the present studies and experiments of the Royal Society, if God grant me life and health.

Simon de Vries

24 Feb., 1663

Amsterdam

Benedict de Spinoza

LETTER XXVI. Simon de Vries to Spinoza.



[SIMON DE VRIES, a diligent student of Spinoza's writings and philosophy, describes a club formed for the study of Spinoza's MS. containing some of the matter afterwards worked into the Ethics, and asks questions about the difficulties felt by members of the club.]

Most Honourable Friend, —

I have for a long time wished to be present with you; but the weather and the hard winter have not been propitious to me. I sometimes complain of my lot, in that we are separated from each other by so long a distance. Happy, yes most happy is the fellow-lodger, abiding under the same roof with you, who can talk with you on the best of subjects, at dinner, at supper, and during your walks. However, though I am far apart from you in body, you have been very frequently present to my mind, especially in your writings, while I read and turn them over. But as they are not all clear to the members of our club, for which reason we have begun a fresh series of meetings, and as I would not have you think me unmindful of you, I have applied my mind to writing this letter.

As regards our club, the following is its order. One of us (that is everyone by turn) reads through and, as far as he understands it, expounds and also demonstrates the whole of your work, according to the sequence and order of your propositions. Then, if it happens that on any point we cannot satisfy one another, we have resolved to make a note of it and write to you, so that, if possible, it may be made clearer to us, and that we may be able under your guidance to defend the truth against those who are superstitiously religious, and against the Christians, and to withstand the attack of the whole world. Well then, since, when we first read through and expounded them, the definitions did not all seem clear to us, we differed about the nature of definition. Next in your absence

we consulted as our authority a celebrated mathematician, named Borel: for he makes mention of the nature of definition, axiom, and postulate, and adduces the opinions of others on the subject. But his opinion is as follows: "Definitions are cited in a demonstration as premisses. Wherefore it is necessary, that they should be accurately known; otherwise scientific or accurate knowledge cannot be attained by their means." And elsewhere he says: "The primary and most known construction or passive quality of a given subject should not be chosen rashly, but with the greatest care; if the construction or passive quality be an impossibility, no scientific definition can be obtained. For instance, if anyone were to say, let two straight lines enclosing a space be called figurals, the definition would be of non-existences and impossible: hence ignorance rather than knowledge would be deduced therefrom. Again, if the construction or passive quality be possible and true, but unknown or doubtful to us, the definition will not be good. For conclusions arising from what is unknown or doubtful are themselves uncertain or doubtful; they therefore bring about conjecture or opinion, but not certain knowledge.

Jacquet seems to dissent from this opinion, for he thinks that one may proceed from a false premiss directly to a true conclusion, as you are aware. Clavius, however, whose opinion he quotes, thinks as follows: "Definitions," he says, "are artificial phrases, nor is there any need in reasoning that a thing should be defined in a particular way; but it is sufficient that a thing defined should never be said to agree with another thing, until it has been shown that its definition also agrees therewith."

Thus, according to Borel, the definition of a given thing should consist as regards its construction or passive quality in something thoroughly known to us and true. Clavius, on the other hand, holds that it is a matter of indifference, whether the construction or passive quality be well known and true, or the reverse; so long as we do not assert, that our definition agrees with anything, before it has been proved.

I should prefer Borel's opinion to that of Clavius. I know not which you would assent to, if to either. As these difficulties have occurred to me with regard to the nature of definition, which is reckoned among the cardinal points of demonstration, and as I cannot free my mind from them, I greatly desire, and earnestly beg you, when you have leisure and opportunity, to be kind enough to send me your opinion on the matter, and at the same time to tell me the distinction between axioms and definitions. Borel says that the difference is merely nominal, but I believe you decide otherwise.

Further, we cannot make up our minds about the third definition. I adduced to illustrate it, what my master said to me at the Hague, to wit, that a thing may be regarded in two ways, either as it is in itself, or as it is in relation to something else; as in the case of the intellect, for that can be regarded either under the head of thought, or as consisting in ideas. But we do not see the point of the distinction thus drawn. For it seems to us, that, if we rightly conceive thought, we must range it under the head of ideas; as, if all ideas were removed from it, we should destroy thought. As we find the illustration of the matter not sufficiently clear, the matter itself remains somewhat obscure, and we need further explanation.

Lastly, in the third note to the eighth proposition, the beginning runs thus:—"Hence it is plain that, although two attributes really distinct be conceived, that is, one without the aid of the other, we cannot therefore infer, that they constitute two entities or two different substances. For it belongs to the nature of substance, that each of its attributes should be conceived through itself, though all the attributes it possesses exist simultaneously in it." Here our master seems to assume, that the nature of substance is so constituted, that it may have several attributes. But this doctrine has not yet been proved, unless you refer to the sixth definition, of absolutely infinite substance or God. Otherwise, if it be asserted that each substance has only one attribute, and I have two ideas of two attributes, I may rightly infer that, where there are two different attributes, there are also different substances. On this point also we beg you to give a further explanation. Besides I

thank you very much for your writings communicated to me by P. Balling, which have greatly delighted me, especially your note on Proposition XIX. If I can do you any service here in anything that is within my power, I am at your disposal. You have but to let me know. I have begun a course of anatomy, and am nearly half through with it; when it is finished, I shall begin a course of chemistry, and thus under your guidance I shall go through the whole of medicine. I leave off, and await your answer. Accept the greeting of

Your most devoted

S. J. de Vries.

Amsterdam,

24 Feb., 1663.

Benedict de Spinoza

Simon de Vries

LETTER XXVII. Spinoza to Simon de Vries.




[SPINOZA DEPRECATES HIS correspondent's jealousy of Albert Burgh; and answers that distinction must be made between different kinds of definitions. He explains his opinions more precisely.]

Respected Friend, —

I have received your long wished-for letter, for which, and for your affection towards me, I heartily thank you. Your long absence has been no less grievous to me than to you; yet in the meantime I rejoice that my trifling studies are of profit to you and our friends. For thus while you are away, I in my absence speak to you. You need not envy my fellow-lodger. There is no one who is more displeasing to me, nor against whom I have been more anxiously on my guard; and therefore I would have you and all my acquaintance warned not to communicate my opinions to him, except when he has come to maturer years. So far he is too childish and inconstant, and is fonder of novelty than of truth. But I hope, that in a few years he will amend these childish faults. Indeed I am almost sure of it, as far as I can judge from his nature. And so his temperament bids me like him.

As for the questions propounded in your club, which is wisely enough ordered, I see that your difficulties arise from not distinguishing between kinds of definition: that is, between a definition serving to explain a thing, of which the essence only is sought and in question, and a definition which is put forward only for purposes of inquiry. The former having a definite object ought to be true, the latter need not. For instance, if someone asks me for a description of Solomon's temple, I am bound to give him a true description, unless I want to talk nonsense with him. But if I have constructed, in my mind, a temple which I desire to build, and infer from the description of it that I must buy such and such a site and so

many thousand stones and other materials, will any sane person tell me that I have drawn a wrong conclusion because my definition is possibly untrue? or will anyone ask me to prove my definition? Such a person would simply be telling me, that I had not conceived that which I had conceived, or be requiring me to prove, that I had conceived that which I had conceived; in fact, evidently trifling. Hence a definition either explains a thing, in so far as it is external to the intellect, in which case it ought to be true and only to differ from a proposition or an axiom in being concerned merely with the essences of things, or the modifications of things, whereas the latter has a wider scope and extends also to eternal truths. Or else it explains a thing, as it is conceived or can be conceived by us; and then it differs from an axiom or proposition, inasmuch as it only requires to be conceived absolutely, and not like an axiom as true. Hence a bad definition is one which is not conceived. To explain my meaning, I will take Borel's example — a man saying that two straight lines enclosing a space shall be called "figural." If the man means by a straight line the same as the rest of the world means by a curved line, his definition is good (for by the definition would be meant some such figure as , or the like); so long as he does not afterwards mean a square or other kind of figure. But, if he attaches the ordinary meaning to the words straight line, the thing is evidently inconceivable, and therefore there is no definition. These considerations are plainly confused by Borel, to whose opinion you incline. I give another example, the one you cite at the end of your letter. If I say that each substance has only one attribute, this is an unsupported statement and needs proof. But, if I say that I mean by substance that which consists in only one attribute, the definition will be good, so long as entities consisting of several attributes are afterwards styled by some name other than substance. When you say that I do not prove, that substance (or being) may have several attributes, you do not perhaps pay attention to the proofs given. I adduced two: — First, "that nothing is plainer to us, than that every being may be conceived by us under some attribute, and that the more reality or essence a given being has, the more attributes may be attributed to it. Hence a being absolutely infinite must be

defined, &c.” Secondly, and I think this is the stronger proof of the two, “the more attributes I assign to any being, the more am I compelled to assign to it existence;” in other words, the more I conceive it as true. The contrary would evidently result, if I were feigning a chimera or some such being.

Your remark, that you cannot conceive thought except as consisting in ideas, because, when ideas are removed, thought is annihilated, springs, I think, from the fact that while you, a thinking thing, do as you say, you abstract all your thoughts and conceptions. It is no marvel that, when you have abstracted all your thoughts and conceptions, you have nothing left for thinking with. On the general subject I think I have shown sufficiently clearly and plainly, that the intellect, although infinite, belongs to nature regarded as passive rather than nature regarded as active (*ad naturam naturatam, non vero ad naturam naturantem*).

However, I do not see how this helps towards understanding the third definition, nor what difficulty the latter presents. It runs, if I mistake not, as follows: “By substance I mean that, which is in itself and is conceived through itself; that is, of which the conception does not involve the conception of anything else. By attribute I mean the same thing, except that it is called attribute with respect to the understanding, which attributes to substance the particular nature aforesaid.” This definition, I repeat, explains with sufficient clearness what I wish to signify by substance or attribute. You desire, though there is no need, that I should illustrate by an example, how one and the same thing can be stamped with two names. In order not to seem miserly, I will give you two. First, I say that by Israel is meant the third patriarch; I mean the same by Jacob, the name Jacob being given, because the patriarch in question had caught hold of the heel of his brother. Secondly, by a colourless surface I mean a surface, which reflects all rays of light without altering them. I mean the same by a white surface, with this difference, that a surface is called white in reference to a man looking at it, &c.

Benedict de Spinoza

Simon de Vries

LETTER XXVIII. Spinoza to Simon de Vries.



[SPINOZA, IN ANSWER to a letter from De Vries now lost, speaks of the experience necessary for proving a definition, and also of eternal truths.]

Respected Friend, —

You ask me if we have need of experience, in order to know whether the definition of a given attribute is true. To this I answer, that we never need experience, except in cases when the existence of the thing cannot be inferred from its definition, as, for instance, the existence of modes (which cannot be inferred from their definition); experience is not needed, when the existence of the things in question is not distinguished from their essence, and is therefore inferred from their definition. This can never be taught us by any experience, for experience does not teach us any essences of things; the utmost it can do is to set our mind thinking about definite essences only. Wherefore, when the existence of attributes does not differ from their essence, no experience is capable of attaining it for us.

To your further question, whether things and their modifications are eternal truths, I answer: Certainly. If you ask me, why I do not call them eternal truths, I answer, in order to distinguish them, in accordance with general usage, from those propositions, which do not make manifest any particular thing or modification of a thing; for example, nothing comes from nothing. These and such like propositions are, I repeat, called eternal truths simply, the meaning merely being, that they have no standpoint external to the mind, &c.

Benedict de Spinoza

20 April, 1663

Rhijnsburg

Lewis Meyer

LETTER XXIX. Spinoza to L. M. (Lewis Meyer).



DEAREST FRIEND, —

I have received two letters from you, one dated Jan. 11, delivered to me by our friend, N. N., the other dated March 26, sent by some unknown friend to Leyden. They were both most welcome to me, especially as I gathered from them, that all goes well with you, and that you are often mindful of me. I also owe and repay you the warmest thanks for the courtesy and consideration, with which you have always been kind enough to treat me: I hope you will believe, that I am in no less degree devoted to you, as, when occasion offers, I will always endeavour to prove, as far as my poor powers will admit. As a first proof, I will do my best to answer the questions you ask in your letters. You request me to tell you, what I think about the infinite; I will most readily do so.

Everyone regards the question of the infinite as most difficult, if not insoluble, through not making a distinction between that which must be infinite from its very nature, or in virtue of its definition, and that which has no limits, not in virtue of its essence, but in virtue of its cause; and also through not distinguishing between that which is called infinite, because it has no limits, and that, of which the parts cannot be equalled or expressed by any number, though the greatest and least magnitude of the whole may be known; and, lastly, through not distinguishing between that, which can be understood but not imagined, and that which can also be imagined. If these distinctions, I repeat, had been attended to, inquirers would not have been overwhelmed with such a vast crowd of difficulties. They would then clearly have understood, what kind of infinite is indivisible and possesses no parts; and what kind, on the other hand, may be divided without involving a contradiction in terms. They would further have understood, what kind of infinite may, without solecism, be conceived greater

than another infinite, and what kind cannot be so conceived. All this will plainly appear from what I am about to say.

However, I will first briefly explain the terms substance, mode, eternity, and duration.

The points to be noted concerning substance are these: First, that existence appertains to its essence; in other words, that solely from its essence and definition its existence follows. This, if I remember rightly, I have already proved to you by word of mouth, without the aid of any other propositions. Secondly, as a consequence of the above, that substance is not manifold, but single: there cannot be two of the same nature. Thirdly, every substance must be conceived as infinite.

The modifications of substance I call modes. Their definition, in so far as it is not identical with that of substance, cannot involve any existence. Hence, though they exist, we can conceive them as non-existent. From this it follows, that, when we are regarding only the essence of modes, and not the order of the whole of nature, we cannot conclude from their present existence, that they will exist or not exist in the future, or that they have existed or not existed in the past; whence it is abundantly clear, that we conceive the existence of substance as entirely different from the existence of modes. From this difference arises the distinction between eternity and duration. Duration is only applicable to the existence of modes; eternity is applicable to the existence of substance, that is, the infinite faculty of existence or being (*infinitum existendi sive (in)vitâ Latinitate) essendi fruitionem*).

From what has been said it is quite clear that, when, as is most often the case, we are regarding only the essence of modes and not the order of nature, we may freely limit the existence and duration of modes without destroying the conception we have formed of them; we may conceive them as greater or less, or may divide them into parts. Eternity and substance, being only conceivable as infinite, cannot be thus treated without our conception of them being destroyed. Wherefore it is mere foolishness, or even insanity, to say that extended substance is made up of parts or bodies really distinct from one another. It is as though one should attempt by the aggregation and addition of many circles to make up a

square, or a triangle, or something of totally different essence. Wherefore the whole heap of arguments, by which philosophers commonly endeavour to show that extended substance is finite, falls to the ground by its own weight. For all such persons suppose, that corporeal substance is made up of parts. In the same way, others, who have persuaded themselves that a line is made up of points, have been able to discover many arguments to show that a line is not infinitely divisible. If you ask, why we are by nature so prone to attempt to divide extended substance, I answer, that quantity is conceived by us in two ways, namely, by abstraction or superficially, as we imagine it by the aid of the senses, or as substance, which can only be accomplished through the understanding. So that, if we regard quantity as it exists in the imagination (and this is the more frequent and easy method), it will be found to be divisible, finite, composed of parts, and manifold. But, if we regard it as it is in the understanding, and the thing be conceived as it is in itself (which is very difficult), it will then, as I have sufficiently shown you before, be found to be infinite, indivisible, and single.

Again, from the fact that we can limit duration and quantity at our pleasure, when we conceive the latter abstractedly as apart from substance, and separate the former from the manner whereby it flows from things eternal, there arise time and measure; time for the purpose of limiting duration, measure for the purpose of limiting quantity, so that we may, as far as is possible, the more readily imagine them. Further, inasmuch as we separate the modifications of substance from substance itself, and reduce them to classes, so that we may, as far as is possible, the more readily imagine them, there arises number, whereby we limit them. Whence it is clearly to be seen, that measure, time, and number, are merely modes of thinking, or, rather, of imagining. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that all, who have endeavoured to understand the course of nature by means of such notions, and without fully understanding even them, have entangled themselves so wondrously, that they have at last only been able to extricate themselves by breaking through every rule and admitting absurdities even of the grossest kind. For there are many things which cannot be conceived through the imagination but

only through the understanding, for instance, substance, eternity, and the like; thus, if anyone tries to explain such things by means of conceptions which are mere aids to the imagination, he is simply assisting his imagination to run away with him. Nor can even the modes of substance ever be rightly understood, if we confuse them with entities of the kind mentioned, mere aids of the reason or imagination. In so doing we separate them from substance, and the mode of their derivation from eternity, without which they can never be rightly understood. To make the matter yet more clear, take the following example: when a man conceives of duration abstractedly, and, confusing it with time, begins to divide it into parts, he will never be able to understand how an hour, for instance, can elapse. For in order that an hour should elapse, it is necessary that its half should elapse first, and afterwards half of the remainder, and again half of the half of the remainder, and if you go on thus to infinity, subtracting the half of the residue, you will never be able to arrive at the end of the hour. Wherefore many, who are not accustomed to distinguish abstractions from realities, have ventured to assert that duration is made up of instants, and so in wishing to avoid Charybdis have fallen into Scylla. It is the same thing to make up duration out of instants, as it is to make number simply by adding up noughts.

Further, as it is evident from what has been said, that neither number, nor measure, nor time, being mere aids to the imagination, can be infinite (for, otherwise, number would not be number, nor measure measure, nor time time); it is hence abundantly evident, why many who confuse these three abstractions with realities, through being ignorant of the true nature of things, have actually denied the infinite.

The wretchedness of their reasoning may be judged by mathematicians, who have never allowed themselves to be delayed a moment by arguments of this sort, in the case of things which they clearly and distinctly perceive. For not only have they come across many things, which cannot be expressed by number (thus showing the inadequacy of number for determining all things); but also they have found many things, which cannot be equalled by any number, but surpass every

possible number. But they infer hence, that such things surpass enumeration, not because of the multitude of their component parts, but because their nature cannot, without manifest contradiction, be expressed in terms of number. As, for instance, in the case of two circles, non-concentric, whereof one encloses the other, no number can express the inequalities of distance which exist between the two circles, nor all the variations which matter in motion in the intervening space may undergo. This conclusion is not based on the excessive size of the intervening space. However small a portion of it we take, the inequalities of this small portion will surpass all numerical expression. Nor, again, is the conclusion based on the fact, as in other cases, that we do not know the maximum and the minimum of the said space. It springs simply from the fact, that the nature of the space between two non-concentric circles cannot be expressed in number. Therefore, he who would assign a numerical equivalent for the inequalities in question, would be bound, at the same time, to bring about that a circle should not be a circle.

The same result would take place — to return to my subject — if one were to wish to determine all the motions undergone by matter up to the present, by reducing them and their duration to a certain number and time. This would be the same as an attempt to deprive corporeal substance, which we cannot conceive except as existent, of its modifications, and to bring about that it should not possess the nature which it does possess. All this I could clearly demonstrate here, together with many other points touched on in this letter, but I deem it superfluous.

From all that has been said, it is abundantly evident that certain things are in their nature infinite, and can by no means be conceived as finite; whereas there are other things, infinite in virtue of the cause from which they are derived, which can, when conceived abstractedly, be divided into parts, and regarded as finite. Lastly, there are some which are called infinite or, if you prefer, indefinite, because they cannot be expressed in number, which may yet be conceived as greater or less. It does not follow that such are equal, because they are alike

incapable of numerical expression. This is plain enough, from the example given, and many others.

Lastly, I have put briefly before you the causes of error and confusion, which have arisen concerning the question of the infinite. I have, if I mistake not, so explained them that no question concerning the infinite remains untreated, or cannot readily be solved from what I have said; wherefore, I do not think it worth while to detain you longer on the matter.

But I should like it first to be observed here, that the later Peripatetics have, I think, misunderstood the proof given by the ancients who sought to demonstrate the existence of God. This, as I find it in a certain Jew named Rabbi Ghasdai, runs as follows:— “If there be an infinite series of causes, all things which are, are caused. But nothing which is caused can exist necessarily in virtue of its own nature. Therefore there is nothing in nature, to whose essence existence necessarily belongs. But this is absurd. Therefore the premise is absurd also.” Hence the force of the argument lies not in the impossibility of an actual infinite or an infinite series of causes; but only in the absurdity of the assumption that things, which do not necessarily exist by nature, are not conditioned for existence by a thing, which does by its own nature necessarily exist.

I would now pass on, for time presses, to your second letter: but I shall be able more conveniently to reply to its contents, when you are kind enough to pay me a visit. I therefore beg that you will come as soon as possible; the time for travelling is at hand. Enough. Farewell, and keep in remembrance Yours, &c.

Rhijnsburg,

20 April, 1663.

Benedict de Spinoza

Aug. 3, 1663

Voorberg

Lewis Meyer

LETTER XXIX.a. Spinoza to Lewis Meyer.



DEAR FRIEND, —

The preface you sent me by our friend De Vries, I now send back to you by the same hand. Some few things, as you will see, I have marked in the margin; but yet a few remain, which I have judged it better to mention to you by letter. First, where on page 4 you give the reader to know on what occasion I composed the first part; I would have you likewise explain there, or where you please, that I composed it within a fortnight. For when this is explained none will suppose the exposition to be so clear as that it cannot be bettered, and so they will not stick at obscurities in this and that phrase on which they may chance to stumble. Secondly, I would have you explain, that when I prove many points otherwise than they be proved by Descartes, 'tis not to amend Descartes, but the better to preserve my order, and not to multiply axioms overmuch: and that for this same reason I prove many things which by Descartes are barely alleged without any proof, and must needs add other matters which Descartes let alone. Lastly, I will earnestly beseech you, as my especial friend, to let be everything you have written towards the end against that creature, and wholly strike it out. And though many reasons determine me to this request, I will give but one. I would fain have all men readily believe that these matters are published for the common profit of the world, and that your sole motive in bringing out the book is the love of spreading the truth; and that it is accordingly all your study to make the work acceptable to all, to bid men, with all courtesy to the pursuit of genuine philosophy, and to consult their common advantage. Which every man will be ready to think when he sees that no one is attacked, nor anything advanced where any man can find the least offence. Notwithstanding, if afterwards the person you know of, or any other, be minded to display his ill will, then you may portray his

life and character, and gain applause by it. So I ask that you will not refuse to be patient thus far, and suffer yourself to be entreated, and believe me wholly bounden to you, and

Yours with all affection,

B. de Spinoza.

Voorberg,

Aug. 3, 1663.

Our friend De Vries had promised to take this with him; but seeing he knows not when he will return to you, I send it by another hand.

Along with this I send you part of the scholium to Prop. xxvii. Part II. where page 75 begins, that you may hand it to the printer to be reprinted. The matter I send you must of necessity be reprinted, and fourteen or fifteen lines added, which may easily be inserted.

Benedict de Spinoza

20 July, 1664

Voorburg

Peter Balling

LETTER XXX. Spinoza to Peter Balling.



[CONCERNING OMENS AND phantoms. The mind may have a confused presentiment of the future.]

Beloved Friend, —

Your last letter, written, if I mistake not, on the 26th of last month, has duly reached me. It caused me no small sorrow and solicitude, though the feeling sensibly diminished when I reflected on the good sense and fortitude, with which you have known how to despise the evils of fortune, or rather of opinion, at a time when they most bitterly assailed you. Yet my anxiety increases daily; I therefore beg and implore you by the claims of our friendship, that you will rouse yourself to write me a long letter. With regard to Omens, of which you make mention in telling me that, while your child was still healthy and strong, you heard groans like those he uttered when he was ill and shortly afterwards died, I should judge that these were not real groans, but only the effect of your imagination; for you say that, when you got up and composed yourself to listen, you did not hear them so clearly either as before or as afterwards, when you had fallen asleep again. This, I think, shows that the groans were purely due to the imagination, which, when it was unfettered and free, could imagine groans more forcibly and vividly than when you sat up in order to listen in a particular direction. I think I can both illustrate and confirm what I say by another occurrence, which befell me at Rhijnsburg last winter. When one morning, after the day had dawned, I woke up from a very unpleasant dream, the images, which had presented themselves to me in sleep, remained before my eyes just as vividly as though the things had been real, especially the image of a certain black and leprous Brazilian whom I had never seen before. This image disappeared for the most part when, in order to divert my thoughts, I cast my eyes on a book, or something else. But, as soon as I

lifted my eyes again without fixing my attention on any particular object, the same image of this same negro appeared with the same vividness again and again, until the head of it gradually vanished. I say that the same thing, which occurred with regard to my inward sense of sight, occurred with your hearing; but as the causes were very different, your case was an omen and mine was not. The matter may be clearly grasped by means of what I am about to say. The effects of the imagination arise either from bodily or mental causes. I will proceed to prove this, in order not to be too long, solely from experience. We know that fevers and other bodily ailments are the causes of delirium, and that persons of stubborn disposition imagine nothing but quarrels, brawls, slaughterings, and the like. We also see that the imagination is to a certain extent determined by the character of the disposition, for, as we know by experience, it follows in the tracks of the understanding in every respect, and arranges its images and words, just as the understanding arranges its demonstrations and connects one with another; so that we are hardly at all able to say, what will not serve the imagination as a basis for some image or other. This being so, I say that no effects of imagination springing from physical causes can ever be omens of future events; inasmuch as their causes do not involve any future events. But the effects of imagination, or images originating in the mental disposition, may be omens of some future event; inasmuch as the mind may have a confused presentiment of the future. It may, therefore, imagine a future event as forcibly and vividly, as though it were present; for instance a father (to take an example resembling your own) loves his child so much, that he and the beloved child are, as it were, one and the same. And since (like that which I demonstrated on another occasion) there must necessarily exist in thought the idea of the essence of the child's states and their results, and since the father, through his union with his child, is a part of the said child, the soul of the father must necessarily participate in the ideal essence of the child and his states, and in their results, as I have shown at greater length elsewhere.

Again, as the soul of the father participates ideally in the consequences of his child's essence, he may (as I have said) sometimes imagine some of the said consequences as vividly as if they were present with him, provided that the following conditions are fulfilled: — I. If the occurrence in his son's career be remarkable. II. If it be capable of being readily imagined. III. If the time of its happening be not too remote. IV. If his body be sound, in respect not only of health but of freedom from every care or business which could outwardly trouble the senses. It may also assist the result, if we think of something which generally stimulates similar ideas. For instance, if while we are talking with this or that man we hear groans, it will generally happen that, when we think of the man again, the groans heard when we spoke with him will recur to our mind. This, dear friend, is my opinion on the question you ask me. I have, I confess, been very brief, but I have furnished you with material for writing to me on the first opportunity, &c.

Voorburg,

20 July, 1664.

William de Blyenbergh

12 Dec., 1664

Dordrecht

Benedict de Spinoza

LETTER XXXI. William de Blyenbergh to Spinoza.



UNKNOWN FRIEND AND Sir, —

I have already read several times with attention your treatise and its appendix recently published. I should narrate to others more becomingly than to yourself the extreme solidity I found in it, and the pleasure with which I perused it. But I am unable to conceal my feelings from you, because the more frequently I study the work with attention, the more it pleases me, and I am constantly observing something which I had not before remarked. However, I will not too loudly extol its author, lest I should seem in this letter to be a flatterer. I am aware that the gods grant all things to labour. Not to detain you too long with wondering who I may be, and how it comes to pass that one unknown to you takes the great liberty of writing to you, I will tell you that he is a man who is impelled by his longing for pure and unadulterated truth, and desires during this brief and frail life to fix his feet in the ways of science, so far as our human faculties will allow; one who in the pursuit of truth has no goal before his eyes save truth herself; one who by his science seeks to obtain as the result of truth neither honour nor riches, but simple truth and tranquillity; one who, out of the whole circle of truths and sciences, takes delight in none more than in metaphysics, if not in all branches at any rate in some; one who places the whole delight of his life in the fact, that he can pass in the study of them his hours of ease and leisure. But no one, I rest assured, is so blessed as yourself, no one has carried his studies so far, and therefore no one has arrived at the pitch of perfection which, as I see from your work, you have attained. To add a last word, the present writer is one with whom you may gain a closer acquaintance, if you choose to attach him to you by enlightening and interpenetrating, as it were, his halting meditations.

But I return to your treatise. While I found in it many things which tickled my palate vastly, some of them proved difficult to digest. Perhaps a stranger ought not to report to you his objections, the more so as I know not whether they will meet with your approval. This is the reason for my making these prefatory remarks, and asking you, if you can find leisure in the winter evenings, and, at the same time, will be willing to answer the difficulties which I still find in your book, and to forward me the result, always under the condition that it does not interrupt any occupation of greater importance or pleasure; for I desire nothing more earnestly than to see the promise made in your book fulfilled by a more detailed exposition of your opinions. I should have communicated to you by word of mouth what I now commit to paper; but my ignorance of your address, the infectious disease, and my duties here, prevented me. I must defer the pleasure for the present.

However, in order that this letter may not be quite empty, and in the hope that it will not be displeasing to you, I will ask you one question. You say in various passages in the “*Principia*,” and in the “*Metaphysical Reflections*,” either as your own opinion, or as explaining the philosophy of Descartes, that creation and preservation are identical (which is, indeed, so evident to those who have considered the question as to be a primary notion); secondly, that God has not only created substances, but also motions in substances — in other words, that God, by a continuous act of creation preserves, not only substances in their normal state, but also the motion and the endeavours of substances. God, for instance, not only brings about by His immediate will and working (whatever be the term employed), that the soul should last and continue in its normal state; but He is also the cause of His will determining, in some way, the movement of the soul — in other words, as God, by a continuous act of creation, brings about that things should remain in existence, so is He also the cause of the movements and endeavours existing in things. In fact, save God, there is no cause of motion. It therefore follows that God is not only the cause of the substance of mind, but also of every endeavour or motion of mind, which we call volition, as you frequently say. From this statement it seems to follow necessarily, either that there is no evil

in the motion or volition of the mind, or else that God directly brings about that evil. For that which we call evil comes to pass through the soul, and, consequently, through the immediate influence and concurrence of God. For instance, the soul of Adam wishes to eat of the forbidden fruit. It follows from what has been said above, not only that Adam forms his wish through the influence of God, but also, as will presently be shown, that through that influence he forms it in that particular manner. Hence, either the act forbidden to Adam is not evil, inasmuch as God Himself not only caused the wish, but also the manner of it, or else God directly brought about that which we call evil. Neither you nor Descartes seem to have solved this difficulty by saying that evil is a negative conception, and that, as such, God cannot bring it about. Whence, we may ask, came the wish to eat the forbidden fruit, or the wish of devils to be equal with God? For since (as you justly observe) the will is not something different from the mind, but is only an endeavour or movement of the mind, the concurrence of God is as necessary to it as to the mind itself. Now the concurrence of God, as I gather from your writings, is merely the determining of a thing in a particular manner through the will of God. It follows that God concurs no less in an evil wish, in so far as it is evil, than in a good wish in so far as it is good, in other words, He determines it. For the will of God being the absolute cause of all that exists, either in substance or in effort, seems to be also the primary cause of an evil wish, in so far as it is evil. Again, no exercise of volition takes place in us, that God has not known from all eternity. If we say that God does not know of a particular exercise of volition, we attribute to Him imperfection. But how could God gain knowledge of it except from His decrees? Therefore His decrees are the cause of our volitions, and hence it seems also to follow that either an evil wish is not evil, or else that God is the direct cause of the evil, and brings it about. There is no room here for the theological distinction between an act and the evil inherent in that act. For God decrees the mode of the act, no less than the act, that is, God not only decreed that Adam should eat, but also that he should necessarily eat contrary to the command given. Thus it seems on all sides to follow, either that

Adam's eating contrary to the command was not an evil, or else that God Himself brought it to pass.

These, illustrious Sir, are the questions in your treatise, which I am unable, at present, to elucidate. Either alternative seems to me difficult of acceptance. However, I await a satisfactory answer from your keen judgment and learning, hoping to show you hereafter how deeply indebted I shall be to you. Be assured, illustrious Sir, that I put these questions from no other motive than the desire for truth. I am a man of leisure, not tied to any profession, gaining my living by honest trade, and devoting my spare time to questions of this sort. I humbly hope that my difficulties will not be displeasing to you. If you are minded to send an answer, as I most ardently hope, write to, &c.

William de Blyenbergh.

Dordrecht,

12 Dec., 1664.

Benedict de Spinoza

Jan. 5, 1665

Amsterdam

William de Blyenbergh

LETTER XXXII. Spinoza to Blyenbergh.



(SPINOZA ANSWERS WITH his usual courtesy the question propounded by Blyenbergh.)

Unknown Friend, —

I received, at Schiedam, on the 26th of December, your letter dated the 12th of December, enclosed in another written on the 24th of the same month. I gather from it your fervent love of truth, and your making it the aim of all your studies. This compelled me, though by no means otherwise unwilling, not only to grant your petition by answering all the questions you have sent, or may in future send, to the best of my ability, but also to impart to you everything in my power, which can conduce to further knowledge and sincere friendship. So far as in me lies, I value, above all other things out of my own control, the joining hands of friendship with men who are sincere lovers of truth. I believe that nothing in the world, of things outside our own control, brings more peace than the possibility of affectionate intercourse with such men; it is just as impossible that the love we bear them can be disturbed (inasmuch as it is founded on the desire each feels for the knowledge of truth), as that truth once perceived should not be assented to. It is, moreover, the highest and most pleasing source of happiness derivable from things not under our own control. Nothing save truth has power closely to unite different feelings and dispositions. I say nothing of the very great advantages which it brings, lest I should detain you too long on a subject which, doubtless, you know already. I have said thus much, in order to show you better how gladly I shall embrace this and any future opportunity of serving you.

In order to make the best of the present opportunity, I will at once proceed to answer your question. This seems to turn on the point “that it seems to be clear, not only from God’s providence, which is identical with His will, but also from

God's co-operation and continuous creation of things, either that there are no such things as sin or evil, or that God directly brings sin and evil to pass." You do not, however, explain what you mean by evil. As far as one may judge from the example you give in the predetermined act of volition of Adam, you seem to mean by evil the actual exercise of volition, in so far as it is conceived as predetermined in a particular way, or in so far as it is repugnant to the command of God. Hence you conclude (and I agree with you if this be what you mean) that it is absurd to adopt either alternative, either that God brings to pass anything contrary to His own will, or that what is contrary to God's will can be good.

For my own part, I cannot admit that sin and evil have any positive existence, far less that anything can exist, or come to pass, contrary to the will of God. On the contrary, not only do I assert that sin has no positive existence, I also maintain that only in speaking improperly, or humanly, can we say that we sin against God, as in the expression that men offend God.

As to the first point, we know that whatsoever is, when considered in itself without regard to anything else, possesses perfection, extending in each thing as far as the limits of that thing's essence: for essence is nothing else. I take for an illustration the design or determined will of Adam to eat the forbidden fruit. This design or determined will, considered in itself alone, includes perfection in so far as it expresses reality; hence it may be inferred that we can only conceive imperfection in things, when they are viewed in relation to other things possessing more reality: thus in Adam's decision, so long as we view it by itself and do not compare it with other things more perfect or exhibiting a more perfect state, we can find no imperfection: nay it may be compared with an infinity of other things far less perfect in this respect than itself, such as stones, stocks, &c. This, as a matter of fact, everyone grants. For we all admire in animals qualities which we regard with dislike and aversion in men, such as the pugnacity of bees, the jealousy of doves, &c.; these in human beings are despised, but are nevertheless considered to enhance the value of animals. This being so, it follows

that sin, which indicates nothing save imperfection, cannot consist in anything that expresses reality, as we see in the case of Adam's decision and its execution.

Again, we cannot say that Adam's will is at variance with the law of God, and that it is evil because it is displeasing to God; for besides the fact that grave imperfection would be imputed to God, if we say that anything happens contrary to His will, or that He desires anything which He does not obtain, or that His nature resembled that of His creatures in having sympathy with some things more than others; such an occurrence would be at complete variance with the nature of the divine will.

The will of God is identical with His intellect, hence the former can no more be contravened than the latter; in other words, anything which should come to pass against His will must be of a nature to be contrary to His intellect, such, for instance, as a round square. Hence the will or decision of Adam regarded in itself was neither evil nor, properly speaking, against the will of God: it follows that God may — or rather, for the reason you call attention to, must — be its cause; not in so far as it was evil, for the evil in it consisted in the loss of the previous state of being which it entailed on Adam, and it is certain that loss has no positive existence, and is only so spoken of in respect to our and not God's understanding. The difficulty arises from the fact, that we give one and the same definition to all the individuals of a genus, as for instance all who have the outward appearance of men: we accordingly assume all things which are expressed by the same definition to be equally capable of attaining the highest perfection possible for the genus; when we find an individual whose actions are at variance with such perfection, we suppose him to be deprived of it, and to fall short of his nature. We should hardly act in this way, if we did not hark back to the definition and ascribe to the individual a nature in accordance with it. But as God does not know things through abstraction, or form general definitions of the kind above mentioned, and as things have no more reality than the divine understanding and power have put into them and actually endowed them with, it clearly follows that a state of privation can only be spoken of in relation to our intellect, not in relation to God.

Thus, as it seems to me, the difficulty is completely solved. However, in order to make the way still plainer, and remove every doubt, I deem it necessary to answer the two following difficulties: — First, why Holy Scripture says that God wishes for the conversion of the wicked, and also why God forbade Adam to eat of the fruit when He had ordained the contrary? Secondly, that it seems to follow from what I have said, that the wicked by their pride, avarice, and deeds of desperation, worship God in no less degree than the good do by their nobleness, patience, love, &c., inasmuch as both execute God's will.

In answer to the first question, I observe that Scripture, being chiefly fitted for and beneficial to the multitude, speaks popularly after the fashion of men. For the multitude are incapable of grasping sublime conceptions. Hence I am persuaded that all matters, which God revealed to the prophets as necessary to salvation, are set down in the form of laws. With this understanding, the prophets invented whole parables, and represented God as a king and a law-giver, because He had revealed the means of salvation and perdition, and was their cause; the means which were simply causes they styled laws and wrote them down as such; salvation and perdition, which are simply effects necessarily resulting from the aforesaid means, they described as reward and punishment; framing their doctrines more in accordance with such parables than with actual truth. They constantly speak of God as resembling a man, as sometimes angry, sometimes merciful, now desiring what is future, now jealous and suspicious, even as deceived by the devil; so that philosophers and all who are above the law, that is, who follow after virtue, not in obedience to law, but through love, because it is the most excellent of all things, must not be hindered by such expressions.

Thus the command given to Adam consisted solely in this, that God revealed to Adam, that eating of the fruit brought about death; as He reveals to us, through our natural faculties, that poison is deadly. If you ask, for what object did He make this revelation, I answer, in order to render Adam to that extent more perfect in knowledge. Hence, to ask God why He had not bestowed on Adam a more

perfect will, is just as absurd as to ask, why the circle has not been endowed with all the properties of a sphere. This follows clearly from what has been said, and I have also proved it in my Principles of Cartesian Philosophy, I. 15.

As to the second difficulty, it is true that the wicked execute after their manner the will of God: but they cannot, therefore, be in any respect compared with the good. The more perfection a thing has, the more does it participate in the deity, and the more does it express perfection. Thus, as the good have incomparably more perfection than the bad, their virtue cannot be likened to the virtue of the wicked, inasmuch as the wicked lack the love of God, which proceeds from the knowledge of God, and by which alone we are, according to our human understanding, called the servants of God. The wicked, knowing not God, are but as instruments in the hand of the workman, serving unconsciously, and perishing in the using; the good, on the other hand, serve consciously, and in serving become more perfect.

This, Sir, is all I can now contribute to answering your question, and I have no higher wish than that it may satisfy you. But in case you still find any difficulty, I beg you to let me know of that also, to see if I may be able to remove it. You have nothing to fear on your side, but so long as you are not satisfied, I like nothing better than to be informed of your reasons, so that finally the truth may appear. I could have wished to write in the tongue in which I have been brought up. I should, perhaps, have been able to express my thoughts better. But be pleased to take it as it is, amend the mistakes yourself, and believe me,

Your sincere friend and servant.

Long Orchard, near

Amsterdam,

Jan. 5, 1665.

William de Blyenbergh

16 Jan., 1665

Dordrecht

Benedict de Spinoza

LETTER XXXIII. Blyenbergh to Spinoza.



(A SUMMARY ONLY of this letter is here given. — Tr.)

I have two rules in my philosophic inquiries: i. Conformity to reason; ii. Conformity to scripture. I consider the second the most important. Examining your letter by the first, I observe that your identification of God's creative power with His preservative power seems to involve, either that evil does not exist, or else that God brings about evil. If evil be only a term relative to our imperfect knowledge, how do you explain the state of a man who falls from a state of grace into sin? If evil be a negation, how can we have the power to sin? If God causes an evil act, he must cause the evil as well as the act. You say that every man can only act, as he, in fact, does act. This removes all distinction between the good and the wicked. Both, according to you, are perfect. You remove all the sanctions of virtue and reduce us to automata. Your doctrine, that strictly speaking we cannot sin against God, is a hard saying.

[The rest of the letter is taken up with an examination of Spinoza's arguments in respect to their conformity to Scripture.]

Dordrecht,

16 Jan., 1665.

Benedict de Spinoza

28 Jan., 1665

Voorberg

William de Blyenbergh

LETTER XXXIV. Spinoza to Blyenbergh.



[SPINOZA COMPLAINS THAT Blyenbergh has misunderstood him: he sets forth his true meaning.]

Voorburg,

28 Jan., 1665.

Friend and Sir, —

When I read your first letter, I thought that our opinions almost coincided. But from the second, which was delivered to me on the 21st of this month, I see that the matter stands far otherwise, for I perceive that we disagree, not only in remote inferences from first principles, but also in first principles themselves; so that I can hardly think that we can derive any mutual instruction from further correspondence. I see that no proof, though it be by the laws of proof most sound, has any weight with you, unless it agrees with the explanation, which either you yourself, or other theologians known to you, attribute to Holy Scripture. However, if you are convinced that God speaks more clearly and effectually through Holy Scripture than through the natural understanding, which He also has bestowed upon us, and with His divine wisdom keeps continually stable and uncorrupted, you have valid reasons for making your understanding bow before the opinions which you attribute to Holy Scripture; I myself could adopt no different course. For my own part, as I confess plainly, and without circumlocution, that I do not understand the Scriptures, though I have spent some years upon them, and also as I feel that when I have obtained a firm proof, I cannot fall into a state of doubt concerning it, I acquiesce entirely in what is commended to me by my understanding, without any suspicion that I am being deceived in the matter, or that Holy Scripture, though I do not search, could gainsay it: for “truth is not at variance with truth,” as I have already clearly shown in my appendix to The

Principles of Cartesian Philosophy (I cannot give the precise reference, for I have not the book with me here in the country). But if in any instance I found that a result obtained through my natural understanding was false, I should reckon myself fortunate, for I enjoy life, and try to spend it not in sorrow and sighing, but in peace, joy, and cheerfulness, ascending from time to time a step higher. Meanwhile I know (and this knowledge gives me the highest contentment and peace of mind), that all things come to pass by the power and unchangeable decree of a Being supremely perfect.

To return to your letter, I owe you many and sincere thanks for having confided to me your philosophical opinions; but for the doctrines, which you attribute to me, and seek to infer from my letter, I return you no thanks at all. What ground, I should like to know, has my letter afforded you for ascribing to me the opinions; that men are like beasts, that they die and perish after the manner of beasts, that our actions are displeasing to God, &c.? Perhaps we are most of all at variance on this third point. You think, as far as I can judge, that God takes pleasure in our actions, as though He were a man, who has attained his object, when things fall out as he desired. For my part, have I not said plainly enough, that the good worship God, that in continually serving Him they become more perfect, and that they love God? Is this, I ask, likening them to beasts, or saying that they perish like beasts, or that their actions are displeasing to God? If you had read my letter with more attention, you would have clearly perceived, that our whole dissension lies in the following alternative: — Either the perfections which the good receive are imparted to them by God in His capacity of God, that is absolutely without any human qualities being ascribed to Him — this is what I believe; or else such perfections are imparted by God as a judge, which is what you maintain. For this reason you defend the wicked, saying that they carry out God's decrees as far as in them lies, and therefore serve God no less than the good. But if my doctrine be accepted, this consequence by no means follows; I do not bring in the idea of God as a judge, and, therefore, I estimate an action by its intrinsic merits, not by the powers of its performer; the recompense which follows

the action follows from it as necessarily as from the nature of a triangle it follows, that the three angles are equal to two right angles. This may be understood by everyone, who reflects on the fact, that our highest blessedness consists in love towards God, and that such love flows naturally from the knowledge of God, which is so strenuously enjoined on us. The question may very easily be proved in general terms, if we take notice of the nature of God's decrees, as explained in my appendix. However, I confess that all those, who confuse the divine nature with human nature, are gravely hindered from understanding it.

I had intended to end my letter at this point, lest I should prove troublesome to you in these questions, the discussion of which (as I discover from the extremely pious postscript added to your letter) serves you as a pastime and a jest, but for no serious use. However, that I may not summarily deny your request, I will proceed to explain further the words privation and negation, and briefly point out what is necessary for the elucidation of my former letter.

I say then, first, that privation is not the act of depriving, but simply and merely a state of want, which is in itself nothing: it is a mere entity of the reason, a mode of thought framed in comparing one thing with another. We say, for example, that a blind man is deprived of sight, because we readily imagine him as seeing, or else because we compare him with others who can see, or compare his present condition with his past condition when he could see; when we regard the man in this way, comparing his nature either with the nature of others or with his own past nature, we affirm that sight belongs to his nature, and therefore assert that he has been deprived of it. But when we are considering the nature and decree of God, we cannot affirm privation of sight in the case of the aforesaid man any more than in the case of a stone; for at the actual time sight lies no more within the scope of the man than of the stone; since there belongs to man and forms part of his nature only that which is granted to him by the understanding and will of God. Hence it follows that God is no more the cause of a blind man not seeing, than he is of a stone not seeing. Not seeing is a pure negation. So also, when we consider the case of a man who is led by lustful desires, we compare his

present desires with those which exist in the good, or which existed in himself at some other time; we then assert that he is deprived of the better desires, because we conceive that virtuous desires lie within the scope of his nature. This we cannot do, if we consider the nature and decree of God. For, from this point of view, virtuous desires lie at that time no more within the scope of the nature of the lustful man, than within the scope of the nature of the devil or a stone. Hence, from the latter standpoint the virtuous desire is not a privation but a negation.

Thus privation is nothing else than denying of a thing something, which we think belongs to its nature; negation is denying of a thing something, which we do not think belongs to its nature.

We may now see, how Adam's desire for earthly things was evil from our standpoint, but not from God's. Although God knew both the present and the past state of Adam, He did not, therefore, regard Adam as deprived of his past state, that is, He did not regard Adam's past state as within the scope of Adam's present nature. Otherwise God would have apprehended something contrary to His own will, that is, contrary to His own understanding. If you quite grasp my meaning here and at the same time remember, that I do not grant to the mind the same freedom as Descartes does — L[ewis] M[eyer] bears witness to this in his preface to my book — you will perceive, that there is not the smallest contradiction in what I have said. But I see that I should have done far better to have answered you in my first letter with the words of Descartes, to the effect that we cannot know how our freedom and its consequences agree with the foreknowledge and freedom of God (see several passages in my appendix), that, therefore, we can discover no contradiction between creation by God and our freedom, because we cannot understand how God created the universe, nor (what is the same thing) how He preserves it. I thought that you had read the preface, and that by not giving you my real opinions in reply, I should sin against those duties of friendship which I cordially offered you. But this is of no consequence.

Still, as I see that you have not hitherto thoroughly grasped Descartes' meaning, I will call your attention to the two following points. First, that neither

Descartes nor I have ever said, that it appertains to our nature to confine the will within the limits of the understanding; we have only said, that God has endowed us with a determined understanding and an undetermined will, so that we know not the object for which He has created us. Further, that an undetermined or perfect will of this kind not only makes us more perfect, but also, as I will presently show you, is extremely necessary for us.

Secondly: that our freedom is not placed in a certain contingency nor in a certain indifference, but in the method of affirmation or denial; so that, in proportion as we are less indifferent in affirmation or denial, so are we more free. For instance, if the nature of God be Known to us, it follows as necessarily from our nature to affirm that God exists, as from the nature of a triangle it follows, that the three angles are equal to two right angles; we are never more free, than when we affirm a thing in this way. As this necessity is nothing else but the decree of God (as I have clearly shown in my appendix), we may hence, after a fashion, understand how we act freely and are the cause of our action, though all the time we are acting necessarily and according to the decree of God. This, I repeat, we may, after a fashion, understand, whenever we affirm something, which we clearly and distinctly perceive, but when we assert something which we do not clearly and distinctly understand, in other words, when we allow our will to pass beyond the limits of our understanding, we no longer perceive the necessity nor the decree of God, we can only see our freedom, which is always involved in our will; in which respect only our actions are called good or evil. If we then try to reconcile our freedom with God's decree and continuous creation, we confuse that which we clearly and distinctly understand with that which we do not perceive, and, therefore, our attempt is vain. It is, therefore, sufficient for us to know that we are free, and that we can be so notwithstanding God's decree, and further that we are the cause of evil, because an act can only be called evil in relation to our freedom. I have said thus much for Descartes in order to show that, in the question we are considering, his words exhibit no contradiction.

I will now turn to what concerns myself, and will first briefly call attention to the advantage arising from my opinion, inasmuch as, according to it, our understanding offers our mind and body to God freed from all superstition. Nor do I deny that prayer is extremely useful to us. For my understanding is too small to determine all the means, whereby God leads men to the love of Himself, that is, to salvation. So far is my opinion from being hurtful, that it offers to those, who are not taken up with prejudices and childish superstitions, the only means for arriving at the highest stage of blessedness.

When you say that, by making men so dependent on God, I reduce them to the likeness of the elements, plants or stones, you sufficiently show that you have thoroughly misunderstood my meaning, and have confused things which regard the understanding with things which regard the imagination. If by your intellect only you had perceived what dependence on God means, you certainly would not think that things, in so far as they depend on God, are dead, corporeal, and imperfect (who ever dared to speak so meanly of the Supremely Perfect Being?); on the contrary, you would understand that for the very reason that they depend on God they are perfect; so that this dependence and necessary operation may best be understood as God's decree, by considering, not stocks and plants, but the most reasonable and perfect creatures. This sufficiently appears from my second observation on the meaning of Descartes, which you ought to have looked to.

I cannot refrain from expressing my extreme astonishment at your remarking, that if God does not punish wrongdoing (that is, as a judge does, with a punishment not intrinsically connected with the offence, for our whole difference lies in this), what reason prevents me from rushing headlong into every kind of wickedness? Assuredly he, who is only kept from vice by the fear of punishment (which I do not think of you), is in no wise acted on by love, and by no means embraces virtue. For my own part, I avoid or endeavour to avoid vice, because it is at direct variance with my proper nature and would lead me astray from the knowledge and love of God.

Again, if you had reflected a little on human nature and the nature of God's decree (as explained in my appendix), and perceived, and known by this time, how a consequence should be deduced from its premises, before a conclusion is arrived at; you would not so rashly have stated that my opinion makes us like stocks, &c.: nor would you have ascribed to me the many absurdities you conjure up.

As to the two points which you say, before passing on to your second rule, that you cannot understand; I answer, that the first may be solved through Descartes, who says that in observing your own nature you feel that you can suspend your judgment. If you say that you do not feel, that you have at present sufficient force to keep your judgment suspended, this would appear to Descartes to be the same as saying that we cannot at present see, that so long as we exist we shall always be thinking things, or retain the nature of thinking things; in fact it would imply a contradiction.

As to your second difficulty, I say with Descartes, that if we cannot extend our will beyond the bounds of our extremely limited understanding, we shall be most wretched — it will not be in our power to eat even a crust of bread, or to walk a step, or to go on living, for all things are uncertain and full of peril.

I now pass on to your second rule, and assert that I believe, though I do not ascribe to Scripture that sort of truth which you think you find in it, I nevertheless assign to it as great if not greater authority than you do. I am far more careful than others not to ascribe to Scripture any childish and absurd doctrines, a precaution which demands either a thorough acquaintance with philosophy or the possession of divine revelations. Hence I pay very little attention to the glosses put upon Scripture by ordinary theologians, especially those of the kind who always interpret Scripture according to the literal and outward meaning: I have never, except among the Socinians, found any theologian stupid enough to ignore that Holy Scripture very often speaks in human fashion of God and expresses its meaning in parables; as for the contradiction which you vainly (in my opinion) endeavour to show, I think you attach to the word parable a meaning different

from that usually given. For who ever heard, that a man, who expressed his opinions in parables, had therefore taken leave of his senses? When Micaiah said to King Ahab, that he had seen God sitting on a throne, with the armies of heaven standing on the right hand and the left, and that God asked His angels which of them would deceive Ahab, this was assuredly a parable employed by the prophet on that occasion (which was not fitted for the inculcation of sublime theological doctrines), as sufficiently setting forth the message he had to deliver in the name of God. We cannot say that he had in anywise taken leave of his senses. So also the other prophets of God made manifest God's commands to the people in this fashion as being the best adapted, though not expressly enjoined by God, for leading the people to the primary object of Scripture, which, as Christ Himself says, is to bid men love God above all things, and their neighbour as themselves. Sublime speculations have, in my opinion, no bearing on Scripture. As far as I am concerned I have never learnt or been able to learn any of God's eternal attributes from Holy Scripture.

As to your fifth argument (that the prophets thus made manifest the word of God, since truth is not at variance with truth), it merely amounts, for those who understand the method of proof, to asking me to prove, that Scripture, as it is, is the true revealed word of God. The mathematical proof of this proposition could only be attained by divine revelation. I, therefore, expressed myself as follows: "I believe, but I do not mathematically know, that all things revealed by God to the prophets," &c. Inasmuch as I firmly believe but do not mathematically know, that the prophets were the most trusted counsellors and faithful ambassadors of God. So that in all I have written there is no contradiction, though several such may be found among holders of the opposite opinion.

The rest of your letter (to wit the passage where you say, "Lastly, the supremely perfect Being knew beforehand," &c; and again, your objections to the illustration from poison, and lastly, the whole of what you say of the appendix and what follows) seems to me beside the question.

As regards Lewis Meyer's preface, the points which were still left to be proved by Descartes before establishing his demonstration of free will, are certainly there set forth; it is added that I hold a contrary opinion, my reasons for doing so being given. I shall, perhaps, in due time give further explanations. For the present I have no such intention.

I have never thought about the work on Descartes, nor given any further heed to it, since it has been translated into Dutch. I have my reasons, though it would be tedious to enumerate them here. So nothing remains for me but to subscribe myself, &c.

William de Blyenbergh

19 Feb., 1665

Dordrecht

Benedict de Spinoza

LETTER XXXV. Blyenbergh to Spinoza.



[THIS LETTER (EXTENDING over five pages) is only given here in brief summary.]

The tone of your last letter is very different from that of your first. If our essence is equivalent to our state at a given time, we are as perfect when sinning as when virtuous: God would wish for vice as much as virtue. Both the virtuous and the vicious execute God's will — What is the difference between them? You say some actions are more perfect than others; wherein does this perfection consist? If a mind existed so framed, that vice was in agreement with its proper nature, why should such a mind prefer good to evil? If God makes us all that we are, how can we “go astray”? Can rational substances depend on God in any way except lifelessly? What is the difference between a rational being's dependence on God, and an irrational being's? If we have no free will, are not our actions God's actions, and our will God's will? I could ask several more questions, but do not venture.

P.S. In my hurry I forgot to insert this question: Whether we cannot by foresight avert what would otherwise happen to us?

Dordrecht,

19 Feb., 1665.

Benedict de Spinoza

13th March, 1665

Voorburg

William de Blyenbergh

LETTER XXXVI. Spinoza to Blyenbergh.



[SPINOZA REPLIES, THAT there is a difference between the theological and the philosophical way of speaking of God and things divine. He proceeds to discuss Blyenbergh's questions. (Voorburg, 13th March, 1665.)]

Friend and Sir, —

I have received two letters from you this week; the second, dated 9th March, only served to inform me of the first written on February 19th, and sent to me at Schiedam. In the former I see that you complain of my saying, that “demonstration carried no weight with you,” as though I had spoken of my own arguments, which had failed to convince you. Such was far from my intention. I was referring to your own words, which ran as follows:— “And if after long investigation it comes to pass, that my natural knowledge appears either to be at variance with the word (of Scripture), or not sufficiently well, &c.; the word has so great authority with me, that I would rather doubt of the conceptions, which I think I clearly perceive,” &c. You see I merely repeat in brief your own phrase, so that I cannot think you have any cause for anger against me, especially as I merely quoted in order to show the great difference between our standpoints.

Again, as you wrote at the end of your letter that your only hope and wish is to continue in faith and hope, and that all else, which we may become convinced of through our natural faculties, is indifferent to you; I reflected, as I still continue to do, that my letters could be of no use to you, and that I should best consult my own interests by ceasing to neglect my pursuits (which I am compelled while writing to you to interrupt) for the sake of things which could bring no possible benefit. Nor is this contrary to the spirit of my former letter, for in that I looked upon you as simply a philosopher, who (like not a few who call themselves Christians) possesses no touchstone of truth save his natural understanding, and

not as a theologian. However, you have taught me to know better, and have also shown me that the foundation, on which I was minded to build up our friendship, has not, as I imagined, been laid.

As for the rest, such are the general accompaniments of controversy, so that I would not on that account transgress the limits of courtesy: I will, therefore, pass over in your second letter, and in this, these and similar expressions, as though they had never been observed. So much for your taking offence; to show you that I have given you no just cause, and, also, that I am quite willing to brook contradiction. I now turn a second time to answering your objections.

I maintain, in the first place, that God is absolutely and really the cause of all things which have essence, whatsoever they may be. If you can demonstrate that evil, error, crime, &c., have any positive existence, which expresses essence, I will fully grant you that God is the cause of crime, evil, error, &c. I believe myself to have sufficiently shown, that that which constitutes the reality of evil, error, crime, &c., does not consist in anything, which expresses essence, and therefore we cannot say that God is its cause. For instance, Nero's matricide, in so far as it comprehended anything positive, was not a crime; the same outward act was perpetrated, and the same matricidal intention was entertained by Orestes; who, nevertheless, is not blamed — at any rate, not so much as Nero. Wherein, then, did Nero's crime consist? In nothing else, but that by his deed he showed himself to be ungrateful, unmerciful, and disobedient. Certainly none of these qualities express aught of essence, therefore God was not the cause of them, though He was the cause of Nero's act and intention.

Further, I would have you observe, that, while we speak philosophically, we ought not to employ theological phrases. For, since theology frequently, and not unwisely, represents God as a perfect man, it is often expedient in theology to say, that God desires a given thing, that He is angry at the actions of the wicked, and delights in those of the good. But in philosophy, when we clearly perceive that the attributes which make men perfect can as ill be ascribed and assigned to God, as

the attributes which go to make perfect the elephant and the ass can be ascribed to man; here I say these and similar phrases have no place, nor can we employ them without causing extreme confusion in our conceptions. Hence, in the language of philosophy, it cannot be said that God desires anything of any man, or that anything is displeasing or pleasing to Him: all these are human qualities and have no place in God.

I would have it observed, that although the actions of the good (that is of those who have a clear idea of God, whereby all their actions and their thoughts are determined) and of the wicked (that is of those who do not possess the idea of God, but only the ideas of earthly things, whereby their actions and thoughts are determined), and, in fact, of all things that are, necessarily flow from God's eternal laws and decrees; yet they do not differ from one another in degree only, but also in essence. A mouse no less than an angel, and sorrow no less than joy depend on God; yet a mouse is not a kind of angel, neither is sorrow a kind of joy. I think I have thus answered your objections, if I rightly understand them, for I sometimes doubt, whether the conclusions which you deduce are not foreign to the proposition you are undertaking to prove.

However, this will appear more clearly, if I answer the questions you proposed on these principles. First, Whether murder is as acceptable to God as alms-giving? Secondly, Whether stealing is as good in relation to God as honesty? Thirdly and lastly, Whether if there be a mind so framed, that it would agree with, rather than be repugnant to its proper nature, to give way to lust, and to commit crimes, whether, I repeat, there can be any reason given, why such a mind should do good and eschew evil?

To your first question, I answer, that I do not know, speaking as a philosopher, what you mean by the words "acceptable to God." If you ask, whether God does not hate the wicked, and love the good? whether God does not regard the former with dislike, and the latter with favour? I answer, No. If the meaning of your question is: Are murderers and almsgivers equally good and perfect? my answer is again in the negative. To your second question, I reply: If, by "good in relation

to God,” you mean that the honest man confers a favour on God, and the thief does Him an injury, I answer that neither the honest man nor the thief can cause God any pleasure or displeasure. If you mean to ask, whether the actions of each, in so far as they possess reality, and are caused by God, are equally perfect? I reply that, if we merely regard the actions and the manner of their execution, both may be equally perfect. If you, therefore, inquire whether the thief and the honest man are equally perfect and blessed? I answer, No. For, by an honest man, I mean one who always desires, that everyone should possess that which is his. This desire, as I prove in my Ethics (as yet unpublished), necessarily derives its origin in the pious from the clear knowledge which they possess, of God and of themselves. As a thief has no desire of the kind, he is necessarily without the knowledge of God and of himself — in other words, without the chief element of our blessedness. If you further ask, What causes you to perform a given action, which I call virtuous, rather than another? I reply, that I cannot know which method, out of the infinite methods at His disposal, God employs to determine you to the said action. It may be, that God has impressed you with a clear idea of Himself, so that you forget the world for love of Him, and love your fellow-men as yourself; it is plain that such a disposition is at variance with those dispositions which are called bad, and, therefore, could not co-exist with them in the same man.

However, this is not the place to expound all the foundations of my Ethics, or to prove all that I have advanced; I am now only concerned in answering your questions, and defending myself against them.

Lastly, as to your third question, it assumes a contradiction, and seems to me to be, as though one asked: If it agreed better with a man’s nature that he should hang himself, could any reasons be given for his not hanging himself? Can such a nature possibly exist? If so, I maintain (whether I do or do not grant free will), that such an one, if he sees that he can live more conveniently on the gallows than sitting at his own table, would act most foolishly, if he did not hang himself. So anyone who clearly saw that, by committing crimes, he would enjoy a really more

perfect and better life and existence, than he could attain by the practice of virtue, would be foolish if he did not act on his convictions. For, with such a perverse human nature as his, crime would become virtue.

As to the other question, which you add in your postscript, seeing that one might ask a hundred such in an hour, without arriving at a conclusion about any, and seeing that you yourself do not press for an answer, I will send none.

I will now only subscribe myself, &c.

William de Blyenbergh

27th March, 1665

Dordrecht

Benedict de Spinoza

LETTER XXXVII. Blyenbergh to Spinoza.



[BLYENBERGH, WHO HAD been to see Spinoza, asks the latter to send him a report of their conversation, and to answer five fresh questions. (Dordrecht, 27th March, 1665.)]

Omitted.

Benedict de Spinoza

3rd June, 1665

Voorburg

William de Blyenbergh

LETTER XXXVIII. Spinoza to Blyenbergh.



[SPINOZA DECLINES FURTHER correspondence with Blyenbergh, but says he will give explanations of certain points by word of mouth. (Voorburg, 3rd June, 1665.)]

Friend and Sir, —

When your letter, dated 27th March, was delivered to me, I was just starting for Amsterdam. I, therefore, after reading half of it, left it at home, to be answered on my return: for I thought it dealt only with questions raised in our first controversy. However, a second perusal showed me, that it embraced a far wider subject, and not only asked me for a proof of what, in my preface to “Principles of Cartesian Philosophy,” I wrote (with the object of merely stating, without proving or urging my opinion), but also requested me to impart a great portion of my Ethics, which, as everyone knows, ought to be based on physics and metaphysics. For this reason, I have been unable to allow myself to satisfy your demands. I wished to await an opportunity for begging you, in a most friendly way, by word of mouth, to withdraw your request, for giving you my reasons for refusal, and for showing that your inquiries do not promote the solution of our first controversy, but, on the contrary, are for the most part entirely dependent on its previous settlement. So far are they not essential to the understanding of my doctrine concerning necessity, that they cannot be apprehended, unless the latter question is understood first. However, before such an opportunity offered, a second letter reached me this week, appearing to convey a certain sense of displeasure at my delay. Necessity, therefore, has compelled me to write you these few words, to acquaint you more fully with my proposal and decision. I hope that, when the facts of the case are before you, you will, of your own accord, desist from your

request, and will still remain kindly disposed towards me. I, for my part, will, in all things, according to my power, prove myself your, &c.

Benedict de Spinoza

7 Jan., 1666

Voorburg

Christian Huyghens

LETTER XXXIX. Spinoza to Christian Huyghens.



(TREATING OF THE Unity of God.)

Distinguished Sir, —

The demonstration of the unity of God, on the ground that His nature involves necessary existence, which you asked for, and I took note of, I have been prevented by various business from sending to you before. In order to accomplish my purpose, I will premise —

That the true definition of anything includes nothing except the simple nature of the thing defined. From this it follows —

That no definition can involve or express a multitude or a given number of individuals, inasmuch as it involves and expresses nothing except the nature of the thing as it is in itself. For instance, the definition of a triangle includes nothing beyond the simple nature of a triangle; it does not include any given number of triangles. In like manner, the definition of the mind as a thinking thing, or the definition of God as a perfect Being, includes nothing beyond the natures of the mind and of God, not a given number of minds or gods.

That for everything that exists there must necessarily be a positive cause, through which it exists.

This cause may be situate either in the nature and definition of the thing itself (to wit, because existence belongs to its nature or necessarily includes it), or externally to the thing.

From these premisses it follows, that if any given number of individuals exists in nature, there must be one or more causes, which have been able to produce exactly that number of individuals, neither more nor less. If, for instance, there existed in nature twenty men (in order to avoid all confusion, I will assume that these all exist together as primary entities), it is not enough to investigate the

cause of human nature in general, in order to account for the existence of these twenty; we must also inquire into the reason, why there exist exactly twenty men, neither more nor less. For (by our third hypothesis) for each man a reason and a cause must be forthcoming, why he should exist. But this cause (by our second and third hypotheses) cannot be contained in the nature of man himself; for the true definition of man does not involve the number of twenty men. Hence (by our fourth hypothesis) the cause for the existence of these twenty men, and consequently for the existence of each of them, must exist externally to them. We may thus absolutely conclude, that all things, which are conceived to exist in the plural number, must necessarily be produced by external causes and not by the force of their own nature. But since (by our second hypothesis) necessary existence appertains to the nature of God, His true definition must necessarily include necessary existence: therefore from His true definition His necessary existence must be inferred. But from His true definition (as I have already demonstrated from our second and third hypotheses) the necessary existence of many gods cannot be inferred. Therefore there only follows the existence of a single God. Which was to be proved.

This, distinguished Sir, has now seemed to me the best method for demonstrating the proposition. I have also proved it differently by means of the distinction between essence and existence; but bearing in mind the object you mentioned to me, I have preferred to send you the demonstration given above. I hope it will satisfy you, and I will await your reply, meanwhile remaining, &c.

Voorburg,

7 Jan., 1666.

Benedict de Spinoza

10 April, 1666

Voorburg

Christian Huyghens

LETTER XL. Spinoza to Christian Huyghens.



FURTHER ARGUMENTS FOR the unity of God.

Distinguished Sir, —

In your last letter, written on March 30th, you have excellently elucidated the point, which was somewhat obscure to me in your letter of February 10th. As I now know your opinion, I will set forth the state of the question as you conceive it; whether there be only a single Being who subsists by his own sufficiency or force? I not only affirm this to be so, but also undertake to prove it from the fact, that the nature of such a Being necessarily involves existence; perhaps it may also be readily proved from the understanding of God (as I set forth, “Principles of Cartesian Philosophy,” I. Prop. i.), or from others of His attributes. Before treating of the subject I will briefly show, as preliminaries, what properties must be possessed by a Being including necessary existence. To wit: —

It must be eternal. For if a definite duration be assigned to it, it would beyond that definite duration be conceived as non-existent, or as not involving necessary existence, which would be contrary to its definition.

It must be simple, not made up of parts. For parts must in nature and knowledge be prior to the whole they compose: this could not be the case with regard to that which is eternal.

It cannot be conceived as determinate, but only as infinite. For, if the nature of the said Being were determinate, and conceived as determinate, that nature would beyond the said limits be conceived as non-existent, which again is contrary to its definition.

It is indivisible. For if it were divisible, it could be divided into parts, either of the same or of different nature. If the latter, it could be destroyed and so not exist, which is contrary to its definition; if the former, each part would in itself include

necessary existence, and thus one part could exist without others, and consequently be conceived as so existing. Hence the nature of the Being would be comprehended as finite, which, by what has been said, is contrary to its definition. Thus we see that, in attempting to ascribe to such a Being any imperfection, we straightway fall into contradictions. For, whether the imperfection which we wish to assign to the said Being be situate in any defect, or in limitations possessed by its nature, or in any change which it might, through deficiency of power, undergo from external causes, we are always brought back to the contradiction, that a nature which involves necessary existence, does not exist, or does not necessarily exist. I conclude, therefore —

That everything, which includes necessary existence, cannot have in itself any imperfection, but must express pure perfection.

Further, since only from perfection can it come about, that any Being should exist by its own sufficiency and force, it follows that, if we assume a Being to exist by its own nature, but not to express all perfections, we must further suppose that another Being exists, which does comprehend in itself all perfections. For, if the less powerful Being exists by its own sufficiency, how much more must the more powerful so exist?

Lastly, to deal with the question, I affirm that there can only be a single Being, of which the existence belongs to its nature; such a Being which possesses in itself all perfections I will call God. If there be any Being to whose nature existence belongs, such a Being can contain in itself no imperfection, but must (by my fifth premiss) express every perfection; therefore, the nature of such a Being seems to belong to God (whose existence we are bound to affirm by Premiss VI.), inasmuch as He has in Himself all perfections and no imperfections. Nor can it exist externally to God. For if, externally to God, there existed one and the same nature involving necessary existence, such nature would be twofold; but this, by what we have just shown, is absurd. Therefore there is nothing save God, but there is a single God, that involves necessary existence, which was to be proved.

Such, distinguished Sir, are the arguments I can now produce for demonstrating this question. I hope I may also demonstrate to you, that I am, &c.

Voorburg,

10 April, 1666

Benedict de Spinoza

May, 1666

Voorburg

Christian Huyghens

LETTER XLI. Spinoza to Christian Huyghens.



[FURTHER DISCUSSION CONCERNING the unity of God. Spinoza asks for advice about polishing lenses. (Voorburg, May, 1666.)]

Distinguished Sir, —

I have been by one means or another prevented from answering sooner your letter, dated 19th May. As I gather that you suspend your judgment with regard to most of the demonstration I sent you (owing, I believe, to the obscurity you find in it), I will here endeavour to explain its meaning more clearly.

First I enumerated four properties, which a Being existing by its own sufficiency or force must possess. These four, and others like them, I reduced in my fifth observation to one. Further, in order to deduce all things necessary for the demonstration from a single premiss, I endeavoured in my sixth observation to demonstrate the existence of God from the given hypothesis; whence, lastly, taking (as you know) nothing beyond the ordinary meaning of the terms, I drew the desired conclusion.

Such, in brief, was my purpose and such my aim. I will now explain the meaning of each step singly, and will first start with the aforesaid four properties.

In the first you find no difficulty, nor is it anything but, as in the case of the second, an axiom. By simple I merely mean not compound, or not made up of parts differing in nature or other parts agreeing in nature. This demonstration is assuredly universal.

The sense of my third observation (that if the Being be thought, it cannot be conceived as limited by thought, but only as infinite, and similarly, if it be extension, it cannot be conceived as limited by extension) you have excellently perceived, though you say you do not perceive the conclusion; this last is based

on the fact, that a contradiction is involved in conceiving under the category of non-existence anything, whose definition includes or (what is the same thing) affirms existence. And since determination implies nothing positive, but only a limitation of the existence of the nature conceived as determinate, it follows that that, of which the definition affirms existence, cannot be conceived as determinate. For instance, if the term extension included necessary existence, it would be alike impossible to conceive extension without existence and existence without extension. If this were established, it would be impossible to conceive determinate extension. For, if it be conceived as determinate, it must be determined by its own nature, that is by extension, and this extension, whereby it is determined, must be conceived under the category of non-existence, which by the hypothesis is obviously a contradiction. In my fourth observation, I merely wished to show, that such a Being could neither be divided into parts of the same nature or parts of a different nature, whether those of a different nature involved necessary existence or not. If, I said, we adopt the second view, the Being would be destroyed; for destruction is merely the resolution of a thing into parts so that none of them expresses the nature of the whole; if we adopt the first view, we should be in contradiction with the first three properties.

In my fifth observation, I merely asserted, that perfection consists in being, and imperfection in the privation of being. I say the privation; for although extension denies of itself thought, this argues no imperfection in it. It would be an imperfection in it, if it were in any degree deprived of extension, as it would be, if it were determinate; or again, if it lacked duration, position, &c.

My sixth observation you accept absolutely, and yet you say, that your whole difficulty remains (inasmuch as there may be, you think, several self-existent entities of different nature; as for instance thought and extension are different and perhaps subsist by their own sufficiency). I am, therefore, forced to believe, that you attribute to my observation a meaning quite different from the one intended by me. I think I can discern your interpretation of it; however, in order to save time, I will merely set forth my own meaning. I say then, as regards my sixth

observation, that if we assert that anything, which is indeterminate and perfect only after its kind, exists by its own sufficiency, we must also grant the existence of a Being indeterminate and perfect absolutely; such a Being I will call God. If, for example, we wish to assert that extension or thought (which are each perfect after their kind, that is, in a given sphere of being) exists by its own sufficiency, we must grant also the existence of God, who is absolutely perfect, that is of a Being absolutely indeterminate. I would here direct attention to what I have just said with regard to the term imperfection; namely, that it signifies that a thing is deficient in some quality, which, nevertheless, belongs to its nature. For instance, extension can only be called imperfect in respect of duration, position, or quantity: that is, as not enduring longer, as not retaining its position, or as not being greater. It can never be called imperfect, because it does not think, inasmuch as its nature requires nothing of the kind, but consists solely in extension, that is in a certain sphere of being. Only in respect to its own sphere can it be called determinate or indeterminate, perfect or imperfect. Now, since the nature of God is not confined to a certain sphere of being, but exists in being, which is absolutely indeterminate, so His nature also demands everything which perfectly expresses being; otherwise His nature would be determinate and deficient.

This being so, it follows that there can be only one Being, namely God, who exists by His own force. If, for the sake of an illustration, we assert, that extension involves existence; it is, therefore, necessary that it should be eternal and indeterminate, and express absolutely no imperfection, but perfection. Hence extension will appertain to God, or will be something which in some fashion expresses the nature of God, since God is a Being, who not only in a certain respect but absolutely is in essence indeterminate and omnipotent. What we have here said by way of illustration regarding extension must be asserted of all that we ascribe a similar existence to. I, therefore, conclude as in my former letter, that there is nothing external to God, but that God alone exists by His own sufficiency.

I think I have said enough to show the meaning of my former letter; however, of this you will be the best judge. * * * * *

(The rest of the letter is occupied with details about the polishing of lenses.)

Benedict de Spinoza

May or June, 1665

John Bresser

LETTER XLI.a. Spinoza to * * * * * (May or June, 1665).



[SPINOZA URGES HIS correspondent to be diligent in studying philosophy, promises to send part of the Ethics, and adds some personal details.]

Dear Friend, —

I do not know whether you have quite forgotten me; but there are many circumstances which lead me to suspect it. First, when I was setting out on my journey, I wished to bid you good-bye; and, after your own invitation, thinking I should certainly find you at home, heard that you had gone to the Hague. I return to Voorburg, nothing doubting but that you would at least have visited me in passing; but you, forsooth, without greeting your friend, went back home. Three weeks have I waited, without getting sight of a letter from you. If you wish this opinion of mine to be changed, you may easily change it by writing; and you can, at the same time, point out a means of entering into a correspondence, as we once talked of doing at your house.

Meanwhile, I should like to ask you, nay I do beg and entreat you, by our friendship, to apply yourself to some serious work with real study, and to devote the chief part of your life to the cultivation of your understanding and your soul. Now, while there is time, and before you complain of having let time and, indeed, your own self slip by. Further, in order to set our correspondence on foot, and to give you courage to write to me more freely, I would have you know that I have long thought, and, indeed, been almost certain, that you are somewhat too diffident of your own abilities, and that you are afraid of advancing some question or proposal unworthy of a man of learning. It does not become me to praise you, and expatiate on your talents to your face; but, if you are afraid that I shall show your letters to others, who will laugh at you, I give you my word of honour, that I will religiously keep them, and will show them to no mortal without your leave.

On these conditions, you may enter on a correspondence, unless you doubt of my good faith, which I do not in the least believe. I want to hear your opinion on this in your first letter; and you may, at the same time, send me the conserve of red roses, though I am now much better.

After my journey, I was once bled; but the fever did not cease, though I was somewhat more active than before the bleeding, owing, I think, to the change of air; but I was two or three times laid up with a tertian. This, however, by good diet, I have at length driven away, and sent about its business. Where it has gone, I know not; but I am taking care it does not return here.

As regards the third part of my philosophy, I will shortly send it you, if you wish to be its transmitter, or to our friend De Vries; and, although I had settled not to send any of it, till it was finished, yet, as it takes longer than I thought, I am unwilling to keep you waiting. I will send up to the eightieth proposition, or thereabouts.

Of English affairs I hear a good deal, but nothing for certain. The people continue to be apprehensive, and can see no reason, why the fleet should not be despatched; but the matter does not yet seem to be set on foot. I am afraid our rulers want to be overwise and prudent; but the event will show what they intend, and what they will attempt. May the gods turn it all to good. I want to know, what our people think, where you are, and what they know for certain; but, above all things, I want you to believe me, &c.

Benedict de Spinoza

10 June, 1666

Voorburg

John Bredenburg

LETTER XLII. Spinoza to I. B.



[CONCERNING THE BEST method, by which we may safely arrive at the knowledge of things.]

Most learned Sir and dearest Friend, —

I have not been able hitherto to answer your last letter, received some time back. I have been so hindered by various occupations and calls on my time, that I am hardly yet free from them. However, as I have a few spare moments, I do not want to fall short of my duty, but take this first opportunity of heartily thanking you for your affection and kindness towards me, which you have often displayed in your actions, and now also abundantly prove by your letter.

I pass on to your question, which runs as follows: “Is there, or can there be, any method by which we may, without hindrance, arrive at the knowledge of the most excellent things? or are our minds, like our bodies, subject to the vicissitudes of circumstance, so that our thoughts are governed rather by fortune than by skill?” I think I shall satisfy you, if I show that there must necessarily be a method, whereby we are able to direct our clear and distinct perceptions, and that our mind is not, like our body, subject to the vicissitudes of circumstance.

This conclusion may be based simply on the consideration that one clear and distinct perception, or several such together, can be absolutely the cause of another clear and distinct perception. Now, all the clear and distinct perceptions, which we form, can only arise from other clear and distinct perceptions, which are in us; nor do they acknowledge any cause external to us. Hence it follows that the clear and distinct perceptions, which we form, depend solely on our nature, and on its certain and fixed laws; in other words, on our absolute power, not on fortune — that is, not on causes which, although also acting by certain and fixed

laws, are yet unknown to us, and alien to our nature and power. As regards other perceptions, I confess that they depend chiefly on fortune. Hence clearly appears, what the true method ought to be like, and what it ought chiefly to consist in — namely, solely in the knowledge of the pure understanding, and its nature and laws. In order that such knowledge may be acquired, it is before all things necessary to distinguish between the understanding and the imagination, or between ideas which are true and the rest, such as the fictitious, the false, the doubtful, and absolutely all which depend solely on the memory. For the understanding of these matters, as far as the method requires, there is no need to know the nature of the mind through its first cause; it is sufficient to put together a short history of the mind, or of perceptions, in the manner taught by Verulam.

I think that in these few words I have explained and demonstrated the true method, and have, at the same time, pointed out the way of acquiring it. It only remains to remind you, that all these questions demand assiduous study, and great firmness of disposition and purpose. In order to fulfil these conditions, it is of prime necessity to follow a fixed mode and plan of living, and to set before one some definite aim. But enough of this for the present, &c.

Voorburg,

10 June, 1666.

Benedict de Spinoza

Oct. 1, 1666

Voorburg

v. M.

LETTER XLIII. Spinoza to I. v. M.



[SPINOZA SOLVES FOR his friend an arithmetical problem connected with games of chance. (Voorburg, Oct. 1, 1666.)]

Omitted.

Benedict de Spinoza

Jarig Jellis

LETTERS XLIV., XLV., XLVI. (XXXIX., XL., XLI.)

Spinoza to I. I.

XLIV.



[REMARKS ON DESCARTES' treatise on Optics.]

XLV.

[Remarks on some alchemistic experiments, on the third and fourth meditations of Descartes, and on Optics.]

XLVI.

[Remarks on Hydrostatics.]

Benedict de Spinoza

17 Feb., 1671

The Hague
Jarig Jellis

LETTER XLVII. Spinoza to I. I.



[SPINOZA BEGS HIS friend to stop the printing of the Dutch version of the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*. Some remarks on a pernicious pamphlet, “*Homo Politicus*,” and on Thales of Miletus.]

Most courteous Sir, —

When Professor N. N. visited me the other day, he told me that my *Theologico-Political Treatise* has been translated into Dutch, and that someone, whose name he did not know, was about printing it. With regard to this, I earnestly beg you to inquire carefully into the business, and, if possible, stop the printing. This is the request not only of myself, but of many of my friends and acquaintances, who would be sorry to see the book placed under an interdict, as it undoubtedly would be, if published in Dutch. I do not doubt, but that you will do this service to me and the cause.

One of my friends sent me a short time since a pamphlet called “*Homo Politicus*,” of which I had heard much. I have read it, and find it to be the most pernicious work which men could devise or invent. Rank and riches are the author’s highest good; he adapts his doctrine accordingly, and shows the means to acquire them; to wit, by inwardly rejecting all religion, and outwardly professing whatever best serves his own advancement, also by keeping faith with no one, except in so far as he himself is profited thereby. For the rest, to feign, to make promises and break them, to lie, to swear falsely, and many such like practices call forth his highest praises. When I had finished reading the book, I debated whether I should write a pamphlet indirectly aimed against its author, wherein I should treat of the highest good and show the troubled and wretched condition of those who are covetous of rank and riches; finally proving by very plain

reasoning and many examples, that the insatiable desire for rank and riches must bring and has brought ruin to states.

How much better and more excellent than the doctrines of the aforesaid writer are the reflections of Thales of Miletus, appears from the following. All the goods of friends, he says, are in common; wise men are the friends of the gods, and all things belong to the gods; therefore all things belong to the wise. Thus in a single sentence, this wisest of men accounts himself most rich, rather by nobly despising riches than by sordidly seeking them. In other passages he shows that the wise lack riches, not from necessity, but from choice. For when his friends reproached him with his poverty he answered, "Do you wish me to show you, that I could acquire what I deem unworthy of my labour, but you so diligently seek?" On their answering in the affirmative, he hired every oil-press in the whole of Greece (for being a distinguished astrologer he knew that the olive harvest would be as abundant as in previous years it had been scanty), and sub-let at his own price what he had hired for a very small sum, thus acquiring in a single year a large fortune, which he bestowed liberally as he had gained it industriously, &c.

The Hague,

17 Feb., 1671.

Lambert de Velthuysen

January 24th, 1671

Utrecht

Isaac Orobio

Benedict de Spinoza

LETTER XLVIII.



WRITTEN BY A physician, Lambert de Velthuysen, to Isaac Orobio, and forwarded by the latter to Spinoza. It contains a detailed attack on the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*. Its tenor may be sufficiently seen from Spinoza's reply. (Written at Utrecht, January 24th, 1671.) Velthuysen afterwards became more friendly to Spinoza, as appears from Letter LXXV.

Benedict de Spinoza

1671

The Hague

Isaac Orobio

LETTER XLIX. Spinoza to Isaac Orobio.



[A DEFENCE OF the Tractatus Theologico-Politicus. (The Hague, 1671.)]

Most Learned Sir, —

You doubtless wonder why I have kept you so long waiting. I could hardly bring myself to reply to the pamphlet of that person, which you thought fit to send me; indeed I only do so now because of my promise. However, in order as far as possible to humour my feelings, I will fulfil my engagement in as few words as I can, and will briefly show how perversely he has interpreted my meaning; whether through malice or through ignorance I cannot readily say. But to the matter in hand.

First he says, “that it is of little moment to know what nation I belong to, or what sort of life I lead.” Truly, if he had known, he would not so easily have persuaded himself that I teach Atheism. For Atheists are wont greedily to covet rank and riches, which I have always despised, as all who know me are aware. Again, in order to smooth his path to the object he has in view, he says that, “I am possessed of no mean talents,” so that he may, forsooth, more easily convince his readers, that I have knowingly and cunningly with evil intent argued for the cause of the deists, in order to discredit it. This contention sufficiently shows that he has not understood my reasons. For who could be so cunning and clever, as to be able to advance under false pretences so many and such good reasons for a doctrine which he did not believe in? Who will pass for an honest writer in the eyes of a man, that thinks one may argue as soundly for fiction as for truth? But after all I am not astonished. Descartes was formerly served in the same way by Voët, and the most honourable writers are constantly thus treated.

He goes on to say, “In order to shun the reproach of superstition, he seems to me to have thrown off all religion.” What this writer means by religion and what

by superstition, I know not. But I would ask, whether a man throws off all religion, who maintains that God must be acknowledged as the highest good, and must, as such, be loved with a free mind? or, again, that the reward of virtue is virtue itself, while the punishment of folly and weakness is folly itself? or, lastly, that every man ought to love his neighbour, and to obey the commands of the supreme power? Such doctrines I have not only expressly stated, but have also demonstrated them by very solid reasoning. However, I think I see the mud wherein this person sticks. He finds nothing in virtue and the understanding in themselves to please him, but would prefer to live in accordance with his passions, if it were not for the single obstacle that he fears punishment. He abstains from evil actions, and obeys the divine commands like a slave, with unwillingness and hesitation, expecting as the reward of his bondage to be recompensed by God with gifts far more pleasing than divine love, and greater in proportion to his dislike to goodness and consequent unwillingness to practise it. Hence it comes to pass, that he believes that all, who are not restrained by this fear, lead a life of licence and throw off all religion. But this I pass over, and proceed to the deduction, whereby he wishes to show, that “with covert and disguised arguments I teach atheism.” The foundation of his reasoning is, that he thinks I take away freedom from God, and subject Him to fate. This is flatly false. For I have maintained, that all things follow by inevitable necessity from the nature of God, in the same way as all maintain that it follows from the nature of God, that He understands Himself: no one denies that this latter consequence follows necessarily from the divine nature, yet no one conceives that God is constrained by any fate; they believe that He understands Himself with entire freedom, though necessarily. I find nothing here, that cannot be perceived by everyone; if, nevertheless, my adversary thinks that these arguments are advanced with evil intent, what does he think of his own Descartes, who asserted that nothing is done by us, which has not been pre-ordained by God, nay, that we are newly created as it were by God every moment, though none the less we act

according to our own free will? This, as Descartes himself confesses, no one can understand.

Further, this inevitable necessity in things destroys neither divine laws nor human. For moral principles, whether they have received from God the form of laws or not, are nevertheless divine and salutary. Whether we accept the good, which follows from virtue and the divine love, as given us by God as a judge, or as emanating from the necessity of the divine nature, it is not in either case more or less to be desired; nor are the evils which follow from evil actions less to be feared, because they follow necessarily: finally, whether we act under necessity or freedom, we are in either case led by hope and fear. Wherefore the assertion is false, “that I maintain that there is no room left for precepts and commands.” Or as he goes on to say, “that there is no expectation of reward or punishment, since all things are ascribed to fate, and are said to flow with inevitable necessity from God.”

I do not here inquire, why it is the same, or almost the same to say that all things necessarily flow from God, as to say that God is universal; but I would have you observe the insinuation which he not less maliciously subjoins, “that I wish that men should practise virtue, not because of the precepts and law of God, or through hope of reward and fear of punishment, but,” &c. Such a sentiment you will assuredly not find anywhere in my treatise: on the contrary, I have expressly stated in Chap. IV., that the sum of the divine law (which, as I have said in Chap. II., has been divinely inscribed on our hearts), and its chief precept is, to love God as the highest good: not, indeed, from the fear of any punishment, for love cannot spring from fear; nor for the love of anything which we desire for our own delight, for then we should love not God, but the object of our desire.

I have shown in the same chapter, that God revealed this law to the prophets, so that, whether it received from God the form of a command, or whether we conceive it to be like God’s other decrees, which involve eternal necessity and truth, it will in either case remain God’s decree and a salutary principle. Whether I love God in freedom, or whether I love Him from the necessity of the divine

decree, I shall nevertheless love God, and shall be in a state of salvation. Wherefore, I can now declare here, that this person is one of that sort, of whom I have said at the end of my preface, that I would rather that they utterly neglected my book, than that by misinterpreting it after their wont, they should become hostile, and hinder others without benefiting themselves.

Though I think I have said enough to prove what I intended, I have yet thought it worth while to add a few observations — namely, that this person falsely thinks, that I have in view the axiom of theologians, which draws a distinction between the words of a prophet when propounding doctrine, and the same prophet when narrating an event. If by such an axiom he means that which in Chap. XV. I attributed to a certain R. Jehuda Alpakhar, how could he think that I agree with it, when in that very chapter I reject it as false? If he does not mean this, I confess I am as yet in ignorance as to what he does mean, and, therefore, could not have had it in view.

Again, I cannot see why he says, that all will adopt my opinions, who deny that reason and philosophy should be the interpreters of Scripture; I have refuted the doctrine of such persons, together with that of Maimonides.

It would take too long to review all the indications he gives of not having judged me altogether calmly. I therefore pass on to his conclusion, where he says, “that I have no arguments left to prove, that Mahomet was not a true prophet.” This he endeavours to show from my opinions, whereas from them it clearly follows, that Mahomet was an impostor, inasmuch as he utterly forbids that freedom, which the Catholic religion revealed by our natural faculties and by the prophets grants, and which I have shown should be granted in its completeness. Even if this were not so, am I, I should like to know, bound to show that any prophet is false? Surely the burden lies with the prophets, to prove that they are true. But if he retorts, that Mahomet also taught the divine law, and gave certain signs of his mission, as the rest of the prophets did, there is surely no reason why he should deny, that Mahomet also was a true prophet.

As regards the Turks and other non-Christian nations; if they worship God by the practice of justice and charity towards their neighbour, I believe that they have the spirit of Christ, and are in a state of salvation, whatever they may ignorantly hold with regard to Mahomet and oracles.

Thus you see, my friend, how far this man has strayed from the truth; nevertheless, I grant that he has inflicted the greatest injury, not on me but on himself, inasmuch as he has not been ashamed to declare, that “under disguised and covert arguments I teach atheism.”

I do not think, that you will find any expressions I have used against this man too severe. However, if there be any of the kind which offend you, I beg you to correct them, as you shall think fit. I have no disposition to irritate him, whoever he may be, and to raise up by my labours enemies against myself; as this is often the result of disputes like the present, I could scarcely prevail on myself to reply — nor should I have prevailed, if I had not promised. Farewell. I commit to your prudence this letter, and myself, who am, &c.

Benedict de Spinoza

2 June, 1674

The Hague

Jarig Jellis

LETTER L. Spinoza to Jarig Jellis.



[OF THE DIFFERENCE between the political theories of Hobbes and Spinoza, of the Unity of God, of the notion of figure, of the book of a Utrecht professor against the Tractatus Theologico-Politicus.]

Most courteous Sir, —

As regards political theories, the difference which you inquire about between Hobbes and myself, consists in this, that I always preserve natural right intact, and only allot to the chief magistrates in every state a right over their subjects commensurate with the excess of their power over the power of the subjects. This is what always takes place in the state of nature.

Again, with regard to the demonstration which I establish in the appendix to my geometric exposition of Cartesian principles, namely, that God can only with great impropriety be called one or single, I answer that a thing can only be called one or single in respect of existence, not in respect of essence. For we do not conceive things under the category of numbers, unless they have first been reduced to a common genus. For example, he who holds in his hand a penny and a crown piece will not think of the twofold number, unless he can call both the penny and the crown piece by one and the same name, to wit, coins or pieces of money. In the latter case he can say that he holds two coins or pieces of money, inasmuch as he calls the crown as well as the penny, a coin, or piece of money. Hence, it is evident that a thing cannot be called one or single, unless there be afterwards another thing conceived, which (as has been said) agrees with it. Now, since the existence of God is His essence, and of His essence we can form no general idea, it is certain, that he who calls God one or single has no true idea of God, and speaks of Him very improperly.

As to the doctrine that figure is negation and not anything positive, it is plain that the whole of matter considered indefinitely can have no figure, and that figure can only exist in finite and determinate bodies. For he who says, that he perceives a figure, merely indicates thereby, that he conceives a determinate thing, and how it is determinate. This determination, therefore, does not appertain to the thing according to its being, but, on the contrary, is its non-being. As then figure is nothing else than determination, and determination is negation, figure, as has been said, can be nothing but negation.

The book, which a Utrecht professor wrote against mine, and which was published after his death, I saw lying in a bookseller's window. From the little I then read of it, I judged it unworthy of perusal, still less of reply. I, therefore, left the book, and its author. With an inward smile I reflected, that the most ignorant are ever the most audacious and the most ready to rush into print. The Christians seem to me to expose their wares for sale like hucksters, who always show first that which is worst. The devil is said to be very cunning, but to my thinking the tricks of these people are in cunning far beyond his. Farewell.

The Hague,

2 June, 1674.

Godfrey Leibnitz

5 Oct., 1671

Frankfort

Benedict de Spinoza

LETTER LI. Godfrey Leibnitz to Spinoza.



DISTINGUISHED SIR, —

Among your other merits spread abroad by fame, I understand that you have remarkable skill in optics. I have, therefore, wished to forward my essay, such as it is, to you, as I am not likely to find a better critic in this branch of learning. The paper, which I send you, and which I have styled “a note on advanced optics,” has been published with the view of more conveniently making known my ideas to my friends and the curious in such matters. I hear that * * * * * is very clever in the same subject, doubtless he is well known to you. If you could obtain for me his opinion and kind attention, you would greatly increase my obligation to you. The paper explains itself.

I believe you have already received the “Prodromo” of Francis Lana the Jesuit, written in Italian. Some remarkable observations on optics are contained in it. John Oltius too, a young Swiss very learned in these matters, has published “Physico-Mechanical Reflections concerning Vision;” in which he announces a machine for the polishing all kinds of glasses, very simple and of universal applicability, and also declares that he has discovered a means of collecting all the rays coming from different points of an object, so as to obtain an equal number of corresponding points, but only under conditions of a given distance and form of object.

My proposal is, not that the rays from all points should be collected and rearranged (this is with any object or distance impossible at the present stage of our knowledge); the result I aim at is the equal collection of rays from points outside the optic axis and in the optic axis, so that the apertures of glasses could be made of any size desired without impairing the distinctness of vision. But this must

stand according to your skilled verdict. Farewell, and believe me, distinguished
Sir, your obedient servant,

Godfrey Leibnitz,

J. U. D., Councillor of the Elector of Mainz.

Frankfort,

5 Oct., 1671

(new style).

Benedict de Spinoza

9 Nov., 1671

The Hague

Godfrey Leibnitz

LETTER LII. Spinoza to Leibnitz.



[ANSWER TO THE foregoing letter].

Most learned and distinguished Sir, —

I have read the paper you were kind enough to send me, and return you many thanks for the communication. I regret that I have not been able quite to follow your meaning, though you explain it sufficiently clearly, whether you think that there is any cause for making the apertures of the glasses small, except that the rays coming from a single point are not collected accurately at another single point, but in a small area which we generally call the mechanical point, and that this small area is greater or less in proportion to the size of the aperture. Further, I ask whether the lenses which you call “pandochæ” correct this fault, so that the mechanical point or small area, on which the rays coming from a single point are after refraction collected, always preserves the same proportional size, whether the aperture be small or large. If so, one may enlarge the aperture as much as one likes, and consequently these lenses will be far superior to those of any other shape known to me; if not, I hardly see why you praise them so greatly beyond common lenses. For circular lenses have everywhere the same axis; therefore, when we employ them, we must regard all the points of an object as placed in the optic axis; although all the points of the object be not at the same distance, the difference arising thence will not be perceptible, when the objects are very remote; because then the rays coming from a single point would, as they enter the glass, be regarded as parallel. I think your lenses might be of service in obtaining a more distinct representation of all the objects, when we wish to include several objects in one view, as we do, when we employ very large convex circular lenses. However, I would rather suspend my judgment about all these details, till you have more clearly explained your meaning, as I heartily beg you to do. I have, as

you requested, sent the other copy of your paper to Mr. * * * *. He answers, that he has at present no time to study it, but he hopes to have leisure in a week or two.

I have not yet seen the “Prodromo” of Francis Lana, nor the “Physico-Mechanical Reflections” of John Oltius. What I more regret is, that your “Physical Hypothesis” has not yet come to my hands, nor is there a copy for sale here at the Hague. The gift, therefore, which you so liberally promise me will be most acceptable to me; if I can be of use to you in any other matter, you will always find me most ready. I hope you will not think it too irksome to reply to this short note.

Distinguished Sir,
Yours sincerely,

B. de Spinoza.
The Hague,
9 Nov., 1671.

P.S. Mr. Diemerbroech does not live here. I am, therefore, forced to entrust this to an ordinary letter-carrier. I doubt not that you know someone at the Hague, who would take charge of our letters; I should like to hear of such a person, that our correspondence might be more conveniently and securely taken care of. If the “Tractatus Theologico-Politicus” has not yet come to your hands, I will, unless you have any objection, send you a copy. Farewell.

Lewis Fabritius
16 Feb., 1673
Heidelberg
Benedict de Spinoza

LETTER LIII. Fabritius to Spinoza.



[FABRITIUS, UNDER THE order and in the name of the Elector Palatine, offers Spinoza the post of Professor of Philosophy at Heidelberg, under very liberal conditions.]

Most renowned Sir, —

His Most Serene Highness the Elector Palatine, my most gracious master, commands me to write to you, who are, as yet, unknown to me, but most favourably regarded by his Most Serene Highness, and to inquire of you, whether you are willing to accept an ordinary professorship of Philosophy in his illustrious university. An annual salary would be paid to you, equal to that enjoyed at present by the ordinary professors. You will hardly find elsewhere a prince more favourable to distinguished talents, among which he reckons yourself. You will have the most ample freedom in philosophical teaching, which the prince is confident you will not misuse, to disturb the religion publicly established. I cannot refrain from seconding the prince's injunction. I therefore most earnestly beg you to reply as soon as possible, and to address your answer either under cover to the Most Serene Elector's resident at the Hague, Mr. Grotius, or to Mr. Gilles Van der Hele, so that it may come in the packet of letters usually sent to the court, or else to avail yourself of some other convenient opportunity for transmitting it. I will only add, that if you come here, you will live pleasantly a life worthy of a philosopher, unless events turn out quite contrary to our expectation and hope. So farewell.

I remain, illustrious Sir,

Your devoted admirer,

Lewis Fabritius.

Professor of the Academy of Heidelberg, and Councillor of the Elector
Palatine.

Heidelberg,

16 Feb., 1673.

Benedict de Spinoza

The Hague

30 March, 1673

Lewis Fabritius

LETTER LIV. Spinoza to Fabritius.



[SPINOZA THANKS THE Elector for his kind offer, but, owing to his unwillingness to teach in public, and other causes, humbly begs to be allowed time to consider it.]

Distinguished Sir, —

If I had ever desired to take a professorship in any faculty, I could not have wished for any other than that which is offered to me, through you, by His Most Serene Highness the Elector Palatine, especially because of that freedom in philosophical teaching, which the most gracious prince is kind enough to grant, not to speak of the desire which I have long entertained, to live under the rule of a prince, whom all men admire for his wisdom.

But since it has never been my wish to teach in public, I have been unable to induce myself to accept this splendid opportunity, though I have long deliberated about it. I think, in the first place, that I should abandon philosophical research if I consented to find time for teaching young students. I think, in the second place, that I do not know the limits, within which the freedom of my philosophical teaching would be confined, if I am to avoid all appearance of disturbing the publicly established religion. Religious quarrels do not arise so much from ardent zeal for religion, as from men's various dispositions and love of contradiction, which causes them to habitually distort and condemn everything, however rightly it may have been said. I have experienced these results in my private and secluded station, how much more should I have to fear them after my elevation to this post of honour.

Thus you see, distinguished Sir, that I am not holding back in the hope of getting something better, but through my love of quietness, which I think I can in some measure secure, if I keep away from lecturing in public. I therefore most

earnestly entreat you to beg of the Most Serene Elector, that I may be allowed to consider further about this matter, and I also ask you to conciliate the favour of the most gracious prince to his most devoted admirer, thus increasing the obligations of your sincere friend,

B. de. S.

The Hague,

30 March, 1673.

Hugo Boxel

14 Sept., 1674

Benedict de Spinoza

LETTER LV. Hugo Boxel to Spinoza.



[A FRIEND ASKS Spinoza's opinion about Ghosts.]

Distinguished Sir, —

My reason for writing to you is, that I want to know your opinion about apparitions and ghosts or spectres; if you admit their existence, what do you think about them, and how long does their life last? For some hold them to be mortal, others immortal. As I am doubtful whether you admit their existence, I will proceed no further.

Meanwhile, it is certain, that the ancients believed in them. The theologians and philosophers of to-day are hitherto agreed as to the existence of some creatures of the kind, though they may not agree as to the nature of their essence. Some assert that they are composed of very thin and subtle matter, others that they are spiritual. But, as I was saying before, we are quite at cross purposes, inasmuch as I am doubtful whether you would grant their existence; though, as you must be aware, so many instances and stories of them are found throughout antiquity, that it would really be difficult either to deny or to doubt them. It is clear that, even if you confess that they exist, you do not believe that some of them are the souls of the dead, as the defenders of the Romish faith would have it. I will here end, and will say nothing about war and rumours, inasmuch as our lot is cast in an age, &c. Farewell.

14 Sept., 1674.

Benedict de Spinoza

Sept., 1674

The Hague

Hugo Boxel

LETTER LVI. Spinoza to Hugo Boxel.



[SPINOZA ANSWERS THAT he does not know what ghosts are, and can gain no information from antiquity. (The Hague, Sept., 1674.)]

Dear Sir, —

Your letter, which I received yesterday, was most welcome to me, both because I wanted to hear news of you, and also because it shows that you have not utterly forgotten me. Although some might think it a bad omen, that ghosts are the cause of your writing to me, I, on the contrary, can discern a deeper meaning in the circumstance; I see that not only truths, but also things trifling and imaginary may be of use to me.

However, let us defer the question, whether ghosts are delusions and imaginary, for I see that not only denial of them, but even doubt about them seems very singular to you, as to one who has been convinced by the numerous histories related by men of to-day and the ancients. The great esteem and honour, in which I have always held and still hold you, does not suffer me to contradict you, still less to humour you. The middle course, which I shall adopt, is to beg you to be kind enough to select from the numerous stories which you have read, one or two of those least open to doubt, and most clearly demonstrating the existence of ghosts. For, to confess the truth, I have never read a trustworthy author, who clearly showed that there are such things. Up to the present time I do not know what they are, and no one has ever been able to tell me. Yet it is evident, that in the case of a thing so clearly shown by experience we ought to know what it is; otherwise we shall have great difficulty in gathering from histories that ghosts exist. We only gather that something exists of nature unknown. If philosophers choose to call things which we do not know “ghosts,” I shall not deny the existence of such, for there are an infinity of things, which I cannot make out.

Pray tell me, my dear Sir, before I explain myself further in the matter, What are these ghosts or spectres? Are they children, or fools, or madmen? For all that I have heard of them seems more adapted to the silly than the wise, or, to say the best we can of it, resembles the pastimes of children or of fools. Before I end, I would submit to you one consideration, namely, that the desire which most men have to narrate things, not as they really happened, but as they wished them to happen, can be illustrated from the stories of ghosts and spectres more easily than from any others. The principal reason for this is, I believe, that such stories are only attested by the narrators, and thus a fabricator can add or suppress circumstances, as seems most convenient to him, without fear of anyone being able to contradict him. He composes them to suit special circumstances, in order to justify the fear he feels of dreams and phantoms, or else to confirm his courage, his credit, or his opinion. There are other reasons, which lead me to doubt, if not the actual stories, at least some of the narrated circumstances; and which have a close bearing on the conclusion we are endeavouring to derive from the aforesaid stories. I will here stop, until I have learnt from you what those stories are, which have so completely convinced you, that you regard all doubt about them as absurd, &c.

Hugo Boxel

21 Sept., 1674

Benedict de Spinoza

LETTER LVII. Hugo Boxel to Spinoza.



MOST SAGACIOUS SIR, —

You have sent me just the answer I expected to receive, from a friend holding an opinion adverse to my own. But no matter. Friends may always disagree on indifferent subjects without injury to their friendship.

You ask me, before you gave an opinion as to what these spectres or spirits are, to tell you whether they are children, fools, or madmen, and you add that everything you have heard of them seems to have proceeded rather from the insane than the sane. It is a true proverb, which says that a preconceived opinion hinders the pursuit of truth.

I, then, believe that ghosts exist for the following reasons: first, because it appertains to the beauty and perfection of the universe, that they should; secondly, because it is probable that the Creator created them, as being more like Himself than are embodied creatures; thirdly, because as body exists without soul, soul exists without body; fourthly and lastly, because in the upper air, region, or space, I believe there is no obscure body without inhabitants of its own; consequently, that the measureless space between us and the stars is not empty, but thronged with spiritual inhabitants. Perhaps the highest and most remote are true spirits, whereas the lowest in the lowest region of the air are creatures of very thin and subtle substance, and also invisible. Thus I think there are spirits of all sorts, but, perhaps, none of the female sex.

This reasoning will in no wise convince those, who rashly believe that the world has been created by chance. Daily experience, if these reasons be dismissed, shows that there are spectres, and many stories, both new and old, are current about them. Such may be found in Plutarch's book "De viris illustribus," and in his other works; in Suetonius's "Lives of the Cæsars," also in Wierus's and

Lavater's books about ghosts, where the subject is fully treated and illustrated from writers of all kinds. Cardano, celebrated for his learning, also speaks of them in his books "De Subtilitate," "De Varietate," and in his "Life;" showing, by experience, that they have appeared to himself, his relations and friends. Melancthon, a wise man and a lover of truth, testifies to his experience of them, as also do many others. A certain burgomaster, learned and wise, who is still living, once told me that he heard by night the noise of working in his mother's brew-house, going on just as it does while beer is being brewed in the day; this he attested as having occurred frequently. The same sort of thing has happened to me, and will never fade from my memory; hence I am convinced by the above-mentioned experiences and reasons, that there are ghosts.

As for evil spirits, who torture wretched men in this life and the next, and who work spells, I believe the stories of them to be fables. In treatises about spirits you will find a host of details. Besides those I have cited, you may refer to Pliny the younger, bk. vii., the letter to Sura; Suetonius, "Life of Julius Cæsar," ch. xxxii.; Valerius Maximus, I. viii. § § 7, 8; and Alexander ab Alexandro, "Dies Geniales." I am sure these books are accessible to you. I say nothing of monks and priests, for they relate so many tales of souls and evil spirits, or as I should rather say of spectres, that the reader becomes wearied with their abundance. Thyraeus, a Jesuit, in the book about the apparition of spirits, also treats of the question. But these last-named discourse on such subjects merely for the sake of gain, and to prove that purgatory is not so bad as is supposed, thus treating the question as a mine, from which they dig up plenteous store of gold and silver. But the same cannot be said of the writers mentioned previously, and other moderns, who merit greater credit from their absence of bias.

As an answer to the passage in your letter, where you speak of fools and madmen, I subjoin this sentence from the learned Lavater, who ends with it his first book on ghosts or spectres. "He who is bold enough to gainsay so many witnesses, both ancient and modern, seems to me unworthy of credit. For as it is a mark of frivolity to lend incontinent credence to everyone who says he has seen a

ghost; so, on the other hand, rashly and flatly to contradict so many trustworthy historians, Fathers, and other persons placed in authority would argue a remarkable shamelessness.”

21 Sept., 1674

Benedict de Spinoza

Hugo Boxel

LETTER LVIII. Spinoza to Hugo Boxel.



[SPINOZA TREATS OF the necessary creation of the world — he refutes his friend's arguments and quotations.]

Dear Sir, —

I will rely on what you said in your letter of the 21st of last month, that friends may disagree on indifferent questions, without injury to their friendship, and will frankly tell you my opinion on the reasons and stories, whereon you base your conclusion, that there are ghosts of every kind, but perhaps none of the female sex. The reason for my not replying sooner is that the books you quoted are not at hand, in fact I have not found any except Pliny and Suetonius. However, these two have saved me the trouble of consulting any other, for I am persuaded that they all talk in the same strain and hanker after extraordinary tales, which rouse men's astonishment and compel their wonder. I confess that I am not a little amazed, not at the stories, but at those who narrate them. I wonder, that men of talent and judgment should so employ their readiness of speech, and abuse it in endeavouring to convince us of such trifles.

However, let us dismiss the writers, and turn to the question itself. In the first place, we will reason a little about your conclusion. Let us see whether I, who deny that there are spectres or spirits, am on that account less able to understand the authors, who have written on the subject; or whether you, who assert that such beings exist, do not give to the aforesaid writers more credit than they deserve. The distinction you drew, in admitting without hesitation spirits of the male sex, but doubting whether any female spirits exist, seems to me more like a fancy than a genuine doubt. If it were really your opinion, it would resemble the common imagination, that God is masculine, not feminine. I wonder that those, who have seen naked ghosts, have not cast their eyes on those parts of the person, which

would remove all doubt; perhaps they were timid, or did not know of this distinction. You would say that this is ridicule, not reasoning: and hence I see, that your reasons appear to you so strong and well founded, that no one can (at least in your judgment) contradict them, unless he be some perverse fellow, who thinks the world has been made by chance. This impels me, before going into your reasons, to set forth briefly my opinion on the question, whether the world was made by chance. But I answer, that as it is clear that chance and necessity are two contraries, so is it also clear, that he, who asserts the world to be a necessary effect of the divine nature, must utterly deny that the world has been made by chance; whereas, he who affirms, that God need not have made the world, confirms, though in different language, the doctrine that it has been made by chance; inasmuch as he maintains that it proceeds from a wish, which might never have been formed. However, as this opinion and theory is on the face of it absurd, it is commonly very unanimously admitted, that God's will is eternal, and has never been indifferent; hence it must necessarily be also admitted, you will observe, that the world is a necessary effect of the divine nature. Let them call it will, understanding, or any name they like, they come at last to the same conclusion, that under different names they are expressing one and the same thing. If you ask them, whether the divine will does not differ from the human, they answer, that the former has nothing in common with the latter except its name; especially as they generally admit that God's will, understanding, intellect, essence, and nature are all identical; so I, myself, lest I should confound the divine nature with the human, do not assign to God human attributes, such as will, understanding, attention, hearing, &c. I therefore say, as I have said already, that the world is a necessary effect of the divine nature, and that it has not been made by chance. I think this is enough to persuade you, that the opinion of those (if such there be), who say that the world has been made by chance, is entirely contrary to mine; and, relying on this hypothesis, I proceed to examine those reasons which lead you to infer the existence of all kinds of ghosts. I should like to say of these reasons generally, that they seem rather conjectures than reasons,

and I can with difficulty believe, that you take them for guiding reasons. However, be they conjectures or be they reasons, let us see whether we can take them for foundations.

Your first reason is, that the existence of ghosts is needful for the beauty and perfection of the universe. Beauty, my dear Sir, is not so much a quality of the object beheld, as an effect in him who beholds it. If our sight were longer or shorter, or if our constitution were different, what now appears beautiful to us would seem misshapen, and what we now think misshapen we should regard as beautiful. The most beautiful hand seen through the microscope will appear horrible. Some things are beautiful at a distance, but ugly near; thus things regarded in themselves, and in relation to God, are neither ugly nor beautiful. Therefore, he who says that God has created the world, so that it might be beautiful, is bound to adopt one of the two alternatives, either that God created the world for the sake of men's pleasure and eyesight, or else that He created men's pleasure and eyesight for the sake of the world. Now, whether we adopt the former or the latter of these views, how God could have furthered His object by the creation of ghosts, I cannot see. Perfection and imperfection are names, which do not differ much from the names beauty and ugliness. I only ask, therefore (not to be tedious), which would contribute most to the perfect adornment of the world, ghosts, or a quantity of monsters, such as centaurs, hydras, harpies, satyrs, gryphons, arguses, and other similar inventions? Truly the world would be handsomely bedecked, if God had adorned and embellished it, in obedience to our fancy, with beings, which anyone may readily imagine and dream of, but no one can understand.

Your second reason is, that because spirits express God's image more than embodied creatures, it is probable that He has created them. I frankly confess, that I am as yet in ignorance, how spirits more than other creatures express God. This I know, that between finite and infinite there is no comparison; so that the difference between God and the greatest and most excellent created thing is no less than the difference between God and the least created thing. This argument,

therefore, is beside the mark. If I had as clear an idea of ghosts, as I have of a triangle or a circle, I should not in the least hesitate to affirm that they had been created by God; but as the idea I possess of them is just like the ideas, which my imagination forms of harpies, gryphons, hydras, &c., I cannot consider them as anything but dreams, which differ from God as totally, as that which is not differs from that which is.

Your third reason (that as body exists without soul, so soul should exist without body) seems to me equally absurd. Pray tell me, if it is not also likely, that memory, hearing, sight, &c., exist without bodies, because bodies exist without memory, hearing, sight, &c., or that a sphere exists without a circle, because a circle exists without a sphere?

Your fourth, and last reason, is the same as your first, and I refer you to my answer given above. I will only observe here, that I do not know which are the highest or which the lowest places, which you conceive as existing in infinite matter, unless you take the earth as the centre of the universe. For if the sun or Saturn be the centre of the universe, the sun, or Saturn, not the earth, will be the lowest.

Thus, passing by this argument and what remains, I conclude, that these and similar reasons will convince no one of the existence of all kinds of ghosts and spectres, unless it be those persons, who shut their ears to the understanding, and allow themselves to be led away by superstition. This last is so hostile to right reason, that she lends willing credence to old wives' tales for the sake of discrediting philosophers.

As regards the stories, I have already said in my first letter, that I do not deny them altogether, but only the conclusion drawn from them. To this I may add, that I do not believe them so thoroughly, as not to doubt many of the details, which are generally added rather for ornament than for bringing out the truth of the story or the conclusion drawn from it. I had hoped, that out of so many stories you would at least have produced one or two, which could hardly be questioned, and which would clearly show that ghosts or spectres exist. The case you relate of the

burgomaster, who wanted to infer their existence, because he heard spectral brewers working in his mother's brewhouse by night, and making the same noises as he was accustomed to hear by day, seems to me laughable. In like manner it would be tedious here to examine all the stories of people, who have written on these trifles. To be brief, I cite the instance of Julius Cæsar, who, as Suetonius testifies, laughed at such things and yet was happy, if we may trust what Suetonius says in the 59th chapter of his life of that leader. And so should all, who reflect on the human imagination, and the effects of the emotions, laugh at such notions; whatever Lavater and others, who have gone dreaming with him in the matter, may produce to the contrary.

Hugo Boxel

Benedict de Spinoza

LETTER LIX. Hugo Boxel to Spinoza.



[A CONTINUATION OF the arguments in favour of ghosts, which may be summarized as follows: — I say a thing is done by chance, when it has not been the subject of will on the part of the doer; not when it might never have happened. — Necessity and freedom, not necessity and chance, are contraries. — If we do not in some sense attribute human qualities to God, what meaning can we attach to the term? — You ask for absolute proof of the existence of spirits; such proof is not obtainable for many things, which are yet firmly believed. — Some things are more beautiful intrinsically than others. — As God is a spirit, spirits resemble Him more than embodied creatures do. — A ghost cannot be conceived as clearly as a triangle: can you say that your own idea of God is as clear as your idea of a triangle? — As a circle exists without a sphere, so a sphere exists without a circle. — We call things higher or lower in proportion to their distance from the earth. — All the Stoics, Pythagoreans, and Platonists, Empedocles, Maximus Tyrius, Apuleius, and others, bear witness to ghosts; and no modern denies them. It is presumption to sneer at such a body of testimony. Cæsar did not ridicule ghosts, but omens, and if he had listened to Spurina he would not have been murdered.]

Benedict de Spinoza

1674

The Hague

Hugo Boxel

LETTER LX. Spinoza to Hugo Boxel.



[SPINOZA AGAIN ANSWERS the argument in favour of ghosts. (The Hague, 1674).]

Dear Sir, —

I hasten to answer your letter, received yesterday, for if I delay my reply, I may have to put it off longer than I should like. The state of your health would have made me anxious, if I did not understand that you are better. I hope you are by this time quite well again.

The difficulties experienced by two people following different principles, and trying to agree on a matter, which depends on many other questions, might be shown from this discussion alone, if there were no reason to prove it by. Pray tell me, whether you have seen or read any philosophers, who hold that the world has been made by chance, taking chance in your sense, namely, that God had some design in making the world, and yet has not kept to the plan he had formed. I do not know, that such an idea has ever entered anyone's mind. I am likewise at a loss for the reasons, with which you want to make me believe, that chance and necessity are not contraries. As soon as I affirm that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles necessarily, I deny that they are thus equal by chance. As soon as I affirm that heat is a necessary effect of fire, I deny that it is a chance effect. To say, that necessary and free are two contrary terms, seems to me no less absurd and repugnant to reason. For no one can deny, that God freely knows Himself and all else, yet all with one voice grant that God knows Himself necessarily. Hence, as it seems to me, you draw no distinction between constraint or force and necessity. Man's wishes to live, to love, &c., are not under constraint, but nevertheless are necessary; much more is it necessary, that God wishes to be, to know, and to act. If you will also reflect, that indifference is only another name

for ignorance or doubt, and that a will always constant and determined in all things is a necessary property of the understanding, you will see that my words are in complete harmony with truth. If we affirm, that God might have been able not to wish a given event, or not to understand it, we attribute to God two different freedoms, one necessary, the other indifferent; consequently we shall conceive God's will as different from His essence and understanding, and shall thus fall from one absurdity into another.

The attention, which I asked for in my former letter, has not seemed to you necessary. This has been the reason why you have not directed your thoughts to the main issue, and have neglected a point which is very important.

Further, when you say that if I deny, that the operations of seeing, hearing, attending, wishing, &c., can be ascribed to God, or that they exist in Him in any eminent fashion, you do not know what sort of God mine is; I suspect that you believe there is no greater perfection than such as can be explained by the aforesaid attributes. I am not astonished; for I believe that, if a triangle could speak, it would say, in like manner, that God is eminently triangular, while a circle would say that the divine nature is eminently circular. Thus each would ascribe to God its own attributes, would assume itself to be like God, and look on everything else as ill-shaped.

The briefness of a letter and want of time do not allow me to enter into my opinion on the divine nature, or the questions you have propounded. Besides, suggesting difficulties is not the same as producing reasons. That we do many things in the world from conjecture is true, but that our reflections are based on conjecture is false. In practical life we are compelled to follow what is most probable; in speculative thought we are compelled to follow truth. A man would perish of hunger and thirst, if he refused to eat or drink, till he had obtained positive proof that food and drink would be good for him. But in philosophic reflection this is not so. On the contrary, we must take care not to admit as true anything, which is only probable. For when one falsity has been let in, infinite others follow.

Again, we cannot infer that because sciences of things divine and human are full of controversies and quarrels, therefore their whole subject-matter is uncertain; for there have been many persons so enamoured of contradiction, as to turn into ridicule geometrical axioms. Sextus Empiricus and other sceptics, whom you quote, declare, that it is false to say that a whole is greater than its part, and pass similar judgments on other axioms.

However, as I pass over and grant that in default of proof we must be content with probabilities, I say that a probable proof ought to be such that, though we may doubt about it, we cannot maintain its contrary; for that which can be contradicted resembles not truth but falsehood. For instance, if I say that Peter is alive, because I saw him yesterday in good health, this is a probability, in so far as no one can maintain the contrary; but if anyone says that he saw Peter yesterday in a swoon, and that he believed Peter to have departed this life to-day, he will make my statement seem false. That your conjecture about ghosts and spectres seems false, and not even probable, I have shown so clearly, that I can find nothing worthy of answer in your reply.

To your question, whether I have of God as clear an idea as I have of a triangle, I reply in the affirmative. But if you ask me, whether I have as clear a mental image of God as I have of a triangle, I reply in the negative. For we are not able to imagine God, though we can understand Him. You must also here observe, that I do not assert that I thoroughly know God, but that I understand some of His attributes, not all nor the greater part, and it is evident that my ignorance of very many does not hinder the knowledge I have of some. When I learned Euclid's Elements, I understood that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles, and this property of a triangle I perceived clearly, though I might be ignorant of many others.

As regards spectres or ghosts, I have hitherto heard attributed to them no intelligible property: they seem like phantoms, which no one can understand. When you say that spectres, or ghosts, in these lower regions (I adopt your phraseology, though I know not why matter below should be inferior to matter

above) consist in a very thin rarefied and subtle substance, you seem to me to be speaking of spiders' webs, air, or vapours. To say, that they are invisible, seems to me to be equivalent to saying that they do not exist, not to stating their nature; unless, perhaps, you wish to indicate, that they render themselves visible or invisible at will, and that the imagination, in these as in other impossibilities, will find a difficulty.

The authority of Plato, Aristotle, and Socrates, does not carry much weight with me. I should have been astonished, if you had brought forward Epicurus, Democritus, Lucretius, or any of the atomists, or upholders of the atomic theory. It is no wonder that persons, who have invented occult qualities, intentional species, substantial forms, and a thousand other trifles, should have also devised spectres and ghosts, and given credence to old wives' tales, in order to take away the reputation of Democritus, whom they were so jealous of, that they burnt all the books which he had published amid so much eulogy. If you are inclined to believe such witnesses, what reason have you for denying the miracles of the Blessed Virgin, and all the Saints? These have been described by so many famous philosophers, theologians, and historians, that I could produce at least a hundred such authorities for every one of the former. But I have gone further, my dear Sir, than I intended: I do not desire to cause any further annoyance by doctrines which I know you will not grant. For the principles which you follow are far different from my own.

Van Volten

8th October, 1674

Benedict de Spinoza

LETTER LXI. * * * * to Spinoza.



[PHILOSOPHERS OFTEN DIFFER through using words in different senses. Thus in the question of free will Descartes means by free, constrained by no cause. You mean by the same, undetermined in a particular way by a cause. The question of free will is threefold: — I. Have we any power whatever over things external to us? II. Have we absolute power over the intentional movements of our own body? III. Have we free use of our reason? Both Descartes and yourself are right according to the terms employed by each (8th October, 1674).]

Benedict de Spinoza

October, 1674

The Hague

G. H. Schaller

LETTER LXII. Spinoza to * * * * * (The Hague, October, 1674).



[SPINOZA GIVES HIS opinions on liberty and necessity.]

Sir, —

Our friend, J. R. has sent me the letter which you have been kind enough to write to me, and also the judgment of your friend as to the opinions of Descartes and myself regarding free will. Both enclosures were very welcome to me. Though I am, at present, much occupied with other matters, not to mention my delicate health, your singular courtesy, or, to name the chief motive, your love of truth, impels me to satisfy your inquiries, as far as my poor abilities will permit. What your friend wishes to imply by his remark before he appeals to experience, I know not. What he adds, that when one of two disputants affirms something which the other denies, both may be right, is true, if he means that the two, though using the same terms, are thinking of different things. I once sent several examples of this to our friend J. R., and am now writing to tell him to communicate them to you.

I, therefore, pass on to that definition of liberty, which he says is my own; but I know not whence he has taken it. I say that a thing is free, which exists and acts solely by the necessity of its own nature. Thus also God understands Himself and all things freely, because it follows solely from the necessity of His nature, that He should understand all things. You see I do not place freedom in free decision, but in free necessity. However, let us descend to created things, which are all determined by external causes to exist and operate in a given determinate manner. In order that this may be clearly understood, let us conceive a very simple thing. For instance, a stone receives from the impulsion of an external cause, a certain quantity of motion, by virtue of which it continues to move after the impulsion given by the external cause has ceased. The permanence of the stone's motion is

constrained, not necessary, because it must be defined by the impulsion of an external cause. What is true of the stone is true of any individual, however complicated its nature, or varied its functions, inasmuch as every individual thing is necessarily determined by some external cause to exist and operate in a fixed and determinate manner.

Further conceive, I beg, that a stone, while continuing in motion, should be capable of thinking and knowing, that it is endeavouring, as far as it can, to continue to move. Such a stone, being conscious merely of its own endeavour and not at all indifferent, would believe itself to be completely free, and would think that it continued in motion solely because of its own wish. This is that human freedom, which all boast that they possess, and which consists solely in the fact, that men are conscious of their own desire, but are ignorant of the causes whereby that desire has been determined. Thus an infant believes that it desires milk freely; an angry child thinks he wishes freely for vengeance, a timid child thinks he wishes freely to run away. Again, a drunken man thinks, that from the free decision of his mind he speaks words, which afterwards, when sober, he would like to have left unsaid. So the delirious, the garrulous, and others of the same sort think that they act from the free decision of their mind, not that they are carried away by impulse. As this misconception is innate in all men, it is not easily conquered. For, although experience abundantly shows, that men can do anything rather than check their desires, and that very often, when a prey to conflicting emotions, they see the better course and follow the worse, they yet believe themselves to be free; because in some cases their desire for a thing is slight, and can easily be overruled by the recollection of something else, which is frequently present in the mind.

I have thus, if I mistake not, sufficiently explained my opinion regarding free and constrained necessity, and also regarding so-called human freedom: from what I have said you will easily be able to reply to your friend's objections. For when he says, with Descartes, that he who is constrained by no external cause is free, if by being constrained he means acting against one's will, I grant that we are

in some cases quite unrestrained, and in this respect possess free will. But if by constrained he means acting necessarily, although not against one's will (as I have explained above), I deny that we are in any instance free.

But your friend, on the contrary, asserts that we may employ our reason absolutely, that is, in complete freedom; and is, I think, a little too confident on the point. For who, he says, could deny, without contradicting his own consciousness, that I can think with my thoughts, that I wish or do not wish to write? I should like to know what consciousness he is talking of, over and above that which I have illustrated by the example of the stone.

As a matter of fact I, without, I hope, contradicting my consciousness, that is my reason and experience, and without cherishing ignorance and misconception, deny that I can by any absolute power of thought think, that I wish or do not wish to write. I appeal to the consciousness, which he has doubtless experienced, that in dreams he has not the power of thinking that he wishes, or does not wish to write; and that, when he dreams that he wishes to write, he has not the power not to dream that he wishes to write. I think he must also have experienced, that the mind is not always equally capable of thinking of the same object, but according as the body is more capable for the image of this or that object being excited in it, so is the mind more capable of thinking of the same object.

When he further adds, that the causes for his applying his mind to writing have led him, but not constrained him to write, he merely means (if he will look at the question impartially), that his disposition was then in a state, in which it could be easily acted on by causes, which would have been powerless under other circumstances, as for instance when he was under a violent emotion. That is, causes, which at other times would not have constrained him, have constrained him in this case, not to write against his will but necessarily to wish to write.

As for his statement, that if we were constrained by external causes, no one could acquire the habit of virtue, I know not what is his authority for saying, that firmness and constancy of disposition cannot arise from predestined necessity, but only from free will.

What he finally adds, that if this were granted, all wickedness would be excusable, I meet with the question, What then? Wicked men are not less to be feared, and are not less harmful, when they are wicked from necessity. However, on this point I would ask you to refer to my Principles of Cartesian Philosophy, Part II., chap. viii.

In a word, I should like your friend, who makes these objections, to tell me, how he reconciles the human virtue, which he says arises from the free decision of the mind, with God's pre-ordainment of the universe. If, with Descartes, he confesses his inability to do so, he is endeavouring to direct against me the weapon which has already pierced himself. But in vain. For if you examine my opinion attentively, you will see that it is quite consistent, &c.

E. W. von Tschirnhausen

5 Jan., 1675

Benedict de Spinoza

LETTER LXIII. * * * * to Spinoza.



[THE WRITER EXHORTS Spinoza to publish the treatises on Ethics and on the Improvement of the Understanding. — Remarks on the definition of motion. On the difference between a true and an adequate idea.]

Most excellent Sir, —

When shall we have your method of rightly directing the reason in the acquisition of unknown truths, and your general treatise on physics? I know you have already proceeded far with them. The first has already come to my knowledge, and the second I have become aware of from the Lemmas added to the second part of the Ethics; whereby many difficulties in physics are readily solved. If time and opportunity permit, I humbly beg from you a true definition of motion and its explanation; also to know how, seeing that extension in so far as it is conceived in itself is indivisible, immutable, &c., we can infer *à priori*, that there can arise so many varieties of it, and consequently the existence of figure in the particles of any given body, which are, nevertheless, in every body various, and distinct from the figures of the parts, which compose the reality of any other body. You have already, by word of mouth, pointed out to me a method, which you employ in the search for truths as yet unknown. I find this method to be very excellent, and at the same time very easy, in so far as I have formed an opinion on it, and I can assert that from this single discovery I have made great progress in mathematics. I wish therefore, that you would give me a true definition of an adequate, a true, a false, a fictitious, and a doubtful idea. I have been in search of the difference between a true and an adequate idea. Hitherto, however, I can ascertain nothing except after inquiring into a thing, and forming a certain concept or idea of it. I then (in order to elicit whether this true idea is also an adequate idea of its object) inquire, what is the cause of this idea or concept;

when this is ascertained, I again ask, What is the cause of this prior concept? and so I go on always inquiring for the causes of the causes of ideas, until I find a cause of such a kind, that I can not find any cause for it, except that among all the ideas which I can command this alone exists. If, for instance, we inquire the true origin of our errors, Descartes will answer, that it consists in our giving assent to things not yet clearly perceived. But supposing this to be the true idea of the thing, I nevertheless shall not yet be able to determine all things necessary to be known concerning it, unless I have also an adequate idea of the thing in question; in order to obtain such, therefore, I inquire into the cause of this concept, how it happens that we give assent to things not clearly understood — and I answer, that it arises from defective knowledge. But here I cannot inquire further, and ask what is the cause, that we are ignorant of certain things; hence I see that I have detected an adequate idea of the origin of our errors. Here meanwhile I ask you, whether, seeing that many things expressed in infinite modes have an adequate idea of themselves, and that from every adequate idea all that can be known of its object can be inferred, though more readily from some ideas than others, whether, I say, this may be the means of knowing which idea is to be preferred? For instance, one adequate idea of a circle consists in the equality of its radii; another adequate idea consists in the infinite right angles equal to one another, made by the intersection of two lines, &c., and thus we have infinite expressions, each giving the adequate nature of a circle, Now, though all the properties of a circle may be inferred from every one of them, they may be deduced much more easily from some than from others. So also he, who considers lines applied to curves, will be able to draw many conclusions as to the measurement of curves, but will do so more readily from the consideration of tangents, &c. Thus I have wished to indicate how far I have progressed in this study; I await perfection in it, or, if I am wrong on any point, correction; also the definition I asked for. Farewell.

5 Jan., 1675.

Benedict de Spinoza

Jan., 1675

The Hague

E. W. von Tschirnhausen

LETTER LXIV. Spinoza to * * * * *.



[THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN a true and an adequate idea is merely extrinsic, &c. The Hague, Jan., 1675.]

Honoured Sir. —

Between a true and an adequate idea, I recognize no difference, except that the epithet true only has regard to the agreement between the idea and its object, whereas the epithet adequate has regard to the nature of the idea in itself; so that in reality there is no difference between a true and an adequate idea beyond this extrinsic relation. However, in order that I may know, from which idea out of many all the properties of its object may be deduced, I pay attention to one point only, namely, that the idea or definition should express the efficient cause of its object. For instance, in inquiring into the properties of a circle, I ask, whether from the idea of a circle, that it consists of infinite right angles, I can deduce all its properties. I ask, I repeat, whether this idea involves the efficient cause of a circle. If it does not, I look for another, namely, that a circle is the space described by a line, of which one point is fixed, and the other movable. As this definition explains the efficient cause, I know that I can deduce from it all the properties of a circle. So, also, when I define God as a supremely perfect Being, then, since that definition does not express the efficient cause (I mean the efficient cause internal as well as external) I shall not be able to infer therefrom all the properties of God; as I can, when I define God as a Being, &c. (see Ethics, I. Def. vi.). As for your other inquiries, namely, that concerning motion, and those pertaining to method, my observations on them are not yet written out in due order, so I will reserve them for another occasion.

As regards your remark, that he “who considers lines applied to curves makes many deductions with regard to the measurement of curves, but does so with

greater facility from the consideration of tangents,” &c., I think that from the consideration of tangents many deductions will be made with more difficulty, than from the consideration of lines applied in succession; and I assert absolutely, that from certain properties of any particular thing (whatever idea be given) some things may be discovered more readily, others with more difficulty, though all are concerned with the nature of the thing. I think it need only be observed, that an idea should be sought for of such a kind, that all properties may be inferred, as has been said above. He, who is about to deduce all the properties of a particular thing, knows that the ultimate properties will necessarily be the most difficult to discover, &c.

G. H. Schaller

25 July, 1675

Amsterdam

Benedict de Spinoza

LETTER LXV. G. H. Schaller to Spinoza.



[SCHALLER ASKS FOR answers to four questions of his friend Tschirnhausen on the attributes of God, and mentions that Tschirnhausen has removed the unfavourable opinion of Spinoza lately conceived by Boyle and Oldenburg.]

Most distinguished and excellent Sir, —

I should blush for my silence, which has lasted so long, and has laid me open to the charge of ingratitude for your kindness extended to me beyond my merits, if I did not reflect that your generous courtesy inclines rather to excuse than to accuse, and also know that you devote your leisure, for the common good of your friends, to serious studies, which it would be harmful and injurious to disturb without due cause. For this reason I have been silent, and have meanwhile been content to hear from friends of your good health: I send you this letter to inform you, that our noble friend von Tschirnhausen is enjoying the same in England, and has three times in the letters he has sent me bidden me convey his kindest regards to the master, again bidding me request from you the solution of the following questions, and forward to him your hoped-for answer: would the master be pleased to convince him by positive proof, not by a reduction to the impossible, that we cannot know any attributes of God, save thought and extension? Further, whether it follows that creatures constituted under other attributes can form no idea of extension? If so, it would follow that there must be as many worlds as there are attributes of God. For instance, there would be as much room for extension in worlds affected by other attributes, as there actually exists of extension in our world. But as we perceive nothing save thought besides extension, so creatures in the other world would perceive nothing besides the attributes of that world and thought.

Secondly, as the understanding of God differs from our understanding as much in essence as in existence, it has, therefore, nothing in common with it; therefore (by Ethics, I. iii.) God's understanding cannot be the cause of our own.

Thirdly (in Ethics, I. x. note) you say, that nothing in nature is clearer than that every entity must be conceived under some attribute (this I thoroughly understand), and that the more it has of reality or being, the more attributes appertain to it. It seems to follow from this, that there are entities possessing three, four, or more attributes (though we gather from what has been demonstrated that every being consists only of two attributes, namely, a certain attribute of God and the idea of that attribute).

Fourthly, I should like to have examples of those things which are immediately produced by God, and those which are produced through the means of some infinite modification. Thought and extension seem to be of the former kind; understanding in thought and motion in extension seem to be of the latter.

And these are the points which our said friend von Tschirnhausen joins with me in wishing to have explained by your excellence, if perchance your spare time allows it. He further relates, that Mr. Boyle and Oldenburg had formed a strange idea of your personal character, but that he has not only removed it, but also given reasons, which have not only led them back to a most worthy and favourable opinion thereof, but also made them value most highly the Theologico-Political Treatise. Of this I have not ventured to inform you, because of your health. Be assured that I am, and live,

Most noble sir,

for every good office your most devoted servant,

G. H. Schaller.

Amsterdam,

25 July, 1675.

Mr. à Gent and J. Rieuwerts dutifully greet you.

Benedict de Spinoza

29 July, 1675

The Hague

E. W. von Tschirnhausen

LETTER LXVI. Spinoza to * * * * *.



[SPINOZA ANSWERS BY references to the first three books of the Ethics.]

Dear Sir, —

I am glad that you have at last had occasion to refresh me with one of your letters, always most welcome to me. I heartily beg that you will frequently repeat the favour, &c.

I proceed to consider your doubts: to the first I answer, that the human mind can only acquire knowledge of those things which the idea of a body actually existing involves, or of what can be inferred from such an idea. For the power of anything is defined solely by its essence (Ethics, III. vii.); the essence of the mind (Ethics, II. xiii.) consists solely in this, that it is the idea of body actually existing; therefore the mind's power of understanding only extends to things, which this idea of body contains in itself, or which follow therefrom. Now this idea of body does not involve or express any of God's attributes, save extension and thought. For its object (ideatum), namely, body (by Ethics, II. vi.), has God for its cause, in so far as He is regarded under the attribute of extension, and not in so far as He is regarded under any other; therefore (Ethics, I. ax. vi.) this idea of the body involves the knowledge of God, only in so far as He is regarded under the attribute of extension. Further, this idea, in so far as it is a mode of thinking, has also (by the same proposition) God for its cause, in so far as He is regarded as a thinking thing, and not in so far as He is regarded under any other attribute. Hence (by the same axiom) the idea of this idea involves the knowledge of God, in so far as He is regarded under the attribute of thought, and not in so far as He is regarded under any attribute. It is therefore plain, that the human mind, or the idea of the human body neither involves nor expresses any attributes of God save these two. Now from these two attributes, or their modifications, no other attribute of

God can (Ethics, I. x.) be inferred or conceived. I therefore conclude, that the human mind cannot attain knowledge of any attribute of God besides these, which is the proposition you inquire about. With regard to your question, whether there must be as many worlds as there are attributes, I refer you to Ethics II. vii. note.

Moreover this proposition might be proved more readily by a reduction to the absurd; I am accustomed, when the proposition is negative, to employ this mode of demonstration as more in character. However, as the question you ask is positive, I make use of the positive method, and ask, whether one thing can be produced from another, from which it differs both in essence and existence; for things which differ to this extent seem to have nothing in common. But since all particular things, except those which are produced from things similar to themselves, differ from their causes both in essence and existence, I see here no reason for doubt.

The sense in which I mean that God is the efficient cause of things, no less of their essence than of their existence, I think has been sufficiently explained in Ethics I. xxv. note and corollary. The axiom in the note to Ethics I. x., as I hinted at the end of the said note, is based on the idea which we have of a Being absolutely infinite, not on the fact, that there are or may be beings possessing three, four, or more attributes.

Lastly, the examples you ask for of the first kind are, in thought, absolutely infinite understanding; in extension, motion and rest; an example of the second kind is the sum of the whole extended universe (*facies totius universi*), which, though it varies in infinite modes, yet remains always the same. Cf. Ethics II. note to Lemma vii. before Prop. xiv.

Thus, most excellent Sir, I have answered, as I think, the objections of yourself and your friend. If you think any uncertainty remains, I hope you will not neglect to tell me, so that I may, if possible, remove it.

The Hague,

29 July, 1675.

E. W. von Tschirnhausen

12 Aug., 1675

London

Benedict de Spinoza

LETTER LXVII. * * * * to Spinoza.



[A FRESH INQUIRY as to whether there are two or more attributes of God.]

Distinguished Sir, —

I should like a demonstration of what you say: namely, that the soul cannot perceive any attributes of God, except extension and thought. Though this might appear evident to me, it seems possible that the contrary might be deduced from Ethics II. vii. note; perhaps because I do not rightly grasp the meaning of that passage. I have therefore resolved, distinguished Sir, to show you how I make the deduction, earnestly begging you to aid me with your usual courtesy, wherever I do not rightly represent your meaning. I reason as follows: — Though I gather that the universe is one, it is not less clear from the passage referred to, that it is expressed in infinite modes, and therefore that every individual thing is expressed in infinite modes. Hence it seems to follow, that the modification constituting my mind, and the modification constituting my body, though one and the same modification, is yet expressed in infinite ways — first, through thought; secondly, through extension; thirdly, through some attribute of God unknown to me, and so on to infinity, seeing that there are in God infinite attributes, and the order and connection of the modifications seem to be the same in all. Hence arises the question: Why the mind, which represents a certain modification, the same modification being expressed not only in extension, but in infinite other ways, — why, I repeat, does the mind perceive that modification only as expressed through extension, to wit, the human body, and not as expressed through any other attributes? Time does not allow me to pursue the subject further; perhaps my difficulties will be removed by further reflection.

London,

12 Aug., 1675.

Benedict de Spinoza

18 August, 1675

The Hague

E. W. von Tschirnhausen

LETTER LXVIII. Spinoza to * * * * *.



[IN THIS FRAGMENT of a letter Spinoza refers his friend to Ethics, I. x. and II. vii. note.]

Distinguished Sir, — . . . But in answer to your objection I say, that although each particular thing be expressed in infinite ways in the infinite understanding of God, yet those infinite ideas, whereby it is expressed, cannot constitute one and the same mind of a particular thing, but infinite minds; seeing that each of these infinite ideas has no connection with the rest, as I have explained in the same note to Ethics, II. vii., and as is also evident from I. x. If you will reflect on these passages a little, you will see that all difficulty vanishes, &c.

The Hague,

18 August, 1675.

G. H. Schaller

14 Nov., 1675

Amsterdam

Benedict de Spinoza

LETTER LXVIII.a. G. H. Schaller to Spinoza.



[SCHALLER RELATES TO Spinoza Tschirnhausen's doings in France, and letter to him, and makes known to Spinoza the answers contained in that letter to Spinoza's objections in Letter LXVIII. and the request of Leibnitz to see Spinoza's unpublished writings.]

Amsterdam,

14 Nov., 1675.

Most learned and excellent Master, my most venerable Patron, —

I hope that you duly received my letter with— 's method, and likewise, that you are up to the present time in good health, as I am.

But for three months I had no letter from our friend von Tschirnhausen, whence I formed sad conjectures that he had made a fatal journey, when he left England for France. Now that I have received a letter, in my fulness of joy I felt bound, according to his request, to communicate it to the Master, and to let you know, with his most dutiful greeting, that he has arrived safely in Paris, and found there Mr. Huygens, as we had told him, and consequently has in every way sought to please him, and is thus highly esteemed by him. He mentioned, that the Master had recommended to him Huygens's conversation, and made very much of him personally. This greatly pleased Huygens; so he answered that he likewise greatly esteemed you personally, and he has now received from you a copy of the Theologico-Political Treatise, which is esteemed by many there, and it is eagerly inquired, whether there are extant any more of the same writer's works. To this Mr. von Tschirnhausen replied that he knew of none but the Demonstrations in the first and second parts of the Cartesian Principles. But he mentioned nothing about the Master, but what I have said, and so he hopes that he has not displeased you herein.

To the objection that you last made he replies, that those few words which I wrote at the Master's dictation, explained to him your meaning more thoroughly, and that he has favourably entertained the said reasonings (for by these two methods they best admit of explanation). But two reasons have obliged him to continue in the opinion implied in his recent objection. Of these the first is, that otherwise there appears to be a contradiction between the fifth and seventh propositions of the second book. For in the former of these it is laid down, that the objects of ideas are the efficient causes of the ideas, which yet seems to be refuted by the quotation, in the proof of the latter, of the fourth axiom of Part I. "Or, as I rather think, I do not make the right application of this axiom according to the author's intention, which I would most willingly be told by him, if his leisure permits it. The second cause which prevented me from following the explanation he gives was, that thereby the attribute of thought is pronounced to extend much more widely than other attributes. But since every one of the attributes contributes to make up the essence of God, I do not quite see how this fact does not contradict the opinion just stated. I will say just this more, that if I may judge the minds of others by my own, there will be great difficulty in understanding the seventh and eighth propositions of Book II., and this for no other reason than that the author has been pleased (doubtless because they seemed so plain to him) to accompany the demonstrations annexed to them with such short and laconic explanations."

He further mentions, that he has found at Paris a man called Leibnitz, remarkably learned, and most skilled in various sciences, as also free from the vulgar prejudices of theology. With him he has formed an intimate acquaintance, founded on the fact that Leibnitz labours with him to pursue the perfection of the intellect, and, in fact, reckons nothing better or more useful. Von Tschirnhausen says, that he is most practised in ethics, and speaks without any stimulus of the passions by the sole dictate of reason. He adds, that he is most skilled in physics, and also in metaphysical studies concerning God and the soul. Finally, he

concludes that he is most worthy of having communicated to him the Master's writings, if you will first give your permission, for he believes that the author will thence gain a great advantage, as he promises to show at length, if the Master be so pleased. But if not, do not doubt, in the least, that he will honourably keep them concealed as he has promised, as in fact he has not made the slightest mention of them. Leibnitz also highly values the Theologico-Political Treatise, on the subject of which he once wrote the Master a letter, if he is not mistaken. And therefore I would beg my Master, that, unless there is some reason against him, you will not refuse your permission in accordance with your gracious kindness, but will, if possible, open your mind to me, as soon as may be, for after receiving your answers I shall be able to reply to our friend von Tschirnhausen, which I would gladly do on Tuesday evening, unless important hindrances cause my Master to delay.

Mr. Bresser, on his return from Cleves, has sent here a large quantity of the beer of that country; I suggested to him that he should make a present to the Master of half a tun, which he promised to do, and added a most friendly greeting.

Finally, excuse my unpractised style and hurried writing, and give me your orders, that I may have a real occasion of proving myself, most excellent Sir,

Your most ready servant,

G. H. Schaller.

Benedict de Spinoza

18 Nov., 1675

The Hague

G. H. Schaller

LETTER LXVIII.b. Spinoza to Schaller.



[SPINOZA ANSWERS ALL the points in Schaller's letter, and hesitates to entrust his writings to Leibnitz.]

Most experienced Sir, and valued Friend, —

I was much pleased to learn from your letter, received to-day, that you are well, and that our friend von Tschirnhausen has happily accomplished his journey to France. In the conversation which he had about me with Mr. Huygens, he behaved, at least in my opinion, very judiciously; and besides, I am very glad that he has found so convenient an opportunity for the purpose which he intended. But what it is he has found in the fourth axiom of Part I. that seems to contradict Proposition v. of Part II. I do not see. For in that proposition it is affirmed, that the essence of every idea has for its cause God, in so far as He is considered as a thinking thing; but in that axiom, that the knowledge or idea of a cause depends on the knowledge or idea of an effect. But, to tell the truth, I do not quite follow, in this matter, the meaning of your letter, and suspect that either in it, or in his copy of the book, there is a slip of the pen. For you write, that it is affirmed in Proposition v. that the objects of ideas are the efficient causes of the ideas, whereas this is exactly what is expressly denied in that proposition, and I now think that this is the cause of the whole confusion. Accordingly it would be useless for me at present to try to write at greater length on this subject, but I must wait, till you explain to me his mind more clearly, and till I know whether he has a correct copy. I believe that I have an epistolary acquaintance with the Leibnitz he mentions. But why he, who was a counsellor at Frankfort, has gone to France, I do not know. As far as I could conjecture from his letters, he seemed to me a man of liberal mind, and versed in every science. But yet I think it imprudent so soon to entrust my writings to him. I should like first to know what is his business

in France, and the judgment of our friend von Tschirnhausen, when he has been longer in his company, and knows his character more intimately. However, greet that friend of ours in my name, and let him command me what he pleases, if in anything I can be of service to him, and he will find me most ready to obey him in everything.

I congratulate my most worthy friend Mr. Bresser on his arrival or return, and also thank him heartily for the promised beer, and will requite him, too, in any way that I can. Lastly, I have not yet tried to find out your relation's method, nor do I think that I shall be able to apply my mind to trying it. For the more I think over the thing in itself, the more I am persuaded that you have not made gold, but had not sufficiently eliminated that which was hidden in the antimony. But more of this another time: at present I am prevented by want of leisure. In the meanwhile, if in anything I can assist you, you will always find me, most excellent Sir, your friend and devoted servant,

B. de Spinoza.

The Hague,

18 Nov., 1675.

E. W. von Tschirnhausen

2 May, 1676

Benedict de Spinoza

LETTER LXIX. * * * * to Spinoza.



[THE WRITER ASKS for explanations of some passages in the letter about the infinite .]

Distinguished Sir, —

In the first place I can with great difficulty conceive, how it can be proved, à priori, that bodies exist having motion and figure, seeing that, in extension considered absolutely in itself, nothing of the kind is met with. Secondly, I should like to learn from you, how this passage in your letter on the infinite is to be understood:— “They do not hence infer that such things elude number by the multitude of their component parts.” For, as a matter of fact, all mathematicians seem to me always to demonstrate, with regard to such infinities, that the number of the parts is so great, as to elude all expression in terms of number. And in the example you give of the two circles, you do not appear to prove this statement, which was yet what you had undertaken to do. For in this second passage you only show, that they do not draw this conclusion from “the excessive size of the intervening space,” or from the fact that “we do not know the maximum and the minimum of the said space;” but you do not demonstrate, as you intended, that the conclusion is not based on the multitude of parts, &c.

2 May, 1676.

Benedict de Spinoza

5 May, 1676

The Hague

E. W. von Tschirnhausen

LETTER LXX. Spinoza to * * * * *



[SPINOZA EXPLAINS HIS view of the infinite.]

Distinguished Sir, —

My statement concerning the infinite, that an infinity of parts cannot be inferred from a multitude of parts, is plain when we consider that, if such a conclusion could be drawn from a multitude of parts, we should not be able to imagine a greater multitude of parts; the first-named multitude, whatever it was, would have to be the greater, which is contrary to fact. For in the whole space between two non-concentric circles we conceive a greater multitude of parts than in half that space, yet the number of parts in the half, as in the whole of the space, exceeds any assignable number. Again, from extension, as Descartes conceives it, to wit, a quiescent mass, it is not only difficult, as you say, but absolutely impossible to prove the existence of bodies. For matter at rest, as it is in itself, will continue at rest, and will only be determined to motion by some more powerful external cause; for this reason I have not hesitated on a former occasion to affirm, that the Cartesian principles of natural things are useless, not to say absurd.

The Hague,
5 May, 1676.

E. W. von Tschirnhausen
23 June, 1676
Paris
Benedict de Spinoza

LETTER LXXI. * * * * to Spinoza.



[HOW CAN THE variety of the universe be shown à priori from the Spinozistic conception of extension?]

Most learned Sir, —

I wish you would gratify me in this matter by pointing out how, from the conception of extension, as you give it, the variety of the universe can be shown à priori. You recall the opinion of Descartes, wherein he asserts, that this variety can only be deduced from extension, by supposing that, when motion was started by God, it caused this effect in extension. Now it appears to me, that he does not deduce the existence of bodies from matter at rest, unless, perhaps, you count as nothing the assumption of God as a motive power; you have not shown how such an effect must, à priori, necessarily follow from the nature of God. A difficulty which Descartes professed himself unable to solve as being beyond human understanding. I therefore ask you the question, knowing that you have other thoughts on the matter, unless perhaps there be some weighty cause for your unwillingness hitherto to disclose your opinion. If this, as I suppose, be not expedient, give me some hint of your meaning. You may rest assured, that whether you speak openly with me, or whether you employ reserve, my regard for you will remain unchanged.

My special reasons for making the requests are as follows: — I have always observed in mathematics, that from a given thing considered in itself, that is, from the definition of a given thing, we can only deduce a single property; if, however, we require to find several properties, we are obliged to place the thing defined in relation to other things. Then from the conjunction of the definitions of these things new properties result. For instance, if I regard the circumference of a circle by itself, I can only infer that it is everywhere alike or uniform, in which property

it differs essentially from all other curves; I shall never be able to infer any other properties. But if I place it in relation with other things, such as the radii drawn from the centre, two intersecting lines, or many others, I shall be able hence to deduce many properties; this seems to be in opposition to Prop. xvi. of your Ethics, almost the principal proposition of the first book of your treatise. For it is there assumed as known, that from the given definition of anything several properties can be deduced. This seems to me impossible, unless we bring the thing defined into relation with other things; and further, I am for this reason unable to see, how from any attribute regarded singly, for instance, infinite extension, a variety of bodies can result; if you think that this conclusion cannot be drawn from one attribute considered by itself, but from all taken together, I should like to be instructed by you on the point, and shown how it should be conceived. — Farewell, &c.

Paris,

23 June, 1676.

Benedict de Spinoza

15 July, 1676

The Hague

E. W. von Tschirnhausen

LETTER LXXII. Spinoza to * * * *



[SPINOZA GIVES THE required explanation. Mentions the treatise of Huet, &c.]

Distinguished Sir, —

With regard to your question as to whether the variety of the universe can be deduced à priori from the conception of extension only, I believe I have shown clearly enough already that it cannot; and that, therefore, matter has been ill-defined by Descartes as extension; it must necessarily be explained through an attribute, which expresses eternal and infinite essence. But perhaps, some day, if my life be prolonged, I may discuss the subject with you more clearly. For hitherto I have not been able to put any of these matters into due order.

As to what you add; namely, that from the definition of a given thing considered in itself we can only deduce a single property, this is, perhaps, true in the case of very simple things (among which I count figures), but not in realities. For, from the fact alone, that I define God as a Being to whose essence belongs existence, I infer several of His properties; namely, that He necessarily exists, that He is One, unchangeable, infinite, &c. I could adduce several other examples, which, for the present, I pass over.

In conclusion, I ask you to inquire, whether Huet's treatise (against the "Tractatus Theologico-Politicus") about which I wrote to you before, has yet been published, and whether you could send me a copy. Also, whether you yet know, what are the new discoveries about refraction. And so farewell, dear Sir, and continue to regard yours, &c.

The Hague,

15 July, 1676.

Albert Burgh

Sept. 3, 1675

Florence

Benedict de Spinoza

LETTER LXXIII. Albert Burgh to Spinoza.



[ALBERT BURGH ANNOUNCES his reception into the Romish Church, and exhorts Spinoza to follow his example.]

I promised to write to you on leaving my country, if anything noteworthy occurred on the journey. I take the opportunity which offers of an event of the utmost importance, to redeem my engagement, by informing you that I have, by God's infinite mercy, been received into the Catholic Church and made a member of the same. You may learn the particulars of the step from a letter which I have sent to the distinguished and accomplished Professor Craanen of Leyden. I will here subjoin a few remarks for your special benefit.

Even as formerly I admired you for the subtlety and keenness of your natural gifts, so now do I bewail and deplore you; inasmuch as being by nature most talented, and adorned by God with extraordinary gifts; being a lover, nay a coveter of the truth, you yet allow yourself to be ensnared and deceived by that most wretched and most proud of beings, the prince of evil spirits. As for all your philosophy, what is it but a mere illusion and chimera? Yet to it you entrust not only your peace of mind in this life, but the salvation of your soul for eternity. See on what a wretched foundation all your doctrines rest. You assume that you have at length discovered the true philosophy. How do you know that your philosophy is the best of all that ever have been taught in the world, are now being taught, or ever shall be taught? Passing over what may be devised in the future, have you examined all the philosophies, ancient as well as modern, which are taught here, and in India, and everywhere throughout the whole world? Even if you have duly examined them, how do you know that you have chosen the best? You will say: "My philosophy is in harmony with right reason; other philosophies are not." But all other philosophers except your own followers disagree with you, and with

equal right say of their philosophy what you say of yours, accusing you, as you do them, of falsity and error. It is, therefore, plain, that before the truth of your philosophy can come to light, reasons must be advanced, which are not common to other philosophies, but apply solely to your own; or else you must admit that your philosophy is as uncertain and nugatory as the rest.

However, restricting myself for the present to that book of yours with an impious title, and mingling your philosophy with your theology, as in reality you mingle them yourself, though with diabolic cunning you endeavour to maintain, that each is separate from the other, and has different principles, I thus proceed.

Perhaps you will say: "Others have not read Holy Scripture so often as I have; and it is from Holy Scripture, the acknowledgment of which distinguishes Christians from the rest of the world, that I prove my doctrines. But how? By comparing the clear passages with the more obscure I explain Holy Scripture, and out of my interpretations I frame dogmas, or else confirm those which are already concocted in my brain." But, I adjure you, reflect seriously on what you say. How do you know, that you have made a right application of your method, or again that your method is sufficient for the interpretation of Scripture, and that you are thus interpreting Scripture aright, especially as the Catholics say, and most truly, that the universal Word of God is not handed down to us in writing, hence that Holy Scripture cannot be explained through itself, I will not say by one man, but by the Church herself, who is the sole authorized interpreter? The Apostolic traditions must likewise be consulted, as is proved by the testimony of Holy Scripture and the Holy Fathers, and as reason and experience suggest. Thus, as your first principles are most false and lead to destruction, what will become of all your doctrine, built up and supported on so rotten a foundation?

Wherefore, if you believe in Christ crucified, acknowledge your pestilent heresy, reflect on the perverseness of your nature, and be reconciled with the Church.

How do your proofs differ from those of all heretics, who ever have left, are now leaving, or shall in future leave God's Church? All, like yourself, make use

of the same principle, to wit, Holy Scripture taken by itself, for the concoction and establishment of their doctrines.

Do not flatter yourself with the thought, that neither the Calvinists, it may be, nor the so-called Reformed Church, nor the Lutherans, nor the Mennonites, nor the Socinians, &c., can refute your doctrines. All these, as I have said, are as wretched as yourself, and like you are dwelling in the shadow of death.

If you do not believe in Christ, you are more wretched than I can express. Yet the remedy is easy. Turn away from your sins, and consider the deadly arrogance of your wretched and insane reasoning. You do not believe in Christ. Why? You will say: "Because the teaching and the life of Christ, and also the Christian teaching concerning Christ are not at all in harmony with my teaching." But again, I say, then you dare to think yourself greater than all those who have ever risen up in the State or Church of God, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, doctors, confessors, and holy virgins innumerable, yea, in your blasphemy, than Christ himself. Do you alone surpass all these in doctrine, in manner of life, in every respect? Will you, wretched pigmy, vile worm of the earth, yea, ashes, food of worms, will you in your unspeakable blasphemy, dare to put yourself before the incarnate, infinite wisdom of the Eternal Father? Will you, alone, consider yourself wiser and greater than all those, who from the beginning of the world have been in the Church of God, and have believed, or believe still, that Christ would come or has already come? On what do you base this rash, insane, deplorable, and inexcusable arrogance?

* * * * *

If you cannot pronounce on what I have just been enumerating (divining rods, alchemy, &c.), why, wretched man, are you so puffed up with diabolical pride, as to pass rash judgment on the awful mysteries of Christ's life and passion, which the Catholics themselves in their teaching declare to be incomprehensible? Why do you commit the further insanity of silly and futile carping at the numberless

miracles and signs, which have been wrought through the virtue of Almighty God by the apostles and disciples of Christ, and afterwards by so many thousand saints, in testimony to, and confirmation of the truth of the Catholic faith; yea, which are being wrought in our own time in cases without number throughout the world, by God's almighty goodness and mercy? If you cannot gainsay these, and surely you cannot, why stand aloof any longer? Join hands of fellowship, and repent from your sins: put on humility, and be born again.

[Albert Burgh requests Spinoza to consider: (i.) The large number of believers in the Romish faith. (ii.) The uninterrupted succession of the Church. (iii.) The fact that a few unlearned men converted the world to Christianity. (iv.) The antiquity, the immutability, the infallibility, the incorruption, the unity, and the vast extent of the Catholic Religion; also the fact, that secession from it involves damnation, and that it will itself endure as long as the world. (v.) The admirable organization of the Romish Church. (vi.) The superior morality of Catholics. (vii.) The frequent cases of recantation of opinions among heretics. (viii.) The miserable life led by atheists, whatever their outward demeanour may be.] * * * *

I have written this letter to you with intentions truly Christian; first, in order to show the love I bear to you, though you are a heathen; secondly, in order to beg you not to persist in converting others.

I therefore will thus conclude: God is willing to snatch your soul from eternal damnation, if you will allow Him. Do not doubt that the Master, who has called you so often through others, is now calling you for the last time through me, who having obtained grace from the ineffable mercy of God Himself, beg the same for you with my whole heart. Do not deny me. For if you do not now give ear to God who calls you, the wrath of the Lord will be kindled against you, and there is a danger of your being abandoned by His infinite mercy, and becoming a wretched victim of the Divine Justice which consumes all things in wrath. Such a fate may Almighty God avert for the greater glory of His name, and for the salvation of your soul, also for a salutary example for the imitation of your most unfortunate and idolatrous followers, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Who with

the Eternal Father liveth and reigneth in the Unity of the Holy Spirit, God for all Eternity. Amen.

Florence, III. Non. Sept. CIOIOCLXXV. (
Sept. 3, 1675.)

Benedict de Spinoza

1675

The Hague

Albert Burgh

LETTER LXXIV. Spinoza to Albert Burgh.



[SPINOZA LAMENTS THE step taken by his pupil, and answers his arguments. The Hague, end of 1675.]

That, which I could scarcely believe when told me by others, I learn at last from your own letter; not only have you been made a member of the Romish Church, but you are become a very keen champion of the same, and have already learned wantonly to insult and rail against your opponents.

At first I resolved to leave your letter unanswered, thinking that time and experience will assuredly be of more avail than reasoning, to restore you to yourself and your friends; not to mention other arguments, which won your approval formerly, when we were discussing the case of Steno, in whose steps you are now following. But some of my friends, who like myself had formed great hopes from your superior talents, strenuously urge me not to fail in the offices of a friend, but to consider what you lately were, rather than what you are, with other arguments of the like nature. I have thus been induced to write you this short reply, which I earnestly beg you will think worthy of calm perusal.

I will not imitate those adversaries of Romanism, who would set forth the vices of priests and popes with a view to kindling your aversion. Such considerations are often put forward from evil and unworthy motives, and tend rather to irritate than to instruct. I will even admit, that more men of learning and of blameless life are found in the Romish Church than in any other Christian body; for, as it contains more members, so will every type of character be more largely represented in it. You cannot possibly deny, unless you have lost your memory as well as your reason, that in every Church there are thoroughly honourable men, who worship God with justice and charity. We have known many such among the Lutherans, the Reformed Church, the Mennonites, and the

Enthusiasts. Not to go further, you knew your own relations, who in the time of the Duke of Alva suffered every kind of torture bravely and willingly for the sake of their religion. In fact, you must admit, that personal holiness is not peculiar to the Romish Church, but common to all Churches.

As it is by this, that we know “that we dwell in God and He in us” (1 Ep. John, iv. 13), it follows, that what distinguishes the Romish Church from others must be something entirely superfluous, and therefore founded solely on superstition. For, as John says, justice and charity are the one sure sign of the true Catholic faith, and the true fruits of the Holy Spirit. Wherever they are found, there in truth is Christ; wherever they are absent, Christ is absent also. For only by the Spirit of Christ can we be led to the love of justice and charity. Had you been willing to reflect on these points, you would not have ruined yourself, nor have brought deep affliction on your relations, who are now sorrowfully bewailing your evil case.

But I return to your letter, which you begin, by lamenting that I allow myself to be ensnared by the prince of evil spirits. Pray take heart, and recollect yourself. When you had the use of your faculties, you were wont, if I mistake not, to worship an Infinite God, by Whose efficacy all things absolutely come to pass and are preserved; now you dream of a prince, God’s enemy, who against God’s will ensnares and deceives very many men (rarely good ones, to be sure), whom God thereupon hands over to this master of wickedness to be tortured eternally. The Divine justice therefore allows the devil to deceive men and remain unpunished; but it by no means allows to remain unpunished the men, who have been by that self-same devil miserably deceived and ensnared.

These absurdities might so far be tolerated, if you worshipped a God infinite and eternal; not one whom Chastillon, in the town which the Dutch call Tienen, gave with impunity to horses to be eaten. And, poor wretch, you bewail me? My philosophy, which you never beheld, you style a chimera? O youth deprived of understanding, who has bewitched you into believing, that the Supreme and Eternal is eaten by you, and held in your intestines?

Yet you seem to wish to employ reason, and ask me, “How I know that my philosophy is the best among all that have ever been taught in the world, or are being taught, or ever will be taught?” a question which I might with much greater right ask you; for I do not presume that I have found the best philosophy, I know that I understand the true philosophy. If you ask in what way I know it, I answer: In the same way as you know that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles: that this is sufficient, will be denied by no one whose brain is sound, and who does not go dreaming of evil spirits inspiring us with false ideas like the true. For the truth is the index of itself and of what is false.

But you, who presume that you have at last found the best religion, or rather the best men, on whom you have pinned your credulity, you, “who know that they are the best among all who have taught, do now teach, or shall in future teach other religions. Have you examined all religions, ancient as well as modern, taught here and in India and everywhere throughout the world? And, if you have duly examined them, how do you know that you have chosen the best” since you can give no reason for the faith that is in you? But you will say, that you acquiesce in the inward testimony of the Spirit of God, while the rest of mankind are ensnared and deceived by the prince of evil spirits. But all those outside the pale of the Romish Church can with equal right proclaim of their own creed what you proclaim of yours.

As to what you add of the common consent of myriads of men and the uninterrupted ecclesiastical succession, this is the very catch-word of the Pharisees. They with no less confidence than the devotees of Rome bring forward their myriad witnesses, who as pertinaciously as the Roman witnesses repeat what they have heard, as though it were their personal experience. Further, they carry back their line to Adam. They boast with equal arrogance, that their Church has continued to this day unmoved and unimpaired in spite of the hatred of Christians and heathen. They more than any other sect are supported by antiquity. They exclaim with one voice, that they have received their traditions from God Himself, and that they alone preserve the Word of God both written and

unwritten. That all heresies have issued from them, and that they have remained constant through thousands of years under no constraint of temporal dominion, but by the sole efficacy of their superstition, no one can deny. The miracles they tell of would tire a thousand tongues. But their chief boast is, that they count a far greater number of martyrs than any other nation, a number which is daily increased by those who suffer with singular constancy for the faith they profess; nor is their boasting false. I myself knew among others of a certain Judah called the faithful, who in the midst of the flames, when he was already thought to be dead, lifted his voice to sing the hymn beginning, “To Thee, O God, I offer up my soul,” and so singing perished.

The organization of the Roman Church, which you so greatly praise, I confess to be politic, and to many lucrative. I should believe that there was no other more convenient for deceiving the people and keeping men’s minds in check, if it were not for the organization of the Mahometan Church, which far surpasses it. For from the time when this superstition arose, there has been no schism in its church.

If, therefore, you had rightly judged, you would have seen that only your third point tells in favour of the Christians, namely, that unlearned and common men should have been able to convert nearly the whole world to a belief in Christ. But this reason militates not only for the Romish Church, but for all those who profess the name of Christ.

But assume that all the reasons you bring forward tell in favour solely of the Romish Church. Do you think that you can thereby prove mathematically the authority of that Church? As the case is far otherwise, why do you wish me to believe that my demonstrations are inspired by the prince of evil spirits, while your own are inspired by God, especially as I see, and as your letter clearly shows, that you have been led to become a devotee of this Church not by your love of God, but by your fear of hell, the single cause of superstition? Is this your humility, that you trust nothing to yourself, but everything to others, who are condemned by many of their fellow men? Do you set it down to pride and arrogance, that I employ reason and acquiesce in this true Word of God, which is

in the mind and can never be depraved or corrupted? Cast away this deadly superstition, acknowledge the reason which God has given you, and follow that, unless you would be numbered with the brutes. Cease, I say, to call ridiculous errors mysteries, and do not basely confound those things which are unknown to us, or have not yet been discovered, with what is proved to be absurd, like the horrible secrets of this Church of yours, which, in proportion as they are repugnant to right reason, you believe to transcend the understanding.

But the fundamental principle of the “*Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*,” that Scripture should only be expounded through Scripture, which you so wantonly without any reason proclaim to be false, is not merely assumed, but categorically proved to be true or sound; especially in chapter vii., where also the opinions of adversaries are confuted; see also what is proved at the end of chapter xv. If you will reflect on these things, and also examine the history of the Church (of which I see you are completely ignorant), in order to see how false, in many respects, is Papal tradition, and by what course of events and with what cunning the Pope of Rome six hundred years after Christ obtained supremacy over the Church, I do not doubt that you will eventually return to your senses. That this result may come to pass I, for your sake, heartily wish. Farewell, &c.

Benedict de Spinoza

Utrecht

Lambert van Velthuysen

LETTER LXXV. Spinoza to Lambert van Velthuysen (Doctor of Medicine at Utrecht.)



[OF THE PROPOSED annotation of the “Tractatus Theologico-Politicus.”]

Most excellent and distinguished Sir, —

I wonder at our friend Neustadt having said, that I am meditating the refutation of the various writings circulated against my book, and that among the works for me to refute he places your MS. For I certainly have never entertained the intention of refuting any of my adversaries: they all seem to me utterly unworthy of being answered. I do not remember to have said to Mr. Neustadt anything more, than that I proposed to illustrate some of the obscurer passages in the treatise with notes, and that I should add to these your MS., and my answer, if your consent could be gained, on which last point I begged him to speak to you, adding, that if you refused permission on the ground, that some of the observations in my answer were too harshly put, you should be given full power to modify or expunge them. In the meanwhile, I am by no means angry with Mr. Neustadt, but I wanted to put the matter before you as it stands, that if your permission be not granted, I might show you that I have no wish to publish your MS. against your will. Though I think it might be issued without endangering your reputation, if it appears without your name, I will take no steps in the matter, unless you give me leave. But, to tell the truth, you would do me a far greater kindness, if you would put in writing the arguments with which you think you can impugn my treatise, and add them to your MS. I most earnestly beg you to do this. For there is no one whose arguments I would more willingly consider; knowing, as I do, that you are bound solely by your zeal for truth, and that your mind is singularly candid, I therefore beg you again and again, not to shrink from undertaking this task, and to believe me, Yours most obediently,

B. de Spinoza.

The Criticism



'Street in The Hague' by Sybrand van Beest, c. 1650 — in 1670, Spinoza moved to The Hague where he lived on a small pension from Jan de Witt and a small annuity from the brother of his dead friend, Simon de Vries.

The Relationship of Substantiality by G. W. F. Hegel



From 'The Logic of Hegel', translated by William Wallace

Substance is accordingly the totality of the Accidents, revealing itself in them as their absolute negativity (that is to say, as absolute power) and at the same time as the wealth of all content. This content however is nothing but that very revelation, since the character (being reflected in itself to make content) is only a passing stage of the form which passes away in the power of substance. Substantiality is the absolute form-activity and the power of necessity: all content is but a vanishing element which merely belongs to this position, where there is an absolute revulsion of form and content into one another.

In the history of philosophy we meet with Substance as the principle of Spinoza's system. On the import and value of this much-praised and no-less decried philosophy there has been great misunderstanding and a deal of talking since the days of Spinoza. The atheism, and as a further charge, the pantheism of the system has formed the commonest ground of accusation. These cries arise because of Spinoza's conception of God as substance, and substance only. What we are to think of this charge follows, in the first instance, from the place which substance takes in the system of the logical idea. Though an essential stage in the evolution of the idea, substance is not the same with absolute idea, but the idea under the still limited form of necessity.

It is true that God is necessity, or, as we may also put it, that he is the absolute Thing: he is however no less the absolute Person. That he is the absolute Person however is a point which the philosophy of Spinoza never reached: and on that side it falls short of the true notion of God which forms the content of religious

consciousness in Christianity. Spinoza was by descent a Jew; and it is upon the whole the Oriental way of seeing things, according to which the nature of the finite world seems frail and transient, that has found its intellectual expression in his system. This Oriental view of the unity of substance certainly gives the basis for all real further development. Still it is not the final idea. It is marked by the absence of the principle of the Western world, the principle of individuality, which first appeared under a philosophic shape, contemporaneously with Spinoza, in the Monadology of Leibnitz.

From this point we glance back to the alleged atheism of Spinoza. The charge will be seen to be unfounded if we remember that his system, instead of denying God, rather recognises that he alone really is. Nor can it be maintained that the God of Spinoza, although he is described as alone true, is not the true God, and therefore as good as no God. If that were a just charge, it would only prove that all other systems, where speculation has not gone beyond a subordinate stage of the idea — that the Jews and Mohammedans who know God only as the Lord — and that even the many Christians for whom God is merely the most high, unknowable, and transcendent being, are as much atheists as Spinoza. The so-called atheism of Spinoza is merely an exaggeration of the fact that he defrauds the principle of difference or finitude of its due. Hence his system, as it holds that there is properly speaking no world, at any rate that the world has no positive being, should rather be styled Acosmism. These considerations will also show what is to be said of the charge of Pantheism. If Pantheism means, as it often does, the doctrine which takes finite things in their finitude and in the complex of them to be God, we must acquit the system of Spinoza of the crime of Pantheism. For in that system, finite things and the world as a whole are denied all truth. On the other hand, the philosophy which is Acosmism is for that reason certainly pantheistic.

The shortcoming thus acknowledged to attach to the content turns out at the same time to be a shortcoming in respect of form. Spinoza puts substance at the head of his system, and defines it to be the unity of thought and extension,

without demonstrating how he gets to this distinction, or how he traces it back to the unity of substance. The further treatment of the subject proceeds in what is called the mathematical method. Definitions and axioms are first laid down: after them comes a series of theorems, which are proved by an analytical reduction of them to these unproved postulates. Although the system of Spinoza, and that even by those who altogether reject its contents and results, is praised for the strict sequence of its method, such unqualified praise of the form is as little justified as an unqualified rejection of the content. The defect of the content is that the form is not known as immanent in it, and therefore only approaches it as an outer and subjective form. As intuitively accepted by Spinoza without a previous mediation by dialectic, Substance, as the universal negative power, is as it were a dark shapeless abyss which engulfs all definite content as radically null, and produces from itself nothing that has a positive subsistence of its own.

§ 152

At the stage where substance, as absolute power, is the self-relating power (itself a merely inner possibility), which thus determines itself to accidentality — from which power the externality it thereby creates is distinguished — necessity is a correlation strictly so called, just as in the first form of necessity it is substance. This is the correlation of Causality.

(b) The Relationship of Causality

§ 153

Substance is Cause, in so far as substance reflects into self as against its passage into accidentality and so stands as the *primary* fact, but again no less suspends this reflection-into-self (its bare possibility), lays itself down as the negative of itself, and thus produces an Effect, an actuality, which, though so far only assumed as a sequence, is through the process that effectuates it at the same time necessary.

As primary fact, the cause is qualified as having absolute independence, and a subsistence maintained in face of the effect: but in the necessity, whose identity constitutes that primariness itself, it is wholly passed into the effect. So far again as we can speak of a definite content, there is no content that is not in the cause. That identity in fact is the absolute content itself: but it is no less also the form-characteristic. The primariness of the cause is suspended in the effect in which the cause makes itself a dependent being. The cause however does not for that reason vanish and leave the effect to be alone actual. For this dependency is in like manner directly suspended, and is rather the reflection of the cause in itself, its primariness: in short, it is in the effect that the cause first becomes actual and a cause. The cause consequently is in its full truth *causa sui*. Jacobi, sticking to the partial conception of mediation (in his *Letters on Spinoza*), has treated the *causa sui* (and the *effectus sui* is the same), which is the absolute truth of the cause, as a mere formalism. He has also made the remark that God ought to be defined not as the ground of things, but essentially as cause. A more thorough consideration of the nature of cause would have shown that Jacobi did not by this means gain what he intended. Even in the finite cause and its conception we can see this identity between cause and effect in point of content. The rain (the cause) and the wet (the effect) are the self-same existing water. In point of form the cause (rain) is dissipated or lost in the effect (wet): but in that case the result can no longer be described as effect; for without the cause it is nothing, and we should have only the unrelated wet left.

In the common acceptance of the causal relation the cause is finite, to such extent as its content is so (as is the case with finite substance), and so far as cause and effect are conceived as two several independent existences: which they are, however, only when we leave the causal relation out of sight. In the finite sphere we never get over the difference of the form-characteristics in their relation: and hence we turn the matter around and define the cause also as something dependent or as an effect. This again has another cause, and thus there grows up a progress from effects to causes *ad infinitum*. There is a descending progress too:

the effect, looked at in its identity with the cause, is itself defined as a cause, and at the same time as another cause, which again has other effects, and so on for ever.

The way understanding bristles up against the idea of substance is equalled by its readiness to use the relation of cause and effect. Whenever it is proposed to view any sum of facts as necessary, it is especially the relation of causality to which the reflective understanding makes a point of tracing of it back. Now, although this relation does undoubtedly belong to necessity, it forms only one aspect in the process of that category. That process equally requires the suspension of the mediation involved in causality and the exhibition of it as simple self-relation. If we stick to causality as such, we have it not in its truth. Such a causality is merely finite, and its finitude lies in retaining the distinction between cause and effect unassimilated. But these two terms, if they are distinct, are also identical. Even in ordinary consciousness that identity may be found. We say that a cause is a cause, only where it has an effect, and vice versa. Both cause and effect are thus one and the same content: and the distinction between them is primarily only that the one lays down, and the other is laid down. This formal difference however again suspends itself, because the cause is not only a cause of something else, but also a cause of itself; while the effect is not only an effect of something else, but also an effect of itself. The finitude of things consists accordingly in this. While cause and effect are in their motion identical, the two forms present themselves severed so that, though the cause is also an effect, and the effect also a cause, the cause is not an effect in the same connection as it is an effect. This again gives the infinite progress, in the shape of an endless series of causes, which shows itself at the same time as an endless series of effects.

Action and Reaction

§ 154

The effect is different from the cause. The former as such has a being dependent on the latter. But such a dependence is likewise reflection-into-self and immediacy: and the action of the cause, as it constitutes the effect, is at the same time the pre-constitution of the effect, so long as effect is kept separate from cause. There is already in existence another substance on which the effect takes place. As immediate, this substance is not a self-related negativity and active, but passive. Yet it is a substance, and it is therefore active also: it therefore suspends the immediacy it was originally put forward with, and the effect which was put into it: it reacts, i.e. suspends the activity of the first substance. But this first substance also in the same way sets aside its own immediacy, or the effect which is put into it; it thus suspends the activity of the other substance and reacts. In this manner causality passes into the relation of Action and Reaction, or Reciprocity.

In Reciprocity, although causality is not yet invested with its true characteristic, the rectilinear movement out from causes to effects, and from effects to causes, is bent round and back into Itself, and thus the progress *ad infinitum* of causes and effects is, as a progress, really and truly suspended. This bend, which transforms the infinite progression into a self-contained relationship, here as always the plain reflection that in the above meaningless repetition there is only one and the same thing, viz. one cause and another, and their connection with one another. Reciprocity — which is the development of this relation — itself however only distinguishes turn and turn about — not causes, but factors of causation, in each of which, just because they are inseparable (on the principle of the identity that the cause is cause in the effect, and vice versa), the other factor is also equally supposed.

(c) Reciprocity, or Action & Reaction

§ 155

The characteristics which in Reciprocal Action are retained as distinct are [a] potentially the same. The one side is a cause, is primary, active, passive, etc., just

as the other is. Similarly the presupposition of another side and the action upon it, the immediate primariness and the dependence produced by the alternation, are one and the same on both sides. The cause assumed to be first is on account of its immediacy passive, a dependent being, and an effect. The distinction of the causes spoken of as two is accordingly void: and properly speaking there is only one cause, which, while it suspends itself (as substance) in its effect, also rises in this operation only to independent existence as a cause.

§ 156

But this unity of the double cause is also [b] actual. All this alternation is properly the cause in act of constituting itself and in such constitution lies its being. The nullity of the distinctions is not only potential, or a reflection of ours (§ 155). Reciprocal action just means that each characteristic we impose is also to be suspended and inverted into its opposite, and that in this way the essential nullity of the ‘moments’ is explicitly stated. An effect is introduced into the primariness; in other words, the primariness is abolished: the action of a cause becomes reaction and so on.

Reciprocal action realises the causal relation in its complete development. It is this relation, therefore, in which reflection usually takes shelter when the conviction grows that things can no longer be studied satisfactorily from a causal point of view, on account of the infinite progress already spoken of. Thus in historical research the question may be raised in a first form, whether the character and manners of a nation are the cause of its constitution and its laws, or if they are not rather the effect. Then, as the second step, the character and manners on one side and the Constitution and laws on the other are conceived on the principle of reciprocity: and in that case the cause in the same connection as it is a cause will at the same time be an effect, and vice versa.

The same thing is done in the study of Nature, and especially of living organisms. There the sexual organs and functions are similarly seen to stand to

each other in the relation of reciprocity.

Reciprocity is undoubtedly the proximate truth of the relation of cause and effect, and stands, so to say, on the threshold of the notion; but on that very ground, supposing that our aim is a thoroughly comprehensive idea, we should not rest content with applying this relation. If we get no further than studying a given content under the point of view of reciprocity, we are taking up an attitude which leaves matters utterly incomprehensible. We are left with a mere dry fact; and the call for mediation, which is the chief motive in applying the relation of causality, is still unanswered. And if we look more narrowly into the dissatisfaction felt in applying the relation of reciprocity, we shall see that it consists in the circumstance that this relation, instead of being treated as an equivalent for the notion, ought, first of all, to be known and understood in its own nature. And to understand the relation of action we must not let the two sides rest in their state of mere given facts, but recognise them, as has been shown in the two paragraphs preceding, for factors of a third and higher, which is the notion and nothing else.

To make, for example, the manners of the Spartans the cause of their constitution and their constitution conversely the cause of their manners, may no doubt be in a way correct. But, as we have comprehended neither the manners nor the constitution of the nation, the result of such reflections can never be final or satisfactory. The satisfactory point will be reached only when these two, as well as all other, special aspects of Spartan life and Spartan history are seen to be founded in this notion.

Necessity

§ 157

This pure self-reciprocation is therefore Necessity unveiled or realised. The link of necessity *qua* necessity is identity, as still inward and concealed, because it is the identity of what are esteemed actual things, although their very self-

subsistence is bound to be necessity. The circulation of substance through causality and reciprocity therefore only expressly makes out or states that self-subsistence is the infinite negative self-relation — a relation *negative* in general, for in it the act of distinguishing and intermediating becomes a primariness of actual things independent one against the other — and *infinite self-relation*, because their independence only lies in their identity.

Freedom

§ 158

The truth of necessity is, therefore, Freedom: and the truth of substance is the Notion - an independence which, though self-repulsive into distinct independent elements, yet in that repulsion is self-identical, and in the movement of reciprocity still at home and conversant only with itself.

Freedom and Necessity

Necessity is often called hard, and rightly so, if we keep to necessity as such, i.e. to its immediate shape. Here we have, first of all, some state or, generally speaking, fact, possessing an independent subsistence: and necessity primarily implies that there falls upon such a fact something else by which it is brought low. This is what is hard and sad in necessity immediate or abstract. The identity of the two things, which necessity presents as bound to each other and thus bereft of their independence, is at first only inward, and therefore has no existence for those under the yoke of necessity. Freedom too from this point of view is only abstract, and is preserved only by renouncing all that we immediately are and have. But, as we have already seen, the process of necessity is so directed that it overcomes the rigid externality which it first had and reveals its inward nature. It then appears that the members, linked to one another, are not really foreign to each other, but only elements of one whole, each of them, in its connection with the other, being, as it were, at home, and combining with itself. In this way, necessity is transfigured into freedom - not the freedom that consists in abstract

negation, but freedom concrete and positive. From which we may learn what a mistake it is to regard freedom and necessity as mutually exclusive. Necessity indeed, *qua* necessity, is far from being freedom: yet freedom presupposes necessity, and contains it as an unsubstantial element in itself.

A good man is aware that the tenor of his conduct is essentially obligatory and necessary. But this consciousness is so far from making any abatement from his freedom, that without it, real and reasonable freedom could not be distinguished from arbitrary choice - a freedom which has no reality and is merely potential. A criminal, when punished, may look upon his punishment as a restriction of his freedom. Really the punishment is not a foreign constraint to which he is subjected, but the manifestation of his own act. In short, man is most independent when he knows himself to be determined by the absolute idea throughout. It was this phase of mind and conduct which Spinoza called *Amor intellectualis Dei*.

§ 159

Thus the Notion is the truth of Being and Essence, inasmuch as the shining or show of self-reflection is itself at the same time independent immediacy, and this being of a different actuality is immediately only a shining or show on itself.

The Notion has exhibited itself as the truth of Being and Essence as the ground to which the regress of both leads. Conversely it has been developed out of being as its ground. The former aspect of the advance may be regarded as a concentration of being into its depth, thereby disclosing its inner nature: the latter aspect as an issuing of the more perfect from the less perfect. When such development is viewed on the latter side only, it does prejudice to the method of philosophy. The special meaning which these superficial thoughts of more imperfect and more perfect have in this place is to indicate the distinction of being, as an immediate unity with itself, from the notion, as free mediation with itself. Since being has shown that it is an element in the notion, the latter has thus exhibited itself as the truth of being. As this its reflection in itself and as an absorption of the mediation, the notion is the pre-supposition of the immediate — a presupposition which is identical with the return to self; and in this identity lie

freedom and the notion. If the partial element therefore be called the imperfect, then the notion, or the perfect, is certainly a development from the imperfect; since its very nature is thus to suspend its pre-supposition. At the same time it is the notion alone which, in the act of supposing itself, makes its presupposition; as has been made apparent in causality in general and especially in reciprocal action.

Thus in reference to Being and Essence the Notion is defined as Essence reverted to the simple immediacy of Being — the shining or show of Essence thereby having actuality, and its actuality being at the same time a free shining or show in itself. In this manner the notion has being as its simple self-relation, or as the immediacy of its immanent unity. Being is so poor a category that it is the least thing which can be shown to be found in the notion. The passage from necessity to freedom, or from actuality into the notion, is the very hardest, because it proposes that independent actuality shall be thought as having all its substantiality in the passing over and identity with the other independent actuality. The notion, too, is extremely hard, because it is itself just this very identity. But the actual substance as such, the cause, which in its exclusiveness resists all invasion, is ipso facto subjected to necessity or the destiny of passing into dependency: and it is this subjection rather where the chief hardness lies. To think necessity, on the contrary, rather tends to melt that hardness. For thinking means that, in the other, one meets with one's self. It means a liberation, which is not the flight of abstraction, but consists in that which is actual having itself not as something else, but as its own being and creation, in the other actuality with which it is bound up by the force of necessity. As existing in an individual form, this liberation is called I: as developed to its totality, it is free Spirit; as feeling, it is Love; and as enjoyment, it is Blessedness. The great vision of substance in Spinoza is only a potential liberation from finite exclusiveness and egotism: but the notion itself realises for its own both the power of necessity and actual freedom.

When, as now, the notion is called the truth of Being and Essence, we must expect to be asked, why do we not begin with the notion? The answer is that,

where knowledge by thought is our aim, we cannot begin with the truth, because the truth, when it forms the beginning, must rest on mere assertion. The truth when it is thought must as such verify itself to thought. If the notion were put at the head of Logic, and defined, quite correctly in point of content, as the unity of Being and Essence, the following question would come up: What are we to think under the terms 'Being' and 'Essence', and how do they come to be embraced in the unity of the Notion? But if we answered these questions, then our beginning with the notion would merely be nominal. The real start would be made with Being, as we have here done: with this difference, that the characteristics of Being as well as those of Essence would have to be accepted uncritically from figurate conception, whereas we have observed Being and Essence in their own dialectical development and learnt how they lose themselves in the unity of the notion.

Spinoza by Arthur Schopenhauer



*From 'On the Fourfold Root of the Principle of Sufficient Reason', translated by
Mme. Karl Hillebrand*

Although Spinoza's philosophy mainly consists in the negation of the double dualism between God and the world and between soul and body, which his teacher, Descartes, had set up, he nevertheless remained true to his master in confounding and interchanging the relation between reason and consequence with that between cause and effect; he even endeavoured to draw from it a still greater advantage for his own metaphysics than Descartes for his, for he made this confusion the foundation of his whole Pantheism.

A conception contains *implicite* all its essential predicates, so that they may be developed out of it *explicite* by means of mere analytical judgments: the sum total of them being its definition. This definition therefore differs from the conception itself merely in form and not in content; for it consists of judgments which are all contained within that conception, and therefore have their reason in it, in as far as they show its essence. We may accordingly look upon these judgments as the consequences of that conception, considered as their reason. Now this relation between a conception and the judgments founded upon it and susceptible of being developed out of it by analysis, is precisely the relation between Spinoza's so-called God and the world, or rather between the one and only substance and its numberless accidents (*Deus, sive substantia constans infinitis attributis — Deus, sive omnia Dei attributa*). It is therefore the relation in knowledge of the *reason* to its consequent; whereas true Theism (Spinoza's Theism is merely nominal) assumes the relation of the *cause* to its effect, in which the cause remains different and separate from the consequence, not only in the way in which we consider them, but really and essentially, therefore in themselves to all eternity. For the

word God, honestly used, means a cause such as this of the world, with the addition of personality. An impersonal God is, on the contrary, a *contradictio in adjecto*. Now as nevertheless, even in the case as stated by him, Spinoza desired to retain the word God to express substance, and explicitly called this the *cause* of the world, he could find no other way to do it than by completely intermingling the two relations, and confounding the principle of the reason of knowledge with the principle of causality. I call attention to the following passages in corroboration of this statement. *Notandum, dari necessario unius cujusque rei existentis certam aliquam CAUSAM, propter quam existit. Et notandum, hanc causam, propter quam aliqua res existit, vel debere contineri in ipsa natura et DEFINITIONE rei existentis (nimirum quod ad ipsius naturam pertinet existere), vel debere EXTRA ipsam dari.* In the last case he means an efficient cause, as appears from what follows, whereas in the first he means a mere reason of knowledge; yet he identifies both, and by this means prepares the way for identifying God with the world, which is his intention. This is the artifice of which he always makes use, and which he has learnt from Descartes. He substitutes a cause acting from without, for a reason of knowledge lying within, a given conception. *Ex necessitate divinæ naturæ omnia, quæ sub intellectum infinitum cadere possunt, sequi debent.* At the same time he calls God everywhere the cause of the world. *Quidquid existit Dei potentiam, quæ omnium rerum CAUSA est, exprimit. — Deus est omnium rerum CAUSA immanens, non vero transiens. — Deus non tantam est CAUSA EFFICIENS rerum existentiae, sed etiam essentiae. — Ex data quacunque IDEA aliquis EFFECTUS necessario sequi debet. — And: Nulla res nisi a causa externa potest destrui. — Demonstr. Definitio cujusunque rei, ipsius essentiam (essence, nature, as differing from existentia, existence), affirmat, sed non negat; sive rei essentiam ponit, sed non tollit. Dum itaque ad rem ipsam tantum, non autem ad causas externas attendimus, nihil in eadem poterimus invenire, quod ipsam possit destruere.* This means, that as no conception can contain anything which contradicts its definition, *i.e.*, the sum total of its predicates, neither can an existence contain

anything which might become a cause of its destruction. This view, however, is brought to a climax in the somewhat lengthy second demonstration of the 11th Proposition, in which he confounds a cause capable of destroying or annihilating a being, with a contradiction contained in its definition and therefore destroying that definition. His need of confounding cause with reason here becomes so urgent, that he can never say *causa* or *ratio* alone, but always finds it necessary to put *ratio seu causa*. Accordingly, this occurs as many as eight times in the same page, in order to conceal the subterfuge. Descartes had done the same in the above-mentioned axiom.

Thus, properly speaking, Spinoza's Pantheism is merely the *realisation* of Descartes' Ontological Proof. First, he adopts Descartes' ontotheological proposition, to which we have alluded above, *ipsa naturæ Dei immensitas est CAUSA SIVE RATIO, propter quam nulla causa indiget ad existendum*, always saying *substantia* instead of *Deus* (in the beginning); and then he finishes by *substantiæ essentia necessario involvit existentiam, ergo erit substantia CAUSA SUI*. Therefore the very same argument which Descartes had used to prove the existence of God, is used by Spinoza to prove the existence of the world, — which consequently needs no God. He does this still more distinctly in the 2nd Scholium to the 8th Proposition: *Quoniam ad naturam substantia pertinet existere, debet ejus definitio necessariam existentiam involvere, et consequenter ex sola ejus definitione debet ipsius existentia concludi*. But this substance is, as we know, the world. The demonstration to Proposition 24 says in the same sense: *Id, cujus natura in se considerata (i.e., in its definition) involvit existentiam, est CAUSA SUI*.

For what Descartes had stated in an exclusively *ideal* and *subjective* sense, *i.e.*, only for us, for *cognitive purposes* — in this instance for the sake of proving the existence of God — Spinoza took in a *real* and *objective* sense, as the actual relation of God to the world. According to Descartes, the existence of God is contained in the *conception* of God, therefore it becomes an argument for his actual being: according to Spinoza, God is himself contained in the world. Thus

what, with Descartes, was only reason of knowledge, becomes, with Spinoza, reason of fact. If the former, in his Ontological Proof, taught that the *existentia* of God is a consequence of the *essentia* of God, the latter turns this into *causa sui*, and boldly opens his Ethics with: *per causam sui intelligo id, cujus essentia* (conception) *involvit existentiam*, remaining deaf to Aristotle's warning cry, τὸ δ' εἶναι οὐκ οὐσία οὐδενί! Now, this is the most palpable confusion of *reason* and *cause*. And if Neo-Spinozans (Schellingites, Hegelians, &c.), with whom words are wont to pass for thoughts, often indulge in pompous, solemn admiration for this *causa sui*, for my own part I see nothing but a *contradictio in adjecto* in this same *causa sui*, a *before* that is *after*, an audacious command to us, to sever arbitrarily the eternal causal chain — something, in short, very like the proceeding of that Austrian, who finding himself unable to reach high enough to fasten the clasp on his tightly-strapped shako, got upon a chair. The right emblem for *causa sui* is Baron Münchhausen, sinking on horseback into the water, clinging by the legs to his horse and pulling both himself and the animal out by his own pigtail, with the motto underneath: *Causa sui*.

Let us finally cast a look at the 16th proposition of the 1st book of the Ethics. Here we find Spinoza concluding from the proposition, *ex data cujuscunque rei definitione plures proprietates intellectus concludit, quæ revera ex eadem necessario sequuntur*, that *ex necessitate divinæ, naturæ* (i.e., taken as a reality), *infinita infinitis modis sequi debent*: this God therefore unquestionably stands in the same relation to the world as a conception to its definition. The corollary, *Deum omnium rerum esse CAUSAM EFFICIENTEM*, is nevertheless immediately connected with it. It is impossible to carry the confusion between reason and cause farther, nor could it lead to graver consequences than here. But this shows the importance of the subject of the present treatise.

In endeavouring to add a third step to the climax in question, Herr von Schelling has contributed a small afterpiece to these errors, into which two mighty intellects of the past had fallen owing to insufficient clearness in thinking. If Descartes met the demands of the inexorable law of causality, which reduced

his God to the last straits, by substituting a reason instead of the cause required, in order thus to set the matter at rest; and if Spinoza made a real cause out of this reason, *i.e.*, *causa sui*, his God thereby becoming the world itself: Schelling now made reason and consequent separate in God himself. He thus gave the thing still greater consistency by elevating it to a real, substantial hypostasis of reason and consequent, and introducing us to something “in God, which is not himself, but his reason, as a primary reason, or rather reason beyond reason (abyss).” *Hoc quidem vere palmarium est.* — It is now known that Schelling had taken the whole fable from Jacob Böhme’s “Full account of the terrestrial and celestial mystery;” but what appears to me to be less well known, is the source from which Jacob Böhme himself had taken it, and the real birth-place of this so-called *abyss*, wherefore I now take the liberty to mention it. It is the βυθός, *i.e.* *abyssus*, *vorago*, bottomless pit, reason beyond reason of the Valentinians (a heretical sect of the second century) which, in silence — co-essential with itself — engendered intelligence and the world, as Irenæus relates in the following terms: λέγουσι γάρ τινα εἶναι ἐν ἀοράτοις, καὶ ἀκατονομάστοις ὑψώμασι τέλειον Αἰῶνα προόντα· τοῦτον δὲ καὶ προαρχήν, καὶ προπάτορα, καὶ βυθὸν καλοῦσιν. — Ὑπάρχοντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἀχώρητον καὶ ἀόρατον, αἰδιόν τε καὶ ἀγέννητον, ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ ἡρεμίᾳ πολλῇ γεγονέναι ἐν ἀπείροις αἰῶσι χρόνων. Συνυπάρχειν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἐννοίαν, ἣν δὲ καὶ Χάριν, καὶ Σιγὴν ὀνομάζουσι· καὶ ἐννοηθῆναί ποτε ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ προβαλέσθαι τὸν βυθὸν τοῦτον ἀρχὴν τῶν πάντων, καὶ καθάπερ σπέρμα τὴν προβολὴν ταύτην (ἣν προβαλέσθαι ἐνενοήθη) καθέσθαι, ὡς ἐν μήτρᾳ, τῇ συνυπαρχούσῃ, ἑαυτῷ Σιγῇ. Ταύτην δὲ, ὑποδηξαμένην τὸ σπέρμα τοῦτο, καὶ ἐγκύμονα γενομένην, ἀποκυῖσαι Νοῦν, ὅμοιον τε καὶ ἴσον τῷ προβαλόντι, καὶ μόνον χωροῦντα τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ Πατρός. Τὸν δὲ νοῦν τοῦτον καὶ μονογενῆ καλοῦσι, καὶ ἀρχὴν τῶν πάντων. (*Dicunt enim esse quendam in sublimitatibus illis, quæ nec oculis cerni, nec nominari possunt, perfectum Æonem præexistentem, quem et proarchen, et propatorem, et Bythum vocant. Eum autem, quum incomprehensibilis et invisibilis, sempiternus idem, et inginitus esset, infinitis temporum seculis in summa quiete ac tranquillitate fuisse. Unâ etiam*

cum eo Cogitationem exstitisse, quam et Gratiam et Silentium (Sigen) nuncupant. Hunc porro Bythum in animum, aliquando induxisse, rerum omnium initium proferre, atque hanc, quam in animum induxerat, productionem, in Sigen (silentium) quæ unâ cum eo erat, non secus atque in vulvam demisisse. Hanc vero, suscepto hoc semine, prægnantem effectam peperisse Intellectum, parenti suo parem et æqualem, atque ita comparatum, ut solus paternæ magnitudinis capax esset. Atque hunc Intellectum et Monogenem et Patrem et principum omnium rerum appellant.)

Somehow or other this must have come to Jacob Böhme's hearing from the History of Heresy, and Herr von Schelling must have received it from him in all faith.

Examination of Spinoza by Voltaire



From 'A Philosophical Dictionary', translated by William F. Fleming

SECTION III.

Spinoza cannot help admitting an intelligence acting in matter, and forming a whole with it.

“I must conclude,” he says, “that the absolute being is neither thought nor extent, exclusively of each other; but that extent and thought are necessary attributes of the absolute being.”

Herein he appears to differ from all the atheists of antiquity; from Ocellus, Lucanus, Heraclitus, Democritus, Leucippus, Strato, Epicurus, Pythagoras, Diagoras, Zeno of Elis, Anaximander, and so many others. He differs from them, above all, in his method, which he took entirely from the reading of Descartes, whose very style he has imitated.

The multitude of those who cry out against Spinoza, without ever having read him, will especially be astonished by his following declaration. He does not make it to dazzle mankind, nor to appease theologians, nor to obtain protectors, nor to disarm a party; he speaks as a philosopher, without naming himself, without advertising himself; and expresses himself in Latin, so as to be understood by a very small number. Here is his profession of faith.

Spinoza's Profession of Faith.

“If I also concluded that the idea of God, comprised in that of the infinity of the universe, excused me from obedience, love, and worship, I should make a still more pernicious use of my reason; for it is evident to me that the laws which I *have* received, not by the relation or intervention of other men, but immediately from Him, are those which the light of nature points out to me as the true guides

of rational conduct. If I failed of obedience, in this particular, I should sin, not only against the principle of my being and the society of my kind, but also against myself, in depriving myself of the most solid advantage of my existence. This obedience does, it is true, bind me only to the duties of my state, and makes me look on all besides as frivolous practices, invented in superstition to serve the purposes of their inventors.

“With regard to the love of God, so far, I conceive, is this idea from tending to weaken it, that no other is more calculated to increase it; since, through it, I know that God is intimate with my being; that He gives me existence and my every property; but He gives me them liberally, without reproach, without interest, without subjecting me to anything but my own nature. It banishes fear, uneasiness, distrust, and all the effects of a vulgar or interested love. It informs me that this is a good which I cannot lose, and which I possess the more fully, as I know and love it.”

Are these the words of the virtuous and tender Fénelon, or those of Spinoza? How is it that two men so opposed to each other, have, with such different notions of God, concurred in the idea of loving God for Himself?

It must be acknowledged that they went both to the same end — the one as a Christian, the other as a man who had the misfortune not to be so; the holy archbishop, as philosopher, convinced that God is distinct from nature; the other as a widely-erring disciple of Descartes, who imagined that God is all nature.

The former was orthodox, the latter was mistaken, I must assent; but both were honest, both estimable in their sincerity, as in their mild and simple manners; though there is no other point of resemblance between the imitator of the “Odyssey,” and a dry Cartesian fenced round with arguments; between one of the most accomplished men of the court of Louis XIV. invested with what is called a *high* divinity, and a poor unjudaized Jew, living with an income of three hundred florins, in the most profound obscurity.

If there be any similitude between them, it is that Fénelon was accused before the Sanhedrim of the new law, and the other before a synagogue without power or

without reason; but the one submitted, the other rebelled.

Foundation of Spinoza's Philosophy.

The great dialectician Bayle has refuted Spinoza. His system, therefore, is not demonstrated, like one of Euclid's propositions; for, if it were so, it could not be combated. It is, therefore, at least obscure.

I have always had some suspicion that Spinoza, with his universal substance, his modes and accidents, had some other meaning than that in which he is understood by Bayle; and consequently, that Bayle may be right, without having confounded Spinoza. And, in particular, I have always thought that often Spinoza did not understand himself, and that this is the principal reason why he has not been understood.

It seems to me that the ramparts of Spinozism might be beaten down on a side which Bayle has neglected. Spinoza thinks that there can exist but one substance; and it appears throughout his book that he builds his theory on the mistake of Descartes, that "nature is a plenum."

The theory of a plenum is as false as that of a void. It is now demonstrated that motion is as impossible in absolute fulness, as it is impossible that, in an equal balance, a weight of two pounds in one scale should sink a weight of two in the other.

Now, if every motion absolutely requires empty space, what becomes of Spinoza's one and only substance? How can the substance of a star, between which and us there is a void so immense, be precisely the substance of this earth, or the substance of myself, or the substance of a fly eaten by a spider?

Perhaps I mistake, but I never have been able to conceive how Spinoza, admitting an infinite substance of which thought and matter are the two modalities — admitting the substance which he calls God, and of which all that we see is mode or accident — could nevertheless reject final causes. If this infinite, universal being thinks, must he not have design? If he has design, must he not have a will?



Descartes.

Spinoza says, we are modes of that absolute, necessary, infinite being. I say to Spinoza, we will, and have design, we who are but modes; therefore, this infinite, necessary, absolute being cannot be deprived of them; therefore, he has will, design, power.

I am aware that various philosophers, and especially Lucretius, have denied final causes; I am also aware that Lucretius, though not very chaste, is a very great poet in his descriptions and in his morals; but in philosophy I own he appears to me to be very far behind a college porter or a parish beadle. To affirm that the eye is not made to see, nor the ear to hear, nor the stomach to digest — is not this the most enormous absurdity, the most revolting folly, that ever entered the human mind? Doubter as I am, this insanity seems to me evident, and I say so.

For my part, I see in nature, as in the arts, only final causes, and I believe that an apple tree is made to bear apples, as I believe that a watch is made to tell the hour.

I must here acquaint the readers that if Spinoza, in several passages of his works, makes a jest of final causes, he most expressly acknowledges them in the first part of his “Being, in General and in Particular.”

Here he says, “Permit me for a few moments to dwell with admiration on the wonderful dispensation of nature, which, having enriched the constitution of man with all the resources necessary to prolong to a certain term the duration of his frail existence, and to animate his knowledge of himself by that of an infinity of distant objects, seems purposely to have neglected to give him the means of well knowing what he is obliged to make a more ordinary use of — the individuals of his own species. Yet, when duly considered, this appears less the effect of a refusal than of an extreme liberality; for, if there were any intelligent being that could penetrate another against his will, he would enjoy such an advantage as would of itself exclude him from society; whereas, in the present state of things, each individual enjoying himself in full independence communicates himself so much only as he finds convenient.”

What shall I conclude from this? That Spinoza frequently contradicted himself; that he had not always clear ideas; that in the great wreck of systems, he clung sometimes to one plank, sometimes to another; that in this weakness he was like Malebranche, Arnauld, Bossuet, and Claude, who now and then contradicted themselves in their disputes; that he was like numberless metaphysicians and theologians? I shall conclude that I have additional reason for distrusting all my metaphysical notions; that I am a very feeble animal, treading on quicksands, which are continually giving way beneath me; and that there is perhaps nothing so foolish as to believe ourselves always in the right.

Baruch Spinoza, you are very confused; but are you as dangerous as you are said to be? I maintain that you are not; and my reason is, that you *are* confused, that you have written in bad Latin, and that there are not ten persons in Europe

who read you from beginning to end, although you have been translated into French. Who is the dangerous author? He who is read by the idle at court and by the ladies.

SECTION IV.

The “System of Nature.”

The author of the “System of Nature” has had the advantage of being read by both learned and ignorant, and by women. His style, then, has merits which that of Spinoza wanted. He is often luminous, sometimes eloquent; although he may be charged, like all the rest, with repetition, declamation, and self-contradiction. But for profundity, he is very often to be distrusted both in physics and in morals. The interest of mankind is here in question; we will, therefore, examine whether his doctrine is true and useful; and will, if we can, be brief.

“Order and disorder do not exist.” What! in physics, is not a child born blind, without legs, or a monster, contrary to the nature of the species? Is it not the ordinary regularity of nature that makes order, and irregularity that constitutes disorder? Is it not a great derangement, a dreadful disorder, when nature gives a child hunger and closes the œsophagus? The evacuations of every kind are necessary; yet the channels are frequently without orifices, which it is necessary to remedy. Doubtless this disorder has its cause; for there is no effect without a cause; but it is a very disordered effect.

Is not the assassination of our friend, or of our brother, a horrible disorder in morals? Are not the calumnies of a Garasse, of a Letellier, of a Doucin, against Jansenists, and those of Jansenists against Jesuits, petty disorders? Were not the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the Irish massacre, etc., execrable disorders? This crime has its cause in passion, but the effect is execrable; the cause is fatal; this disorder makes us shudder. The origin of the disorder remains to be discovered, but the disorder exists.

“Experience proves to us that the matter which we regard as inert and dead assumes action, intelligence, and life, when it is combined in a certain way.”

This is precisely the difficulty. How does a germ come to life? Of this the author and the reader are alike ignorant. Hence, are not the “System of Nature,” and all the systems in the world, so many dreams?

“It would be necessary to define the vital principle, which I deem impossible.” Is not this definition very easy, very common? Is not life organization with feeling? But that you have these two properties from the motion of matter alone, it is impossible to give any proof; and if it cannot be proved, why affirm it? Why say aloud, “I know,” while you say to yourself, “I know not”?

“It will be asked, what is man?” etc. Assuredly, this article is no clearer than the most obscure of Spinoza’s; and many readers will feel indignant at the decisive tone which is assumed without anything being explained.

“Matter is eternal and necessary; but its forms and its combinations are transitory and contingent,” etc. It is hard to comprehend, matter being, according to our author, necessary, and without freedom, how there can be anything contingent. By contingency, we understand that which may be, or may not be; but since all must be, of absolute necessity, every manner of being, which he here very erroneously calls contingent, is as absolutely of necessity as the being itself. Here again we are in a labyrinth.

When you venture to affirm that there is no God, that matter acts of itself by an eternal necessity, it must be demonstrated like a proposition in Euclid, otherwise you rest your system only on a perhaps. What a foundation for that which is most interesting to the human race!

“If man is by his nature forced to love his well-being, he is forced to love the means of that well-being. It were useless, and perhaps unjust, to ask a man to be virtuous, if he cannot be so without making himself unhappy. So soon as vice makes him happy, he must love vice.”

This maxim is yet more execrable in morals than the others are in physics. Were it true that a man could not be virtuous without suffering, he must be encouraged to suffer. Our author’s proposition would evidently be the ruin of society. Besides, how does he know that we cannot be happy without having

vices? On the contrary, is it not proved by experience that the satisfaction of having subdued them is a thousand times greater than the pleasure of yielding to them? — a pleasure always empoisoned, a pleasure leading to woe. By subduing our vices, we acquire tranquillity, the consoling testimony of our conscience; by giving ourselves up to them, we lose our health, our quiet — we risk everything. Thus our author himself, in twenty passages, wishes all to be sacrificed to virtue; and he advances this proposition only to give in his system a fresh proof of the necessity of being virtuous.

“They who, with so many arguments, reject innate ideas should have perceived that this ineffable intelligence by which the world is said to be guided, and of which our senses can determine neither the existence nor the qualities, is a being of reason.”

But, truly, how does it follow from our having no innate ideas, that there is no God? Is not this consequence absurd? Is there any contradiction in saying that God gives us ideas through our senses? Is it not, on the contrary, most clearly evident, that if there is an Almighty Being from whom we have life, we owe to him our ideas and our senses as well as everything else? It should first have been proved that God does not exist, which our author has not done, which he has not even attempted to do before this page of his tenth chapter.

Fearful of wearying the reader by an examination of all these detached passages, I will come at once to the foundation of the book, and the astonishing error upon which the author has built his system.

Story of the Eels on Which the System is Founded.

About the year 1750 there was, in France, an English Jesuit called Needham, disguised as a secular, who was then serving as tutor to the nephew of M. Dillon, archbishop of Toulouse. This man made experiments in natural philosophy, and especially in chemistry.

Having put some rye meal into well-corked bottles, and some boiled mutton gravy into other bottles, he thought that his mutton gravy and his meal had given

birth to eels, which again produced others; and that thus a race of eels was formed indifferently from the juice of meat, or from a grain of rye.

A natural philosopher, of some reputation, had no doubt that this Needham was a profound atheist. He concluded that, since eels could be made of rye meal, men might be made of wheat flour; that nature and chemistry produce all; and that it was demonstrated that we may very well dispense with an all-forming God.

This property of meal very easily deceived one who, unfortunately, was already wandering amidst ideas that should make us tremble for the weakness of the human mind. He wanted to dig a hole in the centre of the earth, to see the central fire; to dissect Patagonians, that he might know the nature of the soul; to cover the sick with pitch, to prevent them from perspiring; to exalt his soul, that he might foretell the future. If to these things it were added, that he had the still greater unhappiness of seeking to oppress two of his brethren, it would do no honor to atheism; it would only serve to make us look into ourselves with confusion.

It is really strange that men, while denying a creator, should have attributed to themselves the power of creating eels.

But it is yet more deplorable that natural philosophers, of better information, adopted the Jesuit Needham's ridiculous system, and joined it to that of Maillet, who asserted that the ocean had formed the Alps and Pyrenees, and that men were originally porpoises, whose forked tails changed in the course of time into thighs and legs. Such fancies are worthy to be placed with the eels formed by meal. We were assured, not long ago, that at Brussels a hen had brought forth half a dozen young rabbits.

This transmutation of meal and gravy into eels was demonstrated to be as false and ridiculous as it really is, by M. Spallanzani, a rather better observer than Needham. But the extravagance of so palpable an illusion was evident without his observations.

Needham's eels soon followed the Brussels' hen.

Nevertheless, in 1768, the correct, elegant, and judicious translator of Lucretius was so far led away, that he not only, in his notes to book viii. , repeats Needham's pretended experiments, but he also does all he can to establish their validity. Here, then, we have the new foundation of the "System of Nature."

The author, in the second chapter, thus expresses himself: "After moistening meal with water, and shutting up the mixture, it is found after a little time, with the aid of the microscope, that it has produced organized beings, of whose production the water and meal were believed to be incapable. Thus inanimate nature can pass into life, which is itself but an assemblage of motions."

Were this unparalleled blunder true, yet, in rigorous reasoning, I do not see how it would prove there is no God; I do not see why a supreme, intelligent, and mighty being, having formed the sun and the stars, might not also deign to form animalculae without a germ. Here is no contradiction in terms. A demonstrative proof that God has no existence must be sought elsewhere; and most assuredly no person has ever found, or will ever find, one.

Our author treats final causes with contempt, because the argument is hackneyed; but this much-contemned argument is that of Cicero and of Newton. This alone might somewhat lessen the confidence of atheists in themselves. The number is not small of the sages who, observing the course of the stars, and the prodigious art that pervades the structure of animals and vegetables, have acknowledged a powerful hand working these continual wonders.

The author asserts that matter, blind and without choice, produces intelligent animals. Produce, without intelligence, beings with intelligence! Is this conceivable? Is this system founded on the smallest verisimilitude? An opinion so contradictory requires proofs no less astonishing than itself. The author gives us none; he never proves anything; but he affirms all that he advances. What chaos! what confusion! and what temerity!

Spinoza at least acknowledged an intelligence acting in this great whole, which constituted nature: in this there was philosophy. But in the new system, I am under the necessity of saying that there is none.

Matter has extent, solidity, gravity, divisibility. I have all these as well as this stone: but was a stone ever known to feel and think? If I am extended, solid, divisible, I owe it to matter. But I have sensations and thoughts — to what do I owe them? Not to water, not to mire — most likely to something more powerful than myself. Solely to the combination of the elements, you will say. Then prove it to me. Show me plainly that my intelligence cannot have been given to me by an intelligent cause. To this are you reduced.

Our author successively combats the God of the schoolmen — a God composed of discordant qualities; a God to whom, as to those of Homer, is attributed the passions of men; a God capricious, fickle, unreasonable, absurd — but he cannot combat the God of the wise. The wise, contemplating nature, admit an intelligent and supreme power. It is perhaps impossible for human reason, destitute of divine assistance, to go a step further.

Our author asks where this being resides; and, from the impossibility that anyone, without being infinite, should tell where He resides, he concludes that He does not exist. This is not philosophical; for we are not, because we cannot tell where the cause of an effect is, to conclude that there is no cause. If you had never seen a gunner, and you saw the effects of a battery of cannon, you would not say it acts entirely by itself. Shall it, then, only be necessary for you to say there is no God, in order to be believed on your words?

Finally, his great objection is, the woes and crimes of mankind — an objection alike ancient and philosophical; an objection common, but fatal and terrible, and to which we find no answer but in the hope of a better life. Yet what is this hope? We can have no certainty in it but from reason. But I will venture to say, that when it is proved to us that a vast edifice, constructed with the greatest art, is built by an architect, whoever he may be, we ought to believe in that architect, even though the edifice should be stained with our blood, polluted by our crimes, and should crush us in its fall. I inquire not whether the architect is a good one, whether I should be satisfied with his building, whether I should quit it rather than stay in it, nor whether those who are lodged in it for a few days, like myself, are

content: I only inquire if it be true that there is an architect, or if this house, containing so many fine apartments and so many wretched garrets, built itself.

Spinoza by Friedrich Nietzsche



From the Second Essay of 'The Genealogy of Morals', translated by Horace B. Samuel

This truth came insidiously enough to the consciousness of Spinoza (to the disgust of his commentators, who (like Kuno Fischer, for instance) give themselves no end of *trouble* to misunderstand him on this point), when one afternoon (as he sat raking up who knows what memory) he indulged in the question of what was really left for him personally of the celebrated *Morsus conscientiae* — Spinoza, who had relegated “good and evil” to the sphere of human imagination, and indignantly defended the honour of his “free” God against those blasphemers who affirmed that God did everything *sub ratione boni* (“but this was tantamount to subordinating God to fate, and would really be the greatest of all absurdities”). For Spinoza the world had returned again to that innocence in which it lay before the discovery of the bad conscience: what, then, had happened to the *morsus conscientiae*? “The antithesis of *gaudium*,” said he at last to himself,— “A sadness accompanied by the recollection of a past event which has turned out contrary to all expectation” (*Eth.* iii., *Propos.* xviii. *Schol.* i. ii.). Evil-doers have throughout thousands of years felt when overtaken by punishment *exactly like Spinoza*, on the subject of their “offence”: “here is something which went wrong contrary to my anticipation,” *not* “I ought not to have done this.” — They submitted themselves to punishment, just as one submits one’s self to a disease, to a misfortune, or to death, with that stubborn and resigned fatalism which gives the Russians, for instance, even nowadays, the advantage over us Westerners, in the handling of life. If at that period there was a critique of action, the criterion was prudence: the real *effect* of punishment is unquestionably chiefly to be found in a sharpening of the sense of prudence, in a

lengthening of the memory, in a will to adopt more of a policy of caution, suspicion, and secrecy; in the recognition that there are many things which are unquestionably beyond one's capacity; in a kind of improvement in self-criticism. The broad effects which can be obtained by punishment in man and beast, are the increase of fear, the sharpening of the sense of cunning, the mastery of the desires: so it is that punishment *tames* man, but does not make him "better" — it would be more correct even to go so far as to assert the contrary ("Injury makes a man cunning," says a popular proverb: so far as it makes him cunning, it makes him also bad. Fortunately, it often enough makes him stupid).

16.

At this juncture I cannot avoid trying to give a tentative and provisional expression to my own hypothesis concerning the origin of the bad conscience: it is difficult to make it fully appreciated, and it requires continuous meditation, attention, and digestion. I regard the bad conscience as the serious illness which man was bound to contract under the stress of the most radical change which he has ever experienced — that change, when he found himself finally imprisoned within the pale of society and of peace.

Just like the plight of the water-animals, when they were compelled either to become land-animals or to perish, so was the plight of these half-animals, perfectly adapted as they were to the savage life of war, prowling, and adventure — suddenly all their instincts were rendered worthless and "switched off." Henceforward they had to walk on their feet— "carry themselves," whereas heretofore they had been carried by the water: a terrible heaviness oppressed them. They found themselves clumsy in obeying the simplest directions, confronted with this new and unknown world they had no longer their old guides — the regulative instincts that had led them unconsciously to safety — they were reduced, were those unhappy creatures, to thinking, inferring, calculating, putting together causes and results, reduced to that poorest and most erratic organ of

theirs, their “consciousness.” I do not believe there was ever in the world such a feeling of misery, such a leaden discomfort — further, those old instincts had not immediately ceased their demands! Only it was difficult and rarely possible to gratify them: speaking broadly, they were compelled to satisfy themselves by new and, as it were, hole-and-corner methods. All instincts which do not find a vent without, *turn inwards* — this is what I mean by the growing “internalisation” of man: consequently we have the first growth in man, of what subsequently was called his soul. The whole inner world, originally as thin as if it had been stretched between two layers of skin, burst apart and expanded proportionately, and obtained depth, breadth, and height, when man’s external outlet became *obstructed*. These terrible bulwarks, with which the social organisation protected itself against the old instincts of freedom (punishments belong pre-eminently to these bulwarks), brought it about that all those instincts of wild, free, prowling man became turned backwards *against man himself*. Enmity, cruelty, the delight in persecution, in surprises, change, destruction — the turning all these instincts against their own possessors: this is the origin of the “bad conscience.” It was man, who, lacking external enemies and obstacles, and imprisoned as he was in the oppressive narrowness and monotony of custom, in his own impatience lacerated, persecuted, gnawed, frightened, and ill-treated himself; it was this animal in the hands of the tamer, which beat itself against the bars of its cage; it was this being who, pining and yearning for that desert home of which it had been deprived, was compelled to create out of its own self, an adventure, a torture-chamber, a hazardous and perilous desert — it was this fool, this homesick and desperate prisoner — who invented the “bad conscience.” But thereby he introduced that most grave and sinister illness, from which mankind has not yet recovered, the suffering of man from the disease called man, as the result of a violent breaking from his animal past, the result, as it were, of a spasmodic plunge into a new environment and new conditions of existence, the result of a declaration of war against the old instincts, which up to that time had been the staple of his power, his joy, his formidableness. Let us immediately add that this

fact of an animal ego turning against itself, taking part against itself, produced in the world so novel, profound, unheard-of, problematic, inconsistent, and *pregnant* a phenomenon, that the aspect of the world was radically altered thereby. In sooth, only divine spectators could have appreciated the drama that then began, and whose end baffles conjecture as yet — a drama too subtle, too wonderful, too paradoxical to warrant its undergoing a nonsensical and unheeded performance on some random grotesque planet! Henceforth man is to be counted as one of the most unexpected and sensational lucky shots in the game of the “big baby” of Heracleitus, whether he be called Zeus or Chance — he awakens on his behalf the interest, excitement, hope, almost the confidence, of his being the harbinger and forerunner of something, of man being no end, but only a stage, an interlude, a bridge, a great promise.

Critical Battle Against the French Revolution by Karl Marx



From 'The Holy Family', 1845, translated by Richard Dixon

The *narrow-mindedness of the Mass* forced the “Spirit”, *Criticism*, Herr Bauer, to consider the *French Revolution* not as the time of the revolutionary efforts of the French in the “*prosaic sense*” but “*only*” as the “*symbol and fantastic expression*” of the Critical figments of his own brain. *Criticism* does *penance* for its “*oversight*” by submitting the *Revolution* to a *fresh examination*. At the same time it punishes the seducer of its innocence— “the Mass” — by communicating to it the results of this “fresh examination”.

“The *French Revolution* was an experiment which still belonged entirely to the eighteenth century.”

The chronological truth that an experiment of the eighteenth century like the French Revolution is still entirely an experiment of the eighteenth century, and not, for example, an experiment of the nineteenth, seems “still entirely” to be one of those truths which “are self-evident from the start”. But in the terminology of criticism, which is very prejudiced against “crystal-clear” truths, a truth like that is called an “*examination*” and therefore naturally has its place in a “fresh examination of the Revolution”.

“The ideas to which the French Revolution gave rise did not, however, lead beyond the *order of things* that it wanted to abolish by force.”

Ideas can never lead beyond an old world order but only beyond the ideas of the old world order. Ideas *cannot carry out anything* at all. In order to carry out ideas men are needed who can exert practical force. In its literal *sense* the Critical sentence is therefore another truth that is self-evident, and therefore another “*examination*”.

Undeterred by this examination, the French Revolution gave rise to ideas which led beyond the *ideas* of the entire old world order. The revolutionary movement which began in 1789 in the *Cercle Social*, which in the middle of its course had as its chief representatives *Leclerc* and *Roux*, and which finally with *Babeuf's* conspiracy was temporarily defeated, gave rise to the communist idea which *Babeuf's* friend *Buonarroti* re-introduced in France after the Revolution of 1830. This idea, consistently developed, is the *idea* of the *new world order*.

“After the Revolution had therefore” (!) “abolished the feudal barriers in the life of the people, it was compelled to satisfy and even to inflame the pure egoism of the nation and, on the other hand, to curb it by its necessary complement, the recognition of a supreme being, by this higher confirmation of the general state System, which has to hold together the individual self-seeking atoms.”

The egoism of the nation is the natural egoism of the general state system, as opposed to the egoism of the feudal classes. The supreme being is the higher confirmation of the general state system, and hence also of the nation. Nevertheless, the supreme being is supposed to curb the egoism of the nation, that is, of the general state system! A really Critical task, to *curb* egoism by means of its confirmation and even of its *religious* confirmation, i.e., by recognising that it is of a superhuman nature and therefore free of human restraint! The creators of the supreme being were not aware of this, their Critical intention.

Monsieur *Buchez*, who bases national fanaticism on religious fanaticism, understands his hero *Robespierre* better.

Nationalism led to the downfall of Rome and Greece. *Criticism* therefore says nothing specific about the French Revolution when it maintains that nationalism caused its downfall, and it says just as little about the nation when it defines its egoism as *pure*. This pure egoism appears rather to be a very dark, spontaneous egoism, combined with flesh and blood, when compared, for example, with the pure egoism of *Fichte's* “*ego*”. But if, in contrast to the egoism of the feudal classes, its purity is only relative, no “fresh examination of the revolution” was needed to see that the egoism which has a nation as its content is more general or

purser than that which has as its content a particular social class or a particular corporation.

Criticism's explanations about the general state system are no less instructive. They are confined to saying that the general state system must hold together the individual self-seeking atoms.

Speaking exactly and in the prosaic sense, the members of civil society are not *atoms*. The *specific property* of the atom is that it has no properties and is therefore not connected with beings outside it by any relationship determined by its own *natural necessity*. The atom *has no needs*, it is *self-sufficient*., the world outside it is an absolute *vacuum*, i.e., is contentless, senseless, meaningless, just because the atom has *all fullness* in itself. The egoistic individual in civil society may in his non-sensuous imagination and lifeless abstraction inflate himself into an *atom*, i.e., into an unrelated, self-sufficient, wantless, *absolutely full*, blessed being. Unblessed *sensuous reality* does not bother about his imagination, each of his senses compels him to believe in the existence of the world and of individuals outside him, and even his *profane* stomach reminds him every day that the world *outside* him is not *empty*, but is what really *fills*. Every activity and property of his being, every one of his vital urges, becomes a *need*, a *necessity*, which his *self-seeking* transforms into seeking for other things and human beings outside him. But since the need of one individual has no self-evident meaning for another egoistic individual capable of satisfying that need, and therefore no direct connection with its satisfaction, each individual has to create this connection; it thus becomes the intermediary between the need of another and the objects of this need. Therefore, it is *natural necessity*, the *essential human properties* however estranged they may seem to be, and *interest* that hold the members of civil society together; *civil*, not *political* life is their *real* tie. It is therefore not the *state* that holds the *atoms* of civil society together, but the fact that they are *atoms* only in *imagination* in the *heaven* of their fancy, but in *reality* beings tremendously different from atoms, in other words, not *divine egoists*, but *egoistic human beings*. Only political superstition still imagines today that civil life must be held

together by the state, whereas in reality, on the contrary, the state is held together by civil life.

“*Robespierre’s* and *Saint-Just’s* tremendous idea of making a ‘free people’ which would live only according to the rules of justice and *virtue* — see, for example, Saint-Just’s report on Danton’s crimes and his other report on the general police — could be maintained for a certain time only by terror and was a *contradiction against which* the vulgar, self-seeking elements of *the popular community* reacted in the cowardly and insidious way that was only to be expected from them..,

This phrase of *Absolute Criticism*, which describes a “free people” as a “*contradiction*” against which the elements of the “*popular community*” are bound to react, is absolutely hollow, for according to Robespierre and Saint-Just *liberty, justice and virtue* could, on the contrary, be only manifestations of the life of the “*people*” and only properties of the “popular community”. Robespierre and Saint-Just spoke explicitly of “liberty, justice and virtue” of *ancient times*, belonging only to the “*popular community*”. *Spartans, Athenians and Romans* at the time of their greatness were “free, just and virtuous peoples”.

“What,” asks Robespierre in his speech on the principles of public morals (sitting of the Convention on February 5, 1794), “is the *fundamental principle* of democratic or popular government? It is *virtue*, I mean *public* virtue, which worked such miracles in *Greece and Rome* and which will work still greater ones in Republican France; virtue which is nothing but love of one’s country and its laws.” >

Robespierre then explicitly calls the *Athenians* and *Spartans* “*peuples libres*”. He continually recalls the ancient *popular commune* and quotes its heroes as well as its corrupters — Lycurgus, Demosthenes, Miltiades, Aristides, Brutus and Catilina, Caesar, Clodius and Piso.

In his report on Danton’s arrest (referred to by Criticism) *Saint-Just* says explicitly:

“The world has been empty since the *Romans*, and only their memory fills it and still prophesies liberty.”

His accusation is composed in the ancient style and directed against *Danton* as against *Catilina*.

In *Saint-Just*’s other report, the one on the general police, the *republican* is described exactly in the *ancient* sense, as *inflexible, modest, simple* and so on. The *police* should be an institution of the same nature as the Roman *ensorship*. — He does not fail to mention Codrus, Lycurgus, Caesar, Cato, Catilina, Brutus, Antonius, and Cassius. Finally, *Saint-Just* describes the “*liberty, justice and virtue*” that he demands in a *single word* when he says:

“Que les hommes révolutionnaires soient des *Romains*.”

Robespierre, Saint-just and their party fell because they confused the ancient, *realistic-democratic commonweal* based on *real slavery* with the *modern spiritualistic-democratic representative state*, which is based on *emancipated slavery, bourgeois society*. What a terrible illusion it is to have to recognise and sanction in the *rights of man* modern bourgeois society, the society of industry, of universal competition, of private interest freely pursuing its aims, of anarchy, of self-estranged natural and spiritual individuality, and at the same time to want afterwards to annul the *manifestations of the life* of this society in particular individuals and simultaneously to want to model the *political head* of that society in the manner of antiquity!

The illusion appears tragic when Saint-Just, on the day of his execution, pointed to the large table of the *Rights of Man* hanging in the hall of the *Conciergerie* and said with proud dignity: “*C’est pourtant moi qui ai fait cela*” It was just this table that proclaimed the *right* of a *man* who cannot be the man of the ancient commonweal any more than his *economic and industrial* conditions are those of *ancient* times.

This is not the place to vindicate the illusion of the *Terrorists* historically.

“After the fall of Robespierre the *political enlightenment* and *movement* hastened to the point where they became the prey of *Napoleon* who, shortly after 18 Brumaire, could say: ‘With my prefects, gendarmes and priests I can do what I like with France.’”

Profane history, on the other hand, reports: After the fall of Robespierre, the *political* enlightenment, which formerly had been *overreaching* itself and had been *extravagant*, began for the first time to develop *prosaically*. Under the government of the *Directory*, *bourgeois society*, freed by the Revolution itself from the trammels of feudalism and officially recognised in spite of the *Terror’s* wish to sacrifice it to an ancient form of political life, broke out in powerful streams of life. A storm and stress of commercial enterprise, a passion for enrichment, the exuberance of the new bourgeois life, whose first self-enjoyment is pert, light-hearted, frivolous and intoxicating; a *real* enlightenment of the *land* of France, the feudal structure of which had been smashed by the hammer of the Revolution and which, by the first feverish efforts of the numerous new owners, had become the object of all-round cultivation; the first moves of industry that had now become free — these were some of the signs of life of the newly emerged bourgeois society. *Bourgeois society* is *positively* represented by the *bourgeoisie*. The bourgeoisie, therefore, *begins* its rule. The *rights of man* cease to exist *merely* in *theory*.

It was not the revolutionary movement as a whole that became the prey of Napoleon on 18 Brumaire, as *Criticism* in its faith in a Herr von Rotteck or Welcker believes; it was the *liberal bourgeoisie*. One only needs to read the speeches of the legislators of the time to be convinced of this. One has the impression of coming from the National Convention into a modern Chamber of Deputies.

Napoleon represented the last battle of *revolutionary terror* against the *bourgeois society* which had been proclaimed by this same Revolution, and against its policy. Napoleon, of course, already discerned the essence of the *modern state*; he understood that it is based on the unhampered development of

bourgeois society, on the free movement of private interest, etc. He decided to recognise and protect this basis. He was no terrorist with his head in the clouds. Yet at the same time he still regarded the *state* as an *end in itself* and civil life only as a treasurer and his *subordinate* which must have no *will of its own*. He *perfected* the *Terror* by *substituting permanent war* for *permanent revolution*. He fed the egoism of the French nation to complete satiety but demanded also the sacrifice of bourgeois business, enjoyments, wealth, etc., whenever this was required by the political aim of conquest. If he despotically suppressed the liberalism of bourgeois society — the political idealism of its daily practice — he showed no more consideration for its essential *material* interests, trade and industry, whenever they conflicted with his political interests. His scorn of industrial *hommes d'affaires* was the complement to his scorn of *ideologists*. In his home policy, too, he combated bourgeois society as the opponent of the state which in his own person he still held to be an absolute aim in itself. Thus he declared in the State Council that he would not suffer the owner of extensive estates to cultivate them or not as he pleased. Thus, too, he conceived the plan of subordinating trade to the state by appropriation of *roulage*. French businessmen took steps to anticipate the event that first shook Napoleon's power. Paris exchange-brokers forced him by means of an artificially created famine to delay the opening of the Russian campaign by nearly two months and thus to launch it too late in the year.

Just as the liberal bourgeoisie was opposed once more by revolutionary terror in the person of Napoleon, so it was opposed once more by counter-revolution in the Restoration in the person of the Bourbons. Finally, in 1830 the bourgeoisie put into effect its wishes of the year 1789, with the only difference that its *political enlightenment* was now *completed*, that it no longer considered the constitutional representative state as a means for achieving the ideal of the state, the welfare of the world and universal human aims but, on the contrary, had acknowledged it as the *official* expression of its own *exclusive* power and the *political* recognition of its own *special* interests.

The history of the French Revolution, which dates from 1789, did not come to an end in 1830 with the victory of one of its components enriched by the consciousness of its own *social* importance.

d) Critical Battle Against French Materialism

“*Spinozism* dominated the eighteenth century both in its later French variety, which made matter into substance, and in deism, which conferred on matter a more spiritual name.... *Spinoza's French school* and the supporters of deism were but two sects disputing over the true meaning of *his system*.... The simple fate of this Enlightenment was its decline in *romanticism* after being obliged to surrender to the reaction which began after the French movement.”

That is what *Criticism* says.

To the Critical history of French materialism we shall oppose a brief outline of its ordinary, mass-type history. We shall acknowledge with due respect the abyss between history as it really happened and history as it takes place according to the decree of “*Absolute Criticism*”, the creator equally of the old and of the new. And finally, obeying the prescriptions of *Criticism*, we shall make the “Why?”, “Whence?” and “Whither?” of Critical history the “object of a persevering study”.

“Speaking *exactly* and in the *prosaic sense*”, the French Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, and in particular *French materialism*, was not only a struggle against the existing political institutions and the existing religion and theology; it was just as much an *open, clearly expressed* struggle against the *metaphysics of the seventeenth century*, and against all *metaphysics*, in particular that of *Descartes, Malebranche, Spinoza and Leibniz*. Philosophy was counterposed to *metaphysics*, just as *Feuerbach*, in his first resolute attack on *Hegel*, counterposed *sober philosophy* to *wild speculation*. Seventeenth century *metaphysics*, driven from the field by the *French Enlightenment*, notably, by French materialism of the eighteenth century, experienced a *victorious and substantial restoration* in *German philosophy*, particularly in the *speculative German philosophy* of the nineteenth century. After *Hegel* linked it in a masterly fashion with all subsequent metaphysics and with German idealism and founded a metaphysical universal

kingdom, the attack on theology again corresponded, as in the eighteenth century, to an attack on *speculative metaphysics* and *metaphysics in general*. It will be defeated for ever by *materialism*, which has now been perfected by the work of *speculation* itself and coincides with *humanism*. But just as *Feuerbach* is the representative of *materialism* coinciding with *humanism* in the *theoretical* domain, French and English *socialism* and *communism* represent *materialism* coinciding with *humanism* in the *practical* domain.

“Speaking *exactly* and in the *prosaic sense*”, there are *two trends* in *French materialism*; one traces its origin to *Descartes*, the other to *Locke*. The latter is *mainly* a *French* development and leads directly to *socialism*. The former, *mechanical* materialism, merges with French *natural science* proper. The two trends intersect in the course of development. We have no need here to go more deeply into the French materialism that derives directly from *Descartes*, any more than into the French school of *Newton* and the development of French natural science in general.

We shall therefore merely say the following:

Descartes in his *physics* endowed *matter* with self-creative power and conceived *mechanical* motion as the manifestation of its life. He completely separated his *physics* from his *metaphysics*. *Within* his physics, *matter* is the sole *substance*, the sole basis of being and of knowledge.

Mechanical French materialism adopted *Descartes’ physics* in opposition to his metaphysics. His followers were by profession *anti-metaphysicians*, i.e., *physicists*.

This school begins with the *physician* *Le Roy*, reaches its zenith with the physician *Cabanis*, and the physician *La Mettrie* is its centre. *Descartes* was still living when *Le Roy*, like *La Mettrie* in the eighteenth century, transposed the Cartesian structure of the animal to the human soul and declared that the soul is a *modus of the body* and *ideas* are *mechanical motions*. *Le Roy* even thought *Descartes* had kept his real opinion secret. *Descartes* protested. At the end of the

eighteenth century *Cabanis* perfected Cartesian materialism in his treatise: *Rapport du physique et du moral de l'homme*.

Cartesian materialism still exists today in France. It has achieved great successes in *mechanical natural science* which, “speaking *exactly* and in the *prosaic sense*”, will be least of all reproached with *romanticism*.

The *metaphysics* of the seventeenth century, represented in France by *Descartes*, had *materialism* as its *antagonist* from its very birth. The latter's opposition to *Descartes* was personified by *Gassendi*, the restorer of *Epicurean* materialism. French and English materialism was always closely related to *Democritus* and *Epicurus*. Cartesian metaphysics had another opponent in the *English* materialist *Hobbes*. *Gassendi* and *Hobbes* triumphed over their opponent long after their death at the very time when metaphysics was already officially dominant in all French schools.

Voltaire pointed out that the indifference of the French of the eighteenth century to the disputes between the Jesuits and the Jansenists was due less to philosophy than to *Law's* financial speculations. So the downfall of seventeenth-century metaphysics can be explained by the materialistic theory of the eighteenth century only in so far as this theoretical movement itself is explained by the practical nature of French life at that time. This life was turned to the immediate present, to worldly enjoyment and worldly interests, to the *earthly* world. Its anti-theological, anti-metaphysical, materialistic practice demanded corresponding anti-theological, anti-metaphysical, materialistic theories. Metaphysics had *in practice* lost all credit. Here we have only to indicate briefly the *theoretical* course of events.

In the seventeenth century metaphysics (cf. *Descartes*, *Leibniz*, and others) still contained a *positive*, secular element. It made discoveries in mathematics, physics and other exact sciences which seemed to come within its scope. This semblance was done away with as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century. The positive sciences broke away from metaphysics and marked out their independent fields. The whole wealth of metaphysics now consisted only of beings of thought

and heavenly things, at the very time when real beings and earthly things began to be the centre of all interest. Metaphysics had become insipid. In the very year in which Malebranche and Arnauld, the last great French metaphysicians of the seventeenth century, died, *Helvétius* and *Condillac* were born.

The man who deprived seventeenth-century metaphysics and metaphysics in general of all *credit* in the domain of *theory* was *Pierre Bayle*. His weapon was *scepticism*, which he forged out of metaphysics' own magic formulas. He himself proceeded at first from Cartesian metaphysics. Just as *Feuerbach* by combating speculative theology was driven further to combat *speculative philosophy*, precisely because he recognised in speculation the last drop of theology, because he had to force theology to retreat from pseudo-science to *crude*, repulsive *faith*, so Bayle too was driven by religious doubt to doubt about the metaphysics which was the prop of that faith. He therefore critically investigated metaphysics in its entire historical development. He became its historian in order to write the history of its death. He refuted chiefly *Spinoza* and *Leibniz*.

Pierre Bayle not only prepared the reception of materialism and of the philosophy of common sense in France by shattering metaphysics with his scepticism. He heralded the *atheistic society* which was soon to come into existence by proving that a society consisting only of atheists is *possible*, that an atheist can be a man worthy of respect, and that it is not by atheism but by superstition and idolatry that man debases himself.

To quote a French writer, *Pierre Bayle* was "the last metaphysician in the sense of the seventeenth century and *the first philosopher in the sense of the eighteenth century*".

Besides the negative refutation of seventeenth-century theology and metaphysics, a *positive, anti-metaphysical* system was required. A book was needed which would systematise and theoretically substantiate the life practice of that time. *Locke's* treatise *An Essay Concerning Humane Understanding* came from across the Channel as if in answer to a call. It was welcomed enthusiastically like a long-awaited guest.

The question arises: Is *Locke* perhaps a disciple of *Spinoza*? “Profane” history can answer:

Materialism is the *natural-born* son of *Great Britain*. Already the British schoolman, *Duns Scotus*, asked, “*whether it was impossible for matter to think?*”

In order to effect this miracle, he took refuge in God’s omnipotence, i.e., he made *theology* preach *materialism*. Moreover, he was a nominalist. Nominalism, the *first form* of materialism, is chiefly found among the *English* schoolmen.

The real progenitor of *English materialism* and all *modern experimental science* is *Bacon*. To him natural philosophy is the only true philosophy, and *physics* based upon the experience of the senses is the chiefest part of natural philosophy. *Anaxagoras* and his *homoeomeriae*, *Democritus* and his atoms, he often quotes as his authorities. According to him the *senses* are infallible and the *source* of all knowledge. All science is based on *experience*, and consists in subjecting the data furnished by the senses to a *rational method* of investigation. Induction, analysis, comparison, observation, experiment, are the principal forms of such a rational method. Among the qualities inherent in *matter*, *motion* is the first and foremost, not only in the form of *mechanical* and *mathematical* motion, *but* chiefly in the form of an *impulse*, a *vital spirit*, a *tension* — or a ‘*Qual*’, to use a term of Jakob Böhme’s — of matter. The primary forms of matter are the living, individualising *forces of being* inherent in it and producing the distinctions between the species.

In *Bacon*, its first creator, materialism still holds back within itself in a naive way the germs of a many-sided development. On the one hand, matter, surrounded by a sensuous, poetic glamour, seems to attract man’s whole entity by winning smiles. On the other, the aphoristically formulated doctrine pullulates with inconsistencies imported from theology.

In its further evolution, materialism becomes *one-sided*. *Hobbes* is the man who *systematises Baconian* materialism. Knowledge based upon the senses loses its poetic blossom, it passes into the abstract experience of the *geometrician*. *Physical* motion is sacrificed to *mechanical* or *mathematical* motion; *geometry* is

proclaimed as the queen of sciences. Materialism takes to *misanthropy*. If it is to overcome its opponent, *misanthropic*, *fleshless* spiritualism, and that on the latter's own ground, materialism has to chastise its own flesh and turn *ascetic*. Thus it passes into an *intellectual entity*; but thus, too, it evolves all the consistency, regardless of consequences, characteristic of the intellect.

Hobbes, as Bacon's continuator, argues thus: if all human knowledge is furnished by the senses, then our concepts, notions, and ideas are but the phantoms of the real world, more or less divested of its sensual form. Philosophy can but give names to these phantoms. One name may be applied to more than one of them. There may even be names of names. But it would imply a contradiction if, on the one hand, we maintained that all ideas had their origin in the world of sensation, and, on the other, that a word was more than a word; that besides the beings known to us by our senses, beings which are one and all individuals, there existed also beings of a general, not individual, nature. An *unbodily substance* is the same absurdity as an *unbodily body*. *Body*, *being*, *substance*, are but different terms for the same *reality*. It is impossible to separate thought from matter *that* thinks. This matter is the substratum of all changes going on in the world. The word *infinite* is *meaningless*, unless it states that our mind is capable of performing an endless process of addition. Only material things being perceptible, knowable to us, we cannot know *anything* about the existence of God. My own existence alone is certain. Every human passion is a mechanical movement which has a beginning and an end. The objects of impulse are what we call good. Man is subject to the same laws as nature. Power and freedom are identical.

Hobbes had systematised Bacon without, however, furnishing a proof for Bacon's fundamental principle, the origin of all human knowledge and ideas from the world of sensation.

It was *Locke* who, in his *Essay on the Humane Understanding*, supplied this proof.

Hobbes had shattered the *theistic* prejudices of Baconian materialism; Collins, Dodwell, Coward, Hartley, Priestley, similarly shattered the last theological bars that still hemmed in Locke's sensationalism. At all events, for materialists, deism is but an easy-going way of getting rid of religion.

We have already mentioned how opportune Locke's work was for the French. Locke founded the philosophy of *bon sens*, of common sense; i.e., he said indirectly that there cannot be any philosophy at variance with the healthy human senses and reason based on them.

Locke's *immediate* pupil, *Condillac*, who translated him into *French*, at once applied Locke's sensualism against seventeenth-century *metaphysics*. He proved that the French had rightly rejected this metaphysics as a mere botch work of fancy and theological prejudice. He published a refutation of the systems of *Descartes*, *Spinoza*, *Leibniz* and *Malebranche*.

In his *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines* he expounded Locke's ideas and proved that not only the soul, but the senses too, not only the art of creating ideas, but also the art of sensuous perception, are matters of *experience* and *habit*. The whole development of man therefore depends on *education* and *external circumstances*. It was only by *eclectic* philosophy that Condillac was ousted from the French schools.

The difference between *French* and *English* materialism reflects the difference between the two nations. The French imparted to English materialism wit, flesh and blood, and eloquence. They gave it the temperament and grace that it lacked. They *civilised* it.

In *Helvétius*, who also based himself on Locke, materialism assumed a really French character. Helvétius conceived it immediately in its application to social life (Helvétius, *De l'homme*). The sensory qualities and self-love, enjoyment and correctly understood personal interest are the basis of all morality. The natural equality of human intelligences, the unity of progress of reason and progress of industry, the natural goodness of man, and the omnipotence of education, are the main features in his system.

In *Lamettrie's* works we find a synthesis of Cartesian and English materialism. He makes use of Descartes' physics in detail. His *Man Machine* is a treatise after the model of Descartes' animal-machine. The physical part of Holbach's *Système de la nature* is also a result of the combination of French and English materialism, while the moral part is based essentially on the morality of Helvétius. *Robinet* (*De la nature*), the French materialist who had the most connection with metaphysics and was therefore praised by Hegel, refers explicitly to *Leibniz*.

We need not dwell on Volney, Dupuis, Diderot and others, any more than on the physiocrats, after we have proved the dual origin of French materialism from Descartes' physics and English materialism, and the opposition of French materialism to seventeenth-century *metaphysics*, to the metaphysics of Descartes, Spinoza, Malebranche, and Leibniz. This opposition only became evident to the Germans after they themselves had come into opposition to *speculative metaphysics*.

Just as *Cartesian* materialism passes into *natural science proper*, the other trend of French materialism leads directly to *socialism* and *communism*.

There is no need for any great penetration to see from the teaching of materialism on the original goodness and equal intellectual endowment of men, the omnipotence of experience, habit and education, and the influence of environment on man, the great significance of industry, the justification of enjoyment, etc., how necessarily materialism is connected with communism and socialism. If man draws all his knowledge, sensation, etc., from the world of the senses and the experience gained in it, then what has to be done is to arrange the empirical world in such a way that man experiences and becomes accustomed to what is truly human in it and that he becomes aware of himself as man. If correctly understood interest is the principle of all morality, man's private interest must be made to coincide with the interest of humanity. If man is unfree in the materialistic sense, i.e., is free not through the negative power to avoid this or that, but through the positive power to assert his true individuality, crime must not be punished in the individual, but the anti-social sources of crime must be

destroyed, and each man must be given social scope for the vital manifestation of his being. If man is shaped by environment, his environment must be made human. If man is social by nature, he will develop his true nature only in society, and the power of his nature must be measured not by the power of the separate individual but by the power of society. These and similar propositions are to be found almost literally even in the oldest French materialists. This is not the place to assess them. The apologia of vices by Mandeville, one of Locke's early English followers, is typical of the socialist tendencies of materialism. He proves that in *modern* society vice is *indispensable* and *useful*. This was by no means an apologia for modern society.

Fourier proceeds directly from the teaching of the French materialists. The *Babouvists* were crude, uncivilised materialists, but developed communism, too, derives *directly* from *French materialism*. The latter returned to its mother-country, *England*, in the form *Helvétius* gave it. *Bentham* based his system of *correctly understood interest* on *Helvétius'* morality, and *Owen* proceeded from *Bentham's* system to found English communism. Exiled to England, the Frenchman *Cabet* came under the influence of communist ideas there and on his return to France became the most popular, if the most superficial, representative of communism. Like *Owen*, the more scientific French Communists, *Dézamy*, *Gay* and others, developed the teaching of *materialism* as the teaching of *real humanism* and the *logical* basis of *communism*.

Where, then, did Herr Bauer or, *Criticism*, manage to acquire the documents for the Critical history of French materialism?

1) Hegel's *Geschichte der Philosophie* presents French materialism as the *realisation* of the Substance of Spinoza, which at any rate is far more comprehensible than "the French school of Spinoza".

2) Herr *Bauer* read Hegel's *Geschichte der Philosophie* as saying that French materialism was the *school* of Spinoza. Then, as he found in another of Hegel's works that deism and materialism are *two parties* representing *one and the same* basic principle, he concluded that Spinoza had *two* schools which disputed over

the meaning of his system. Herr Bauer could have found the supposed explanation in Hegel's *Phänomenologie*, where it is said:

“Regarding that Absolute Being, *Enlightenment* itself fails out with itself ... and is divided between the views of *two parties*.... The one ... calls *Absolute Being* that predicateless Absolute ... the other calls it *matter* Both are entirely the *same* notion — the distinction lies not in the objective fact, but purely in the diversity of starting-point adopted by the two developments” (Hegel, *Phänomenologie*, p, 421, 422)

3) Finally Herr Bauer could find, again in Hegel, that when Substance does not develop into a concept and self-consciousness, it degenerates into “romanticism”. The journal *Hallische Jahrbücher* at one time developed a similar theory.

But at all costs *the “Spirit”* had to decree a “*foolish destiny*” for its “*adversary*”, *materialism*.

Note. French materialism's connection with Descartes and Locke and the opposition of eighteenth-century philosophy to seventeenth-century metaphysics are presented in detail in most recent *French* histories of philosophy. In this respect, we had only to repeat against Critical Criticism what was already known. But the connection of eighteenth-century materialism with English and French *communism* of the nineteenth century still needs to be presented in detail. We confine ourselves here to quoting a few typical passages from Helvétius, Holbach and Bentham.

1) *Helvétius*. “Man is not wicked, but he is subordinate to his interests. One must not therefore complain of the wickedness of man but of the ignorance of the legislators, who have always placed the particular interest in opposition to the general interest.”— “The moralists have so far had no success because we have to dig into legislation to pull out the roots which create vice. In New Orleans women have the right to repudiate their husbands as soon as they are tired of them. In countries like that women are not faithless, because they have no interest in being so.”— “Morality is but a frivolous science when not combined with politics and legislation The hypocritical moralists can be recognised on the one hand by the

equanimity with which they consider vices which undermine the state, and on the other by the fury with which they condemn private vice”— “Human beings are born neither good nor bad but ready to become one or the other according as a common interest unites or divides them.”— “If citizens could not achieve their own particular good without achieving the general good, there would be no vicious people except fools” (*De l’esprit*. 1, Paris, 1822, p, 240, 241, 249, 251, 369 and 339).

As, according to Helvétius, it is education, by which he means (cf. loc. cit.,) not only education in the ordinary sense but the totality of the individual’s conditions of life, which forms man, if a reform is necessary to abolish the contradiction between particular interests and those of society, so, on the other hand, a transformation of consciousness is necessary to carry out such a reform:

“Great reforms can be implemented only by weakening the stupid respect of peoples for old laws and customs” (loc. cit.,)

or, as he says elsewhere, by abolishing ignorance.

2) *Holbach*. “Man can only love himself in the objects he loves: he can have affection only for himself in the other beings of his-kind.” “Man can never separate himself from himself for a single instant in his life, he cannot lose sight of himself.” “It is always our convenience, our interest ... that makes us hate or love things.” (*Système social*, t. 1, Paris, 1822, 56 p, 112), but “In his own interest man must love other men, because they are necessary to welfare.... Morality proves to him that of all beings the most necessary to man is man.” . “True morality, and true politics as well, is that which seeks to bring men nearer to one another to make them work by united efforts for their common happiness. Any morality which separates our interests from *those of* our associates, is false, senseless, unnatural.” . “To love others ... is to merge our interests with *those of* our associates, to work for the common benefit.... Virtue is but the usefulness of men united in *society*”. . “A man without desires or passions would cease to be a man.... Perfectly detached from himself, how could one make him decide to attach himself to others? A man indifferent to everything and having no passions,

sufficient to himself, would cease to be a social being.... Virtue is but the communication of good.” (loc. cit.,). “ Religious morality never served to make mortals more sociable.” (loc. cit.,).

3) *Bentham*. We only quote one passage from Bentham in which he opposes “*intérêt général* in the political sense” “The interest of individuals ... must give way to the public interest. But ... what does that mean? Is not each individual part of the public as much as any other? This public interest that you personify is but an abstract term: it represents but the mass of individual interests.... If it were good to sacrifice the fortune of one individual to increase that of others, it would be better to sacrifice that of a second, a third, and so on ad infinitum.... Individual interests are the only real interests.” (Bentham, *Théorie des peines et des récompenses*, Paris, 1826, 3ème 6d., II, p. , 230).

e) Final Defeat of Socialism

“The French set up a series of *systems* of *how* the *mass* should be *organised*, but they had to resort to *fantasy* because they considered the mass, as it is, to be usable material.”

Actually, the French and the English have proved, and proved in great detail, that the present social system organises the “mass *as it is*” and is therefore its *organisation*. *Criticism*, following the example of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, disposes of all socialist and communist systems by means of the *fundamental* word “*fantasy*”. Having thus shattered foreign socialism and communism, *Criticism* transfers its war-like operations to Germany.

“When the *German Enlighteners* suddenly found themselves disappointed in their hopes of 1842 and, in their embarrassment, did not know *what to do*, *news* of the recent *French* systems came in the nick of time. They were henceforth able to speak of raising the lower classes of the people and at that price they were able to dispense with the question whether they did not themselves belong to the mass, which is to be found not only in the lowest strata.”

Criticism has obviously so exhausted its entire provision of well meaning motives in the apologia for Bauer’s literary past that it can find no other

explanation for the German socialist movement than the “embarrassment” of the Enlighteners in 1842. “Fortunately they received news of the recent *French* systems.” Why not of the *English*? For the decisive *Critical* reason that Herr Bauer received no news of the recent English systems through Stein’s book: *Der Communismus und Socialismus des heutigen Frankreichs*. This is also the decisive reason why only *French systems* ever exist for *Criticism* in all its talk about socialist systems.

The German Enlighteners, *Criticism* goes on to explain, committed a sin against the Holy Ghost. They busied themselves with the “lower classes of the people”, already in existence in 1842, in order to get rid of the question, which did not yet exist then, as to what rank they were destined to occupy in the *Critical world system* that was to be instituted in anno 1843: sheep or goat, Critical Critic or impure Mass, *Spirit* or *Matter*. But above all they should have thought seriously of the *Critical salvation of their own souls*, for of what profit is it to me if I gain the whole world, including the lower classes of the people, and suffer the loss of my own soul?

“But a spiritual being cannot be raised to a higher level unless it is altered, and it cannot be altered before it has experienced extreme resistance.”

Were *Criticism* better acquainted with the movement of the lower classes of the people it would know that the extreme resistance that they have experienced from practical life is changing them every day. Modern prose and poetry emanating in England and France from the lower classes of the people would show it that the lower classes of the people know how to raise themselves spiritually even without being directly *overshadowed* by the *Holy Ghost of Critical Criticism*.

“They,” Absolute Criticism continues to indulge in fancy, “whose *whole wealth* is the word ‘*organisation of the mass*’”, etc.

A lot has been said about “organisation of labour”, although even this “catchword” came not from the Socialists themselves but from the politically radical party in France, which tried to be an intermediary between politics and

socialism. But nobody before Critical Criticism spoke of “organisation of the mass” as of a question yet to be solved. It was proved, on the contrary, that *bourgeois society*, the dissolution of the old *feudal* society, is this organisation of the mass.

Criticism puts its discovery in quotation marks . The goose that cackled to Herr Bauer the watchword for saving the Capitol is none but his *own goose*, *Critical Criticism*. It organised the mass anew by speculatively constructing it as *the* Absolute Opponent of *the* Spirit. The antithesis between spirit and mass is the Critical “organisation of society”, in which *the* Spirit, or *Criticism*, represents the organising *work*, the mass — the *raw material*, and history — the *product*.

After Absolute Criticism’s great victories over revolution, materialism and socialism in its third campaign, we may ask: What is the *final result* of these Herculean feats? Only that these movements *perished* without any result because they were still *criticism adulterated by mass* or *spirit adulterated by matter*. Even in Herr Bauer’s own literary past *Criticism* discovered manifold adulterations of criticism by the mass. But *here* it writes an apologia instead of a criticism, “*places in safety*” instead of *surrendering*; instead of seeing in the *adulteration of the spirit* by the *flesh* the death of the spirit too, it reverses the case and finds in the adulteration of the *flesh by the spirit* the life even of *Bauer’s* flesh. On the other hand, it is all the more ruthless and decisively *terroristic* as soon as imperfect criticism still adulterated by mass is no longer the *work* of Herr Bauer but of whole peoples and of a number of ordinary Frenchmen and Englishmen; as soon as imperfect criticism is no longer entitled *Die Judenfrage*, or *Die gute Sache der Freiheit*, or *Staat, Religion und Parthei*, but revolution, materialism, socialism or communism. Thus *Criticism* did away with the adulteration of spirit by matter and of criticism by mass by sparing its own flesh and crucifying the flesh of others.

One way or the other, the “spirit adulterated by flesh” or “Criticism adulterated by mass” has been cleared out of the way. Instead of this un-Critical adulteration, there appears absolutely Critical *disintegration* of spirit and flesh, criticism and mass, their pure opposition. This opposition in its *world-historic* form in which it

constitutes the true historical interest of the present time, is the opposition of Herr Bauer and Co., or *the Spirit*, to the rest of the human race as Matter.

Revolution, materialism and communism *therefore* have fulfilled their historic mission. By their *downfall* they have prepared the way for the Critical Lord. Hosanna!

f) The Speculative Cycle of Absolute Criticism and the Philosophy of Self-Consciousness

Criticism, having supposedly attained *perfection* and purity in *one* domain, *therefore* committed only one *oversight* “only” one “inconsistency”, that of not being “pure” and “perfect” in all domains. The “one” Critical domain is none other than that of *theology*. The *pure* area of this domain extends from the *Kritik der Synoptiker* by Bruno Bauer to *Das entdeckte Christenthum* by Bruno Bauer, as the farthest frontier post.

“Modern Criticism,” we are told, “had finally dealt with Spinozism; it was therefore inconsistent of it naively to presuppose Substance in one domain, even if only in individual, falsely expounded points.”

Criticism’s earlier admission that it had been involved in political prejudice was immediately followed by the extenuating circumstance that this involvement had been “*basically so slight!*” Now “the admission of *inconsistency* is tempered by the parenthesis that it committed only in *individual, falsely expounded points*. It was not Herr Bauer who was to blame, but the *false points* which *ran away with Criticism* like recalcitrant mounts.

A few quotations will show that by overcoming *Spinozism Criticism* ended up in *Hegelian idealism*, that from “*Substance*” it arrived at another *metaphysical monster*, the “*Subject*”, “*Substance as a process*”, “*infinite self-consciousness*”, and that the final result of “perfect” and “pure” Criticism is the *restoration of the Christian theory of creation* in a *speculative, Hegelian* form.

Let us first open the *Kritik der Synoptiker*.

“Strauss remains true to the view that Substance is the Absolute. Tradition in this form of universality, which has not yet attained the real and rational certitude

of universality, that certitude which can be attained only in self-consciousness, in the one and infinity of self-consciousness, is nothing but Substance which has emerged from its logical simplicity and has assumed a definite form of existence as the *power of the community*.” (*Kritik der Synoptiker*, Vol. I, Preface, pp. vi).

Let us leave to their fate “*the* universality which attains certitude”, the “oneness and infinity” (the Hegelian *Notion*). — Instead of saying that the view put forward in *Strauss’* theory on the “power of the community” and “tradition” has its abstract expression, its logical and metaphysical *hieroglyphic*, in the Spinozist conception of *Substance*, Herr Bauer makes “*Substance* emerge from its *logical simplicity* and assume a definite form of existence in the power of the community”. He applies the *Hegelian* miracle apparatus by which the “*metaphysical categories*” — abstractions extracted out of *reality* — emerge from *logic*, where they are dissolved in the “*simplicity*” of thought, and assume “a definite form” of physical or human existence; he makes them become incarnate. Help, *Hinrichs*!

“Mysterious,” *Criticism* continues its argument against Strauss, “mysterious is this view because whenever it wishes to explain and make visible the process to which the gospel history owes its origin, it can only bring out the *semblance* of a process. The sentence: ‘The gospel history has its source and origin in tradition’, posits the same thing *twice*— ‘tradition’ and the ‘gospel history’; admittedly it does posit a relation between them, but it does not tell us to what *internal process of Substance* the development and exposition owe their origin.”

According to *Hegel*, *Substance* must be conceived as an *internal process*. He characterises *development* from the viewpoint of Substance as follows:

“But if we look more closely at this *expansion*, we find that it has not come about by one and the same principle taking shape in diverse ways; it is only the shapeless *repetition of one and the same thing* ... keeping up a tedious *semblance* of diversity” (*Phänomenologie*, Preface,).

Help, *Hinrichs*!

“Criticism,” Herr Bauer continues, “according to this, must turn against itself and look for the solution of the *mysterious substantiality* ... in what the *development of Substance itself* leads to, in the universality and certitude of the idea and its real existence, in *infinite self-consciousness*.”

Hegel’s criticism of the substantiality view continues:

“The compact solidity of Substance is to be opened up and Substance raised to *self-consciousness*” (loc. cit.,).

Bauer’s *self-consciousness*, too, is *Substance raised* to self-consciousness or *self-consciousness as Substance*; self-consciousness is transformed from an *attribute of man* into a *self-existing subject*. This is the *metaphysical-theological* caricature of man in his *severance* from nature. The *being* of this self-consciousness is therefore not *man*, but *the idea* of which self-consciousness is the *real existence*. It is the idea *become man*, and therefore it is *infinite*. All *human* qualities are thus transformed in a *mysterious* way into qualities of imaginary “*infinite self-consciousness*”. Hence, Herr Bauer says *expressly* that *everything* has its *origin* and its *explanation* in this “infinite selfconsciousness”, i.e., finds in it the *basis* of its *existence*. Help, Hinrichs!

Herr Bauer continues:

“The power of the *substantiality relation* lies in its impulse, which leads us to the concept, the idea and self-consciousness.”

Hegel. says:

“Thus the *concept* is the *truth* of the substance.” “The transition of the *substantiality relation* takes place through its own immanent necessity and consists in this only, that *the concept* is the truth of the substance.” “The *idea* is the adequate concept.” “The concept ... having achieved *free* existence ... is nothing but the *ego* or *pure self-consciousness*” (*Logik*, Hegel’s Werke, 2nd ed., Vol. 5, p, 9, 229, 13).

Help, Hinrichs!

It seems comic in the extreme when Herr Bauer says in his *Literatur-Zeitung*:

“*Strauss* came to grief because he was unable to *complete the criticism of Hegel’s system*, although he proved by his half-way criticism the necessity for its completion”, etc.

It was not a *complete criticism* of Hegel’s system that Herr Bauer himself thought he was giving in his *Kritik der Synoptiker* but at the most the *completion of Hegel’s system*, at least in its application to theology.

He describes his criticism (*Kritik der Synoptiker*, Preface, p. xxi) as “the last act of a definite system”, which is no other than *Hegel’s system*.

The dispute between *Strauss* and *Bauer* over *Substance* and *Self-Consciousness* is a dispute *within Hegelian speculation*. In *Hegel* there are *three elements*, *Spinoza’s Substance*, *Fichte’s Self-Consciousness* and *Hegel’s necessarily antagonistic unity* of the two, the *Absolute Spirit*. The first element is metaphysically disguised *nature separated* from man; the second is metaphysically disguised *spirit separated* from nature; the third is the metaphysically disguised *unity* of both, *real man* and the *real human species*.

Within the domain of theology, *Strauss* expounds *Hegel* from *Spinoza’s point of view*, and *Bauer* does so from *Fichte’s point of view*, both quite consistently. They both *criticised* *Hegel* insofar as with him each of the two elements was *falsified* by the other, whereas they carried each of these elements to its *one-sided* and hence consistent development. — Both of them therefore go *beyond* *Hegel* in their criticism, but both also remain *within* his speculation and each represents only *one* side of his system. *Feuerbach*, who completed and criticised *Hegel* from *Hegel’s point of view* by resolving the metaphysical *Absolute Spirit* into “*real man on the basis of nature*”, was the first to complete the *criticism of religion* by sketching in a grand and masterly manner the *basic features* of the *criticism of Hegel’s speculation* and hence of *all metaphysics*.

With Herr Bauer it is, admittedly, no longer the *Holy Ghost*, but nevertheless *infinite self-consciousness* that dictates the writings of the evangelist.

“We ought not any longer to conceal the fact that the correct conception of the gospel history also has its *philosophical basis*, namely, the *philosophy of self-*

consciousness” (Bruno Bauer, *Kritik der Synoptiker*, Preface, p. xv).

This philosophy of Herr Bauer, the *philosophy of self-consciousness*, like the *results* he achieved by his criticism of theology, must be characterised by a few extracts from *Das entdeckte Christenthum*, his *last* work on the philosophy of religion.

Speaking of the *French materialists*, he says:

“When the *truth* of materialism, the *philosophy of self-consciousness*, is revealed and *self-consciousness* is recognised as the *Universe*, as the solution of the riddle of *Spinoza’s substance* and as the true *causa sui* ..., what is the purpose of *the Spirit*? *What is the purpose of self-consciousness*? As if *self-consciousness*, by positing the *world*, did not posit *distinction* and did not produce itself in all it produces, since it does away again with *the distinction of what it produced from itself*, and since, consequently it is itself only in production and in movement — as if *self-consciousness* in this movement, which is itself, had not its purpose and did not possess itself!” (*Das entdeckte Christenthum*, .)

“The French materialists did, indeed, conceive the movement of selfconsciousness as the movement of the universal being, matter, but they could *not yet* see that the *movement of the universe* became *real* for itself and achieved unity with itself *only* as the *movement of self-consciousness*” (1. c., pp. 115).

Help, *Hinrichs*!

In plain language the *first* extract means: the truth of *materialism* is the *opposite* of materialism, *absolute*, i.e., exclusive, unmitigated *idealism*. Self-consciousness, *the Spirit*, is the *Universe*. Outside of it there is *nothing*. “Self-consciousness”, “*the Spirit*”, is the almighty creator of the world, of heaven and earth. The *world* is a manifestation of the life of self-consciousness which has to *alienate* itself and take on *the form of a slave*, but the difference between the world and self-consciousness is only an *apparent difference*. Self-consciousness distinguishes *nothing real* from itself. The world is, rather, only a metaphysical *distinction*, a phantom of its ethereal brain and an *imaginary* product of the latter. Hence selfconsciousness does away again with the appearance, which it conceded

for a moment, that something exists outside of it, and it recognises in what it has “produced” no real object, i.e., no object which in reality, is distinct from it. By this movement, however, *self-consciousness* first produces itself as absolute, for the *absolute* idealist, in order to be an absolute idealist, must necessarily constantly go through the *sophistical process* of first transforming the world *outside himself* into an appearance, a mere fancy of *his* brain, and afterwards declaring this *fantasy* to be what it really is, i.e., a mere fantasy, so as finally to be able to proclaim his sole, exclusive existence, which is no longer disturbed even by the semblance of an external world.

In plain language the *second* extract means: The French materialists did, of course, conceive the movements of matter as movements involving spirit, but they were not yet able to see that they are not *material* but *ideal* movements, movements of selfconsciousness, consequently pure movements of thought. They were not yet able to see that the real movement of the universe became true and real only as the *ideal* movement of selfconsciousness free and freed from *matter*, that is, from reality; in other words, that a *material* movement distinct from ideal brain movement exists only in *appearance*. Help, *Hinrichs*!

This speculative *theory of creation* is almost word for word in *Hegel*; it can be found in his *first* work, his *Phänomenologie*.

“The alienation of *self-consciousness* itself establishes *thinghood*.... In this alienation self-consciousness establishes itself as object or sets up the object as *itself*. On the other hand, there is also this other moment in the process that it has just as much *abolished* this *alienation* and *objectification* and resumed them into itself.... This is the *movement of consciousness*” (Hegel, *Phänomenologie*, p-75).

“Self-consciousness has a *content* which it distinguishes *from itself*... This content in its *distinction* is itself the *ego*, for it is the *movement* of superseding itself.... More precisely stated, this content is nothing but the *very movement just spoken of*; for the content is *the Spirit* which traverses the whole range of its own being, and does this *for itself as Spirit*” (*loc. cit.*, pp. 583).

Referring to this theory of creation of Hegel’s, *Feuerbach* observes:

“Matter is the self-alienation of the spirit. Thereby matter itself acquires spirit and reason — but at the same time it is assumed as a *nothingness*, an *unreal* being, inasmuch as being producing itself from this alienation, i.e., being divesting itself of matter, of sensuousness, is pronounced to be being in its perfection, in its true shape and form. Therefore the natural, the material, the sensuous, is what is to be *negated* here too, as *nature poisoned by original sin* is in theology” (*Philosophie der Zukunft*).

Herr Bauer therefore defends materialism against *un-Critical theology*, at the same time as he reproaches it with “not yet” being *Critical theology, theology of reason, Hegelian speculation. Hinrichs! Hinrichs!*

Herr Bauer, who in all domains carries through *his* opposition to *Substance, his philosophy of self-consciousness* or of *the Spirit*, must therefore in all domains have only the *figments* of his own *brain* to deal with. In his hands, *Criticism* is the instrument to sublimate into mere *appearance* and *pure thought* all that affirms a *finite* material existence *outside infinite self-consciousness*. What he combats in *Substance* is not the *metaphysical illusion* but its *mundane* kernel — *nature*; nature both as it exists *outside* man and as man’s nature. Not to presume *Substance* in any domain — he still uses this language — means therefore for him not to recognise any *being* distinct from thought, any *natural energy* distinct from the *spontaneity of the spirit*, any *power of human nature* distinct from *reason*, any *passivity* distinct from *activity*, any *influence of others* distinct from *one’s own action* any *feeling* or *willing* distinct from *knowing*, any *heart* distinct from the *head*, any *object* distinct from the *subject*, any *practice* distinct from *theory*, any *man* distinct from the *Critic*, any *real community* distinct from *abstract generality*, any *Thou* distinct from *I*. Herr Bauer is therefore consistent when he goes on to identify *himself* with *infinite self-consciousness*, with the *Spirit*, i.e., to replace these creations of his by their creator. He is just as consistent in rejecting as *stubborn mass* and *matter* the *rest of the world* which obstinately insists on being something *distinct* from what *he*, Herr Bauer, has produced. And so he hopes:

*It will not belong
Before all bodies perish.*

His own ill-humour at so far being unable to master “the *something* of this *clumsy world*” he interprets equally consistently as the *self-discontent* of this world, and the indignation of his Criticism at the development of mankind as the *mass-type* indignation of mankind against *his* Criticism, against the Spirit, against Herr Bruno Bauer and Co.

Herr Bauer was a *theologian* from the very beginning, but no ordinary one; he was a *Critical theologian* or a *theological Critic*. While still the extreme representative of *old Hegelian* orthodoxy who put in a speculative form all *religious* and *theological nonsense*, he constantly proclaimed *Criticism* his *private domain*. At that time he called *Strauss*’ criticism *human* criticism and expressly asserted the right of divine criticism in opposition to it. He later stripped the great *self-reliance* or *self-consciousness*, which was the hidden kernel of this divinity, of its religious shell, made it self-existing as an independent being, and raised it, under the trade-mark “*Infinite Self-consciousness*”, to the rank of the principle of Criticism. Then he accomplished in his own movement the movement that the “philosophy of self-consciousness” describes as the absolute act of life. He abolished anew the “distinction” between “the product”, *infinite self-consciousness*, and the producer, *himself*, and acknowledged that infinite self-consciousness in its movement “*was only he himself*”, and that therefore the movement of the universe only becomes *true* and *real* in his ideal self-movement.

Divine criticism in its *return into itself* is restored in a rational, conscious, Critical way; *being in-itself* is transformed into *being in-and-for-itself* and only at the *end* does the fulfilled, realised, revealed *beginning* take place. *Divine* criticism, as *distinct* from *human* criticism, reveals itself as *Criticism*, *pure Criticism*, *Critical Criticism*. The apologia for the Old and the New Testament is replaced by the apologia for the old and new works of Herr Bauer. The *theological* antithesis of God and man, spirit and flesh, infinity and finiteness is

transformed into the *Critical-theological antithesis of the Spirit, Criticism*, or Herr Bauer, and the *matter of the mass*, or the secular world. The theological antithesis of faith and reason has been resolved into the Critical-theological antithesis of *common sense* and pure Critical thought. The *Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie* has been transformed into the Critical *Literatur-Zeitung*. The *religious redeemer of the world* has finally become a reality in the *Critical redeemer of the world*, Herr Bauer.

Herr Bauer's last stage is not an anomaly in his development; it is the *return* of his development *into* itself from its *alienation*. Naturally, the point at which *divine Criticism alienated* itself and came out of itself coincided with the point at which it became partly untrue to itself and created something *human*.

Returning to its starting-point, *Absolute Criticism* has ended the *speculative cycle* and thereby its own *life's career*. Its further movement is *pure*, lofty *circling within itself*, above all interest of a mass nature and therefore devoid of any further interest for the Mass.

Spinoza by James Anthony Froude



From 'Short Studies on Great Subjects'

*Benedicti de Spinoza Tractatus de Deo et Homine ejusque Felicitate Lineamenta.
Atque Annotationes ad Tractatum Theologico-Politicum. Edidit et illustravit
Edwardus Boehmer. Halæ ad Salam. J. F. Lippert. 1852.*

This little volume is one evidence among many of the interest which continues to be felt by the German students in Spinoza. The actual merit of the book itself is little or nothing; but it shows the industry with which they are gleaning among the libraries of Holland for any traces of him which they can recover; and the smallest fragments of his writings are acquiring that factitious importance which attaches to the most insignificant relics of acknowledged greatness. Such industry cannot be otherwise than laudable, but we do not think it at present altogether wisely directed. Nothing is likely to be brought to light which will further illustrate Spinoza's philosophy. He himself spent the better part of his life in clearing his language of ambiguities; and such earlier sketches of his system as are supposed still to be extant in MS., and a specimen of which M. Boehmer believes himself to have discovered, contribute only obscurity to what is in no need of additional difficulty. Of Spinoza's private history, on the contrary, rich as it must have been, and abundant traces of it as must be extant somewhere in his own and his friends' correspondence, we know only enough to feel how vast a chasm remains to be filled. It is not often that any man in this world lives a life so well worth writing as Spinoza lived; not for striking incidents or large events connected with it, but because (and no sympathy with his peculiar opinions disposes us to exaggerate his merit) he was one of the very best men whom these modern times have seen. Excommunicated, disinherited, and thrown upon the world when a mere boy to

seek his livelihood, he resisted the inducements which on all sides were urged upon him to come forward in the world. He refused pensions, legacies, money in many forms; he maintained himself with grinding glasses for optical instruments, an art which he had been taught in early life, and in which he excelled the best workmen in Holland; and when he died, which was at the early age of forty-four, the affection with which he was regarded showed itself singularly in the endorsement of a tradesman's bill which was sent in to his executors, in which he was described as M. Spinoza of 'blessed memory.'

The account which remains of him we owe, not to an admiring disciple, but to a clergyman to whom his theories were detestable; and his biographer allows that the most malignant scrutiny had failed to detect a blemish in his character — that, except so far as his opinions were blameable, he had lived to outward appearance free from fault. We desire, in what we are going to say of him, to avoid offensive collision with popular prejudices; still less shall we place ourselves in antagonism with the earnest convictions of serious persons: our business is to relate what Spinoza was, and leave others to form their own conclusions. But one lesson there does seem to lie in such a life of such a man, — a lesson which he taught equally by example and in word, — that wherever there is genuine and thorough love for good and goodness, no speculative superstructure of opinion can be so extravagant as to forfeit those graces which are promised, not to clearness of intellect, but to purity of heart. In Spinoza's own beautiful language,— '*Justitia et caritas unicum et certissimum veræ fidei Catholicæ signum est, et veri Spiritûs Sancti fructus: et ubicumque hæc reperiuntur, ibi Christus re verâ est, et ubicumque hæc desunt deest Christus: solo namque Christi Spiritu duci possumus in amorem justitiæ et caritatis.*' We may deny his conclusions; we may consider his system of thought preposterous and even pernicious; but we cannot refuse him the respect which is the right of all sincere and honourable men. Wherever and on whatever questions good men are found ranged on opposite sides, one of three alternatives is always true: — either the points of disagreement are purely speculative and of no moral importance — or there is a misunderstanding of

language, and the same thing is meant under a difference of words — or else the real truth is something different from what is held by any of the disputants, and each is representing some important element which the others ignore or forget. In either case, a certain calmness and good temper is necessary, if we would understand what we disagree with, or would oppose it with success; Spinoza's influence over European thought is too great to be denied or set aside; and if his doctrines be false in part, or false altogether, we cannot do their work more surely than by calumny or misrepresentation — a most obvious truism, which no one now living will deny in words, and which a century or two hence perhaps will begin to produce some effect upon the popular judgment.

Bearing it in mind, then, ourselves, as far as we are able, we propose to examine the Pantheistic philosophy in the first and only logical form which as yet it has assumed. Whatever may have been the case with Spinoza's disciples, in the author of this system there was no unwillingness to look closely at it, or to follow it out to its conclusions; and whatever other merits or demerits belong to him, at least he has done as much as with language can be done to make himself thoroughly understood.

And yet, both in friend and enemy alike, there has been a reluctance to see Spinoza as he really was. The Herder and Schleiermacher school have claimed him as a Christian — a position which no little disguise was necessary to make tenable; the orthodox Protestants and Catholics have called him an Atheist — which is still more extravagant; and even a man like Novalis, who, it might have been expected, would have had something reasonable to say, could find no better name for him than a *Gott trunkner Mann* — a God intoxicated man: an expression which has been quoted by everybody who has since written upon the subject, and which is about as inapplicable as those laboriously pregnant sayings usually are. With due allowance for exaggeration, such a name would describe tolerably the Transcendental mystics, a Toler, a Boehmen, or a Swedenborg; but with what justice can it be applied to the cautious, methodical Spinoza, who carried his thoughts about with him for twenty years, deliberately shaping them, and who

gave them at last to the world in a form more severe than with such subjects had ever been so much as attempted before? With him, as with all great men, there was no effort after sublime emotions. He was a plain, practical person; his object in philosophy was only to find a rule by which to govern his own actions and his own judgment; and his treatises contain no more than the conclusions at which he arrived in this purely personal search, with the grounds on which he rested them.

We cannot do better than follow his own account of himself as he has given it in the opening of his unfinished Tract, 'De Emendatione Intellectûs.' His language is very beautiful, but it is elaborate and full; and, as we have a long journey before us, we must be content to epitomise it.

Looking round him on his entrance into life, and asking himself what was his place and business there, he turned for examples to his fellow-men, and found little that he could venture to imitate. He observed them all in their several ways governing themselves by their different notions of what they thought desirable; while these notions themselves were resting on no more secure foundation than a vague, inconsistent experience: the experience of one was not the experience of another, and thus men were all, so to say, rather playing experiments with life than living, and the larger portion of them miserably failing. Their mistakes arose, as it seemed to Spinoza, from inadequate knowledge; things which at one time looked desirable, disappointed expectation when obtained, and the wiser course concealed itself often under an uninviting exterior. He desired to substitute certainty for conjecture, and to endeavour to find, by some surer method, where the real good of man actually lay. We must remember that he had been brought up a Jew, and had been driven out of the Jews' communion; his mind was therefore in contact with the bare facts of life, with no creed or system lying between them and himself as the interpreter of experience. He was thrown on his own resources to find his way for himself, and the question was, how to find it. Of all forms of human thought, one only, he reflected, would admit of the certainty which he required. If certain knowledge were attainable at all, it must be looked for under the mathematical or demonstrative method; by tracing from ideas clearly

conceived the consequences which were formally involved in them. What, then, were these ideas — these *veræ ideæ*, as he calls them — and how were they to be obtained? If they were to serve as the axioms of his system, they must be self-evident truths, of which no proof was required; and the illustration which he gives of the character of such ideas is ingenious and Platonic.

In order to produce any mechanical instrument, Spinoza says, we require others with which to manufacture it; and others again to manufacture those; and it would seem thus as if the process must be an infinite one, and as if nothing could ever be made at all. Nature, however, has provided for the difficulty in creating of her own accord certain rude instruments, with the help of which we can make others better; and others again with the help of those. And so he thinks it must be with the mind; there must be somewhere similar original instruments provided also as the first outfit of intellectual enterprise. To discover these, he examines the various senses in which men are said to know anything, and he finds that they resolve themselves into three, or, as he elsewhere divides it, four.

We know a thing —

- i. *Ex mero auditu*: because we have heard it from some person or persons whose veracity we have no reason to question.
1. *Ab experiëntiâ vagâ*: from general experience: for instance, all
ii. facts or phenomena which come to us through our senses as phenomena, but of the causes of which we are ignorant.

2. We know a thing as we have correctly conceived the laws of its phenomena, and see them following in their sequence in the order of nature.

3. Finally, we know a thing, *ex scientiâ intuitivâ*, which alone is absolutely clear and certain.

To illustrate these divisions, suppose it be required to find a fourth proportional which shall stand to the third of three numbers as the second does to the first. The merchant's clerk knows his rule; he multiplies the second into the third and

divides by the first. He neither knows nor cares to know why the result is the number which he seeks, but he has learnt the fact that it is so, and he remembers it.

A person a little wiser has tried the experiment in a variety of simple cases; he has discovered the rule by induction, but still does not understand it.

A third has mastered the laws of proportion mathematically, as he has found them in Euclid or other geometrical treatise.

A fourth, with the plain numbers of 1, 2, and 3, sees for himself by simple intuitive force that $1:2=3:6$.

Of these several kinds of knowledge the third and fourth alone deserve to be called knowledge, the others being no more than opinions more or less justly founded. The last is the only real insight, although the third, being exact in its form, may be depended upon as a basis of certainty. Under this last, as Spinoza allows, nothing except the very simplest truths, *non nisi simplicissimæ veritates*, can be perceived; but, such as they are, they are the foundation of all after-science; and the true ideas, the *veræ ideæ*, which are apprehended by this faculty of intuition, are the primitive instruments with which nature has furnished us. If we ask for a test by which to distinguish them, he has none to give us. ‘Veritas,’ he says to his friends, in answer to their question, ‘veritas index sui est et falsi. Veritas se ipsam patefacit.’ All original truths are of such a kind that they cannot without absurdity even be conceived to be false; the opposites of them are contradictions in terms.— ‘Ut sciam me scire, necessario debeo prius scire. Hinc patet quod certitudo nihil est præter ipsam essentiam objectivam.... Cum itaque veritas nullo egeat signo, sed sufficiat habere essentiam rerum objectivam, aut quod idem est ideas, ut omne tollatur dubium; hinc sequitur quod vera non est methodus, signum veritatis quærere post acquisitionem idearum; sed quod vera methodus est via, ut ipsa veritas, aut essentiæ objectivæ rerum, aut ideæ (omnia illa idem significant) debito ordine quærantur.’ (*De Emend. Intell.*)

Spinoza will scarcely carry with him the reasoner of the nineteenth century in arguments like these. When we remember the thousand conflicting opinions, the

truth of which their several advocates have as little doubted as they have doubted their own existence, we require some better evidence than a mere feeling of certainty; and Aristotle's less pretending canon promises a safer road. Ὅ πασι δοκεῖ, 'what all men think,' says Aristotle, τοῦτο εἶναι φάμεν 'this we say *is*,'— 'and if you will not have this to be a fair ground of conviction, you will scarcely find one which will serve you better.' We are to see, however, what these *ideæ* are which are offered to us as self-evident. Of course, if they are self-evident, if they do produce conviction, nothing more is to be said; but it does, indeed, appear strange to us that Spinoza was not staggered as to the validity of his canon, when his friends, everyone of them, so floundered and stumbled among what he regarded as his simplest propositions; when he found them, in spite of all that he could say, requiring endless *signa veritatis*, and unable for a long time even to understand their meaning, far less to 'recognise them as elementary certainties.' Modern readers may, perhaps, be more fortunate. We produce at length the definitions and axioms of the first book of the 'Ethica,' and they may judge for themselves: —

DEFINITIONS.

1. By a thing which is *causa sui*, its own cause, I mean a thing the essence of which involves the existence of it, or a thing which cannot be conceived except as existing.

2. I call a thing finite, *suo genere*, when it can be limited by another (or others) of the same nature — *e.g.* a given body is called finite, because we can always conceive another body enveloping it; but body is not limited by thought, nor thought by body.

3. By substance I mean what exists in itself and is conceived by itself; the conception of which, that is, does not involve the conception of anything else as the cause of it.

4. By attribute I mean whatever the intellect perceives of substance as constituting the essence of substance.

5. Mode is an affection of substance, or is that which is in something else, by and through which it is conceived.

6. God is a being absolutely infinite; a substance consisting of infinite attributes, each of which expresses his eternal and infinite essence.

EXPLANATION.

I say *absolutely* infinite, not infinite *suo genere* — for of what is infinite *suo genere* only, the attributes are not infinite but finite; whereas what is infinite absolutely contains in its own essence everything by which substance can be expressed, and which involves no impossibility.

7. That thing is ‘free’ which exists by the sole necessity of its own nature, and is determined in its operation by itself only. That is ‘not free’ which is called into existence by something else, and is determined in its operation according to a fixed and definite method.

8. Eternity is existence itself, conceived as following necessarily and solely from the definition of the thing which is eternal.

EXPLANATION.

Because existence of this kind is conceived as an eternal verity, and, therefore, cannot be explained by duration, even though the duration be without beginning or end.

So far the definitions; then follow the

AXIOMS.

1. All things that exist, exist either of themselves or in virtue of something else.

2. What we cannot conceive of as existing in virtue of something else, we must conceive through and in itself.

3. From a given cause an effect necessarily follows, and if there be no given cause no effect can follow.

4. Things which have nothing in common with each other cannot be understood through one another — *i.e.* the conception of one does not involve the conception of the other.

5. To understand an effect implies that we understand the cause of it.
6. A true idea is one which corresponds with its *ideate*.
7. The essence of anything which can be conceived as non-existent does not involve existence.

Such is our metaphysical outfit of simple ideas with which to start upon our enterprise of learning. The larger number of them, so far from being simple, must be absolutely without meaning to persons whose minds are undisciplined in metaphysical abstraction; they become only intelligible propositions as we look back upon them with the light of the system which they are supposed to contain.

Although, however, we may justly quarrel with such unlooked-for difficulties, the important question, after all, is not of the obscurity of these axioms, but of their truth. Many things in all the sciences are obscure to an unpractised understanding, which are true enough and clear enough to people acquainted with the subjects, and they may be fairly made the foundations of a scientific system, although rudimentary students must be contented to accept them upon faith. Of course, also, it is entirely competent to Spinoza, or to any one, to define the terms which he intends to use just as he pleases, provided it be understood that any conclusions which he derives out of them apply only to the ideas so defined, and not to any supposed object existing which corresponds with them. Euclid defines his triangles and circles, and discovers that to figures so described, certain properties previously unknown may be proved to belong. But as in nature there are no such things as triangles and circles exactly answering the definition, his conclusions, as applied to actually existing objects, are either not true at all or only proximately so. Whether it be possible to bridge over the gulf between existing things and the abstract conception of them, as Spinoza attempts to do, we shall presently see. It is a royal road to certainty if it be a practicable one; but we cannot say that we ever met any one who could say honestly Spinoza's reasonings had convinced him; and power of demonstration, like all other powers, can be judged only by its effects. Does it prove? does it produce conviction? If not, it is nothing.

We need not detain our readers among these abstractions. The power of Spinozism does not lie so remote from ordinary appreciation, or we should long ago have heard the last of it. Like all other systems which have attracted followers, it addresses itself, not to the logical intellect, but to the imagination, which it affects to set aside. We refuse to submit to the demonstrations by which it thrusts itself upon our reception; but regarding it as a whole, as an attempt to explain the nature of the world of which we are a part, we can still ask ourselves how far the attempt is successful. Some account of these things we know that there must be, and the curiosity which asks the question regards itself, of course, as competent in some degree to judge of the answer to it.

Before proceeding, however, to regard this philosophy in the aspect in which it is really powerful, we must clear our way through the fallacy of the method.

The system is evolved in a series of theorems in severely demonstrative order out of the definitions and axioms which we have translated. To propositions 1-6 we have nothing to object; they will not, probably, convey any very clear ideas, but they are so far purely abstract, and seem to follow (as far as we can speak of 'following' in such subjects) by fair reasoning. 'Substance is prior in nature to its affections.' 'Substances with different attributes have nothing in common,' and, therefore, 'one cannot be the cause of the other.' 'Things really distinct are distinguished by difference either of attribute or mode (there being nothing else by which they can be distinguished), and, therefore, because things modally distinguished do not *quâ* substance differ from one another, there cannot be more than one substance of the same attribute. Therefore (let us remind our readers that we are among what Spinoza calls *notiones simplicissimas*), since there cannot be two substances of the same attribute, and substances of different attributes cannot be the cause one of the other, it follows that no substance can be produced by another substance.'

The existence of substance, he then concludes, is involved in the nature of the thing itself. Substance exists. It does and must. We ask, why? and we are answered, because there is nothing capable of producing it, and therefore it is self-

caused — *i.e.* by the first definition the essence of it implies existence as part of the idea. It is astonishing that Spinoza should not have seen that he assumes the fact that substance does exist in order to prove that it must. If it cannot be produced *and* exists, then, of course, it exists in virtue of its own nature. But supposing it does not exist, supposing it is all a delusion, the proof falls to pieces. We have to fall back on the facts of experience, on the obscure and unscientific certainty that the thing which we call the world, and the personalities which we call ourselves, are a real substantial something, before we find ground of any kind to stand upon. Conscious of the infirmity of his demonstration, Spinoza winds round it and round it, adding proof to proof, but never escaping the same vicious circle: substance exists because it exists, and the ultimate experience of existence, so far from being of that clear kind which can be accepted as an axiom, is the most confused of all our sensations. What is existence? and what is that something which we say exists? Things — essences — existences! these are but the vague names with which faculties, constructed only to deal with conditional phenomena, disguise their incapacity. The world in the Hindoo legend was supported upon the back of the tortoise. It was a step between the world and nothingness, and served to cheat the imagination with ideas of a fictitious resting-place.

If any one affirms (says Spinoza) that he has a clear, distinct — that is to say, a true — idea of substance, but that nevertheless he is uncertain whether any such substance exist, it is the same as if he were to affirm that he had a true idea, but yet was uncertain whether it was not false. Or if he says that substance can be created, it is like saying that a false idea can become a true idea — as absurd a thing as it is possible to conceive; and therefore the existence of substance, as well as the essence of it, must be acknowledged as an eternal verity.

It is again the same story. Spinoza speaks of a clear idea of substance; but he has not proved that such an idea is within the compass of the mind. A man's own notion that he sees clearly, is no proof that he really sees clearly; and the distinctness of a definition in itself is no evidence that it corresponds adequately

with the object of it. No doubt a man who professes to have an idea of substance as an existing thing, cannot doubt, as long as he has it, that substance so exists. This is merely to say that as long as a man is certain of this or that fact, he has no doubt of it. But neither his certainty nor Spinoza's will be of any use to a man who has no such idea, and who cannot recognise the lawfulness of the method by which it is arrived at.

From the self-existing substance it is a short step to the existence of God. After a few more propositions, following one another with the same kind of coherence, we arrive successively at the conclusion that there is but one substance; that this substance being necessarily existent, it is also infinite; that it is therefore identical with the Being who had been previously defined as the 'Ens absolute perfectum.'

Demonstrations of this kind were the characteristics of the period. Des Cartes had set the example of constructing them, and was followed by Cudworth, Clarke, Berkeley, and many others besides Spinoza. The inconclusiveness of the method may perhaps be observed most readily in the strangely opposite conceptions formed by all these writers of the nature of that Being whose existence they nevertheless agreed, by the same process, to gather each out of their ideas. It is important, however, to examine it carefully, for it is the very keystone of the Pantheistic system.

As stated by Des Cartes, the argument stands something as follows: — God is an all-perfect Being, — perfection is the idea which we form of Him: existence is a mode of perfection, and therefore God exists. The sophism we are told is only apparent. Existence is part of the idea — as much involved in it as the equality of all lines drawn from the centre to the circumference of a circle is involved in the idea of a circle. A non-existent all-perfect Being is as inconceivable as a quadrilateral triangle.

It is sometimes answered that in this way we may prove the existence of anything — Titans, Chimæras, or the Olympian Gods; we have but to define them as existing, and the proof is complete. But, this objection summarily set aside; none of these beings are by hypothesis absolutely perfect, and, therefore, of their

existence we can conclude nothing. With greater justice, however, we may say, that of such terms as perfection and existence we know too little to speculate. Existence may be an imperfection for all we can tell; we know nothing about the matter. Such arguments are but endless *petitiones principii* — like the self-devouring serpent, resolving themselves into nothing. We wander round and round them, in the hope of finding some tangible point at which we can seize their meaning; but we are presented everywhere with the same impracticable surface, from which our grasp glides off ineffectual.

Spinoza himself, however, obviously felt an intense conviction of the validity of his argument. His opinion is stated with sufficient distinctness in one of his letters. ‘Nothing is more clear,’ he writes to his pupil De Vries, ‘than that, on the one hand, everything which exists is conceived by or under some attribute or other; that the more reality, therefore, a being or thing has, the more attributes must be assigned to it;’ ‘and conversely’ (and this he calls his *argumentum palmarium* in proof of the existence of God), ‘*the more attributes I assign to a thing, the more I am forced to conceive it as existing.*’ Arrange the argument how we please, we shall never get it into a form clearer than this: — The more perfect a thing is, the more it must exist (as if existence could admit of more or less); and therefore the all-perfect Being must exist absolutely. There is no flaw, we are told, in the reasoning; and if we are not convinced, it is from the confused habits of our own minds.

Some persons may think that all arguments are good when on the right side, and that it is a gratuitous impertinence to quarrel with the proofs of a conclusion which it is so desirable that all should receive. As yet, however, we are but inadequately acquainted with the idea attached by Spinoza to the word perfection; and if we commit ourselves to his logic, it may lead us out to unexpected consequences. All such reasonings presume, as a first condition, that we men possess faculties capable of dealing with absolute ideas; that we can understand the nature of things external to ourselves as they really *are* in their absolute relation to one another, independent of our own conception. The question

immediately before us is one which can never be determined. The truth which is to be proved is one which we already believe; and if, as we believe also, our conviction of God's existence is, like that of our own existence, intuitive and immediate, the grounds of it can never adequately be analysed; we cannot say exactly what they are, and therefore we cannot say what they are not. Whatever we receive intuitively, we receive without proof; and stated as a naked proposition, it must involve a *petitio principii*. We have a right, however, to object at once to an argument in which the conclusion is more obvious than the premises; and if it lead on to other consequences which we disapprove in themselves, we reject it without difficulty or hesitation. We ourselves believe that God is, because we experience the control of a 'power' which is stronger than we; and our instincts teach us so much of the nature of that power as our own relation to it requires us to know. God is the being to whom our obedience is due; and the perfections which we attribute to him are those moral perfections which are the proper object of our reverence. Strange to say, the perfections of Spinoza, which appear so clear to him, are without any moral character whatever; and for men to speak of the justice of God, he tells us, is but to see in him a reflection of themselves; as if a triangle were to conceive of him as *eminenter triangularis*, or a circle to give him the property of circularity.

Having arrived at existence, we next find ourselves among ideas, which at least are intelligible, if the character of them is as far removed as before from the circle of ordinary thought. Nothing exists except substance, the attributes under which substance is expressed, and the modes or affections of those attributes. There is but one substance self-existent, eternal, necessary, and that is the absolutely Infinite all-perfect Being. Substance cannot produce substance, and therefore there is no such thing as creation; and everything which exists is either an attribute of God, or an affection of some attribute of him, modified in this manner or in that. Beyond him there is nothing, and nothing like him or equal to him; he therefore alone in himself is absolutely free, uninfluenced by anything, for nothing is except himself; and from him and from his supreme power, essence,

intelligence (for these words mean the same thing), all things have necessarily flowed, and will and must flow for ever, in the same manner as from the nature of a triangle it follows, and has followed, and will follow from eternity to eternity, that the angles of it are equal to two right angles. It would seem as if the analogy were but an artificial play upon words, and that it was only metaphorically that in mathematical demonstration we speak of one thing as following from another. The properties of a curve or a triangle are what they are at all times, and the sequence is merely in the order in which they are successively known to ourselves. But according to Spinoza, this is the only true sequence; and what we call the universe, and all the series of incidents in earth or planet, are involved formally and mathematically in the definition of God.

Each attribute is infinite *suo genere*; and it is time that we should know distinctly the meaning which Spinoza attaches to that important word. Out of the infinite number of the attributes of God, two only, he says, are known to us—‘extension,’ and ‘thought,’ or ‘mind.’ Duration, even though it be without beginning or end, is not an attribute; it is not even a real thing. Time has no relation to Being, conceived mathematically; it would be absurd to speak of circles or triangles as any older to-day than they were at the beginning of the world. These and everything of the same kind are conceived, as Spinoza rightly says, *sub quâdam specie æternitatis*. But extension, or substance extended, and thought, or substance perceiving, are real, absolute, and objective. We must not confound extension with body; for though body be a mode of extension, there is extension which is not body, and it is infinite because we cannot conceive it to be limited except by itself — or, in other words, to be limited at all. And as it is with extension, so it is with mind, which is also infinite with the infinity of its object. Thus there is no such thing as creation, and no beginning or end. All things of which our faculties are cognizant under one or other of these attributes are produced from God, and in him they have their being, and without him they would cease to be.

Proceeding by steps of rigid demonstration (and most admirably indeed is the form of the philosophy adapted to the spirit of it), we learn that God is the only *causa libera*; that no other thing or being has any power of self-determination; all moves by fixed laws of causation, motive upon motive, act upon act; there is no free will, and no contingency; and however necessary it may be for our incapacity to consider future things as in a sense contingent (see *Tractat. Theol. Polit.* cap. iv., sec. 4), this is but one of the thousand convenient deceptions which we are obliged to employ with ourselves. God is the *causa immanens omnium*; he is not a personal being existing apart from the universe; but himself in his own reality, he is expressed in the universe, which is his living garment. Keeping to the philosophical language of the time, Spinoza preserves the distinction between *natura naturans* and *natura naturata*. The first is being in itself, the attributes of substance as they are conceived simply and alone; the second is the infinite series of modifications which follow out of the properties of these attributes. And thus all which *is*, is what it is by an absolute necessity, and could not have been other than it is. God is free, because no causes external to himself have power over him; and as good men are most free when most a law to themselves, so it is no infringement on God's freedom to say that he *must* have acted as he has acted, but rather he is absolutely free because absolutely a law himself to himself.

Here ends the first book of Spinoza's Ethics — the book which contains, as we said, the *notiones simplicissimas*, and the primary and rudimental deductions from them. *His Dei naturam*, he says, in his lofty confidence, *ejusque proprietates explicui*. But, as if conscious that his method will never convince, he concludes this portion of his subject with an analytical appendix; not to explain or apologise, but to show us clearly, in practical detail, the position into which he has led us. The root, we are told, of all philosophical errors lies in our notion of final causes; we invert the order of nature, and interpret God's action through our own; we speak of his intentions, as if he were a man; we assume that we are capable of measuring them, and finally erect ourselves, and our own interests, into the centre and criterion of all things. Hence arises our notion of evil. If the universe be what

this philosophy has described it, the perfection which it assigns to God is extended to everything, and evil is of course impossible; there is no shortcoming either in nature or in man; each person and each thing is exactly what it has the power to be, and nothing more. But men imagining that all things exist on their account, and perceiving their own interests, bodily and spiritual, capable of being variously affected, have conceived these opposite influences to result from opposite and contradictory powers, and call what contributes to their advantage good, and whatever obstructs it, evil. For our convenience we form generic conceptions of human excellence, as archetypes after which to strive; and such of us as approach nearest to such archetypes are supposed to be virtuous, and those who are most remote from them to be wicked. But such generic abstractions are but *entia imaginationis*, and have no real existence. In the eyes of God each thing is what it has the means of being. There is no rebellion against him, and no resistance of his will; in truth, therefore, there neither is nor can be such a thing as a bad action in the common sense of the word. Actions are good or bad, not in themselves, but as compared with the nature of the agent; what we censure in men, we tolerate and even admire in animals; and as soon as we are aware of our mistake in assigning to man a power of free volition, our notion of evil as a positive thing will cease to exist.

If I am asked (concludes Spinoza) why then all mankind were not created by God, so as to be governed solely by reason? it was because, I reply, there was to God no lack of matter to create all things from the highest to the lowest grade of perfection; or, to speak more properly, because the laws of God's nature were ample enough to suffice for the production of all things which can be conceived by an Infinite Intelligence.

It is possible that readers who have followed us so far will now turn away from a philosophy which issues in such conclusions; resentful, perhaps, that it should have been ever laid before them at all, in language so little expressive of aversion and displeasure. We must claim, however, in Spinoza's name, the right which he claims for himself. His system must be judged as a whole; and whatever we may

think ourselves would be the moral effect of such doctrines if they were generally received, in his hands and in his heart they are worked into maxims of the purest and loftiest morality. And at least we are bound to remember that some account of this great mystery of evil there must be; and although familiarity with commonly-received explanations may disguise from us the difficulties with which they too, as well as that of Spinoza, are embarrassed, such difficulties none the less exist. The fact is the grand perplexity, and for ourselves we acknowledge that of all theories about it Spinoza's would appear to us the least irrational, setting conscience, and the voice of conscience, aside. The objections, with the replies to them, are well drawn out in the correspondence with William de Blyenburg. It will be seen at once with how little justice the denial of evil as a positive thing can be called equivalent to denying it relatively to man, or to confusing the moral distinctions between virtue and vice.

We speak (writes Spinoza, in answer to Blyenburg, who had urged something of the kind), we speak of this or that man having done a wrong thing, when we compare him with a general standard of humanity; but inasmuch as God neither perceives things in such abstract manner, nor forms to himself such generic definitions, and since there is no more reality in anything than God has assigned to it, it follows, surely, that the absence of good exists only in respect of man's understanding, not in respect of God's.

If this be so, then (replies Blyenburg), bad men fulfil God's will as well as good.

It is true (Spinoza answers) they fulfil it, yet not as the good nor as well as the good, nor are they to be compared with them. The better a thing or a person be, the more there is in him of God's spirit, and the more he expresses God's will; while the bad, being without that divine love which arises from the knowledge of God, and through which alone we are called (in respect of our understandings) his servants, are but as instruments in the hand of the artificer — they serve unconsciously, and are consumed in their service.

Spinoza, after all, is but stating in philosophical language the extreme doctrine of Grace; and St. Paul, if we interpret his real belief by the one passage so often quoted, in which he compares us to ‘clay in the hands of the potter, who maketh one vessel to honour and another to dishonour,’ may be accused with justice of having held the same opinion. If Calvinism be pressed to its logical consequences, it either becomes an intolerable falsehood, or it resolves itself into the philosophy of Spinoza. It is monstrous to call evil a positive thing, and to assert, in the same breath, that God has predetermined it, — to tell us that he has ordained what he hates, and hates what he has ordained. It is incredible that we should be without power to obey him except through his free grace, and yet be held responsible for our failures when that grace has been withheld. And it is idle to call a philosopher sacrilegious who has but systematised the faith which so many believe, and cleared it of its most hideous features.

Spinoza flinches from nothing, and disguises no conclusions either from himself or from his readers. We believe for ourselves that logic has no business with such questions; that the answer to them lies in the conscience and not in the intellect. Spinoza thinks otherwise; and he is at least true to the guide which he has chosen. Blyenburg presses him with instances of monstrous crime, such as bring home to the heart the natural horror of it. He speaks of Nero’s murder of Agrippina, and asks if God can be called the cause of such an act as that.

God (replies Spinoza, calmly) is the cause of all things which have reality. If you can show that evil, errors, crimes express any real things, I agree readily that God is the cause of them; but I conceive myself to have proved that what constitutes the essence of evil is not a real thing at all, and therefore that God cannot be the cause of it. Nero’s matricide was not a crime, in so far as it was a positive outward act. Orestes also killed his mother; and we do not judge Orestes as we judge Nero. The crime of the latter lay in his being without pity, without obedience, without natural affection — none of which things express any positive essence, but the absence of it; and therefore God was not the cause of these, although he was the cause of the act and the intention.

But once for all (he adds), this aspect of things will remain intolerable and unintelligible as long as the common notions of free will remain unremoved.

And of course, and we shall all confess it, if these notions are as false as Spinoza supposes them — if we have no power to be anything but what we are, there neither is nor can be such a thing as moral evil; and what we call crimes will no more involve a violation of the will of God, they will no more impair his moral attributes if we suppose him to have willed them, than the same actions, whether of lust, ferocity, or cruelty, in the inferior animals. There will be but, as Spinoza says, an infinite gradation in created things, the poorest life being more than none, the meanest active disposition something better than inertia, and the smallest exercise of reason better than mere ferocity. ‘The Lord has made all things for himself, even the wicked for the day of evil.’

The moral aspect of the matter will be more clear as we proceed. We pause, however, to notice one difficulty of a metaphysical kind, which is best disposed of in passing. Whatever obscurity may lie about the thing which we call Time (philosophers not being able to agree what it is, or whether properly it *is* anything), the words past, present, future, do undoubtedly convey some definite idea with them: things will be which are not yet, and have been which are no longer. Now, if everything which exists be a necessary mathematical consequence from the nature or definition of the One Being, we cannot see how there can be any time but the present, or how past and future have room for a meaning. God is, and therefore all properties of him *are*, just as every property of a circle exists in it as soon as the circle exists. We may if we like, for convenience, throw our theorems into the future, and say, *e.g.* that if two lines in a circle cut each other, the rectangle under the parts of the one *will* equal that under the parts of the other. But we only mean in reality that these rectangles *are* equal; and the *future* relates only to our knowledge of the fact. Allowing, however, as much as we please, that the condition of England a hundred years hence lies already in embryo in existing causes, it is a paradox to say that such condition exists already in the sense in which the properties of the circle exist; and yet Spinoza insists on the illustration.

It is singular that he should not have noticed the difficulty; not that either it or the answer to it (which no doubt would have been ready enough) are likely to interest any person except metaphysicians, a class of thinkers, happily, which is rapidly diminishing.

We proceed to more important matters — to Spinoza's detailed theory of nature as exhibited in man and in man's mind. His theory for its bold ingenuity is by far the most remarkable which on this dark subject has ever been proposed. Whether we can believe it or not, is another question; yet undoubtedly it provides a solution for every difficulty; it accepts with equal welcome the extremes of materialism and of spiritualism: and if it be the test of the soundness of a philosophy that it will explain phenomena and reconcile contradictions, it is hard to account for the fact that a system which bears such a test so admirably, should nevertheless be so incredible as it is.

Most people have heard of the 'Harmonie Pré-établie' of Leibnitz; it is borrowed without acknowledgment from Spinoza, and adapted to the Leibnitzian philosophy. 'Man,' says Leibnitz, 'is composed of mind and body; but what is mind and what is body, and what is the nature of their union? Substances so opposite in kind cannot affect one another; mind cannot act on matter, or matter upon mind; and the appearance of their reciprocal operation is an appearance only and a delusion.' A delusion so general, however, required to be accounted for; and Leibnitz accounted for it by supposing that God, in creating a world composed of material and spiritual phenomena, ordained that these several phenomena should proceed from the beginning in parallel lines side by side in a constantly corresponding harmony. The sense of seeing results, it appears to us, from the formation of a picture upon the retina. The motion of the arm or the leg appears to result from an act of will; but in either case we mistake coincidence for causation. Between substances so wholly alien there can be no intercommunion; and we only suppose that the object seen produces the idea, and that the desire produces the movement, because the phenomena of matter and the phenomena of spirit are so contrived as to flow always in the same order and sequence. This hypothesis,

as coming from Leibnitz, has been, if not accepted, at least listened to respectfully; because while taking it out of its proper place, he contrived to graft it upon Christianity; and succeeded, with a sort of speculative legerdemain, in making it appear to be in harmony with revealed religion. Disguised as a philosophy of Predestination, and connected with the Christian doctrine of Retribution, it steps forward with an air of unconscious innocence, as if interfering with nothing which Christians generally believe. And yet, leaving as it does no larger scope for liberty or responsibility than when in the hands of Spinoza,[O] Leibnitz, in our opinion, has only succeeded in making it infinitely more revolting. Spinoza could not regard the bad man as an object of Divine anger and a subject of retributory punishment. He was not a Christian, and made no pretension to be considered such; and it did not occur to him to regard the actions of a being which, both with Leibnitz and himself, is (to use his own expression) an *automaton spirituale*, as deserving a fiery indignation and everlasting vengeance.

‘Deus,’ according to Spinoza’s definition, ‘est ens constans infinitis attributis quorum unumquodque æternam et infinitam essentiam exprimit.’ Under each of these attributes *infinita sequuntur*, and everything which an infinite intelligence can conceive, and an infinite power can produce, — everything which follows as a possibility out of the divine nature, — all things which have been, and are, and will be, — find expression and actual existence, not under one attribute only, but under each and every attribute. Language is so ill adapted to explain such a system, that even to state it accurately is all but impossible, and analogies can only remotely suggest what such expressions mean. But it is as if it were said that the same thought might be expressed in an infinite variety of languages; and not in words only, but in action, in painting, in sculpture, in music, in any form of any kind which can be employed as a means of spiritual embodiment. Of all these infinite attributes, two only, as we said, are known to us — extension and thought. Material phenomena are phenomena of extension; and to every modification of extension an idea corresponds under the attribute of thought. Out of such a

compound as this is formed man, composed of body and mind; two parallel and correspondent modifications eternally answering one another. And not man only, but all other beings and things are similarly formed and similarly animated; the anima or mind of each varying according to the complicity of the organism of its material counterpart. Although body does not think, nor affect the mind's power of thinking, and mind does not control body, nor communicate to it either motion or rest or any influence from itself, yet body with all its properties is the object or ideate of mind: whatsoever body does, mind perceives; and the greater the energising power of the first, the greater the perceiving power of the second. And this is not because they are adapted one to the other by some inconceivable preordinating power, but because mind and body are *una et eadem res*, the one absolute being affected in one and the same manner, but expressed under several attributes; the modes and affections of each attribute having that being for their cause, as he exists under that attribute of which they are modes, and no other; idea being caused by idea, and body affected by body; the image on the retina being produced by the object reflected upon it, the idea or image in our minds by the idea of that object, &c. &c.

A solution so remote from all ordinary ways of thinking on these matters is so difficult to grasp, that one can hardly speak of it as being probable, or as being improbable. Probability extends only to what we can imagine as possible, and Spinoza's theory seems to lie beyond the range within which our judgment can exercise itself. In our own opinion, indeed, as we have already said, the entire subject is one with which we have no business; and the explanation of our nature, if it is ever to be explained to us, is reserved till we are in some other state of existence. We do not disbelieve Spinoza because what he suggests is in itself incredible. The chances may be millions to one against his being right; yet the real truth, if we knew it, would be probably at least as strange as his conception of it. But we are firmly convinced that of these questions, and of all like them, practical answers only lie within the reach of human faculties; and that in 'researches into the absolute' we are on the road which ends nowhere.

Among the difficulties, however, most properly akin to this philosophy itself, there is one most obvious, viz., that if the attributes of God be infinite, and each particular thing is expressed under them all, then mind and body express but an infinitesimal portion of the nature of each of ourselves; and this human nature exists (*i.e.*, there exists corresponding modes of substance) in the whole infinity of the divine nature under attributes differing each from each, and all from mind and all from body. That this must be so follows from the definition of the Infinite Being, and the nature of the distinction between the two attributes which are known to us; and if this be so, why does not the mind perceive something of all these other attributes? The objection is well expressed by a correspondent (Letter 67):— ‘It follows from what you say,’ a friend writes to Spinoza, ‘that the modification which constitutes my mind, and that which constitutes my body, although it be one and the same modification, yet must be expressed in an infinity of ways: one way by thought, a second way by extension, a third by some attribute unknown to me, and so on to infinity; the attributes being infinite in number, and the order and connexion of modes being the same in them all. Why, then, does the mind perceive the modes of but one attribute only?’

Spinoza’s answer is curious: unhappily, a fragment of his letter only is extant, so that it is too brief to be satisfactory: —

In reply to your difficulty (he says), although each particular thing be truly in the Infinite mind, conceived in Infinite modes, the Infinite idea answering to all these cannot constitute one and the same mind of any single being, but must constitute Infinite minds. No one of all these Infinite ideas has any connexion with another.

He means, we suppose, that God’s mind only perceives, or can perceive, things under their Infinite expression, and that the idea of each several mode, under whatever attribute, constitutes a separate mind.

We do not know that we can add anything to this explanation; the difficulty lies in the audacious sweep of the speculation itself; we will, however, attempt an illustration, although we fear it will be to illustrate *obscurum per obscurius*. Let A

B C D be four out of the Infinite number of the Divine attributes. A the attribute of mind; B the attribute of extension; C and D other attributes, the nature of which is not known to us. Now, A, as the attribute of mind, is that which perceives all which takes place under B C and D, but it is only as it exists in God that it forms the universal consciousness of all attributes at once. In its modifications it is combined separately with the modifications of each, constituting in combination with the modes of each attribute a separate being. As forming the mind of B, A perceives what takes place in B, but not what takes place in C or D. Combined with B, it forms the soul of the human body, and generally the soul of all modifications of extended substance; combined with C, it forms the soul of some other analogous being; combined with D, again of another; but the combinations are only in pairs, in which A is constant. A and B make one being, A and C another, A and D a third; but B will not combine with C, nor C with D; each attribute being, as it were, conscious only of itself. And therefore, although to those modifications of mind and extension which we call ourselves, there are corresponding modifications under C and D, and generally under each of the Infinite attributes of God, each of ourselves being in a sense Infinite — nevertheless, we neither have nor can have any knowledge of ourselves in this Infinite aspect; our actual consciousness being limited to the phenomena of sensible experience.

English readers, however, are likely to care little for all this; they will look to the general theory, and judge of it as its aspect affects them. And first, perhaps, they will be tempted to throw aside as absurd the notion that their bodies go through the many operations which they experience them to do, undirected by their minds. It is a thing, they may say, at once preposterous and incredible. It is, however, less absurd than it seems; and, though we could not persuade ourselves to believe it, absurd in the sense of having nothing to be said for it, it certainly is not. It is far easier, for instance, to imagine the human body capable by its own virtue, and by the laws of material organisation, of building a house, than of *thinking*; and yet men are allowed to say that the body thinks, without being

regarded as candidates for a lunatic asylum. We see the seed shoot up into stem and leaf and throw out flowers; we observe it fulfilling processes of chemistry more subtle than were ever executed in Liebig's laboratory, and producing structures more cunning than man can imitate. The bird builds her nest, the spider shapes out its delicate web, and stretches it in the path of his prey; directed not by calculating thought, as we conceive ourselves to be, but by some motive influence, our ignorance of the nature of which we disguise from ourselves, and call it instinct, but which we believe at least to be some property residing in the organisation. We are not to suppose that the human body, the most complex of all material structures, has slighter powers in it than the bodies of a seed, a bird, or an insect. Let us listen to Spinoza himself: —

There can be no doubt (he says) that this hypothesis is true; but unless I can prove it from experience, men will not, I fear, be induced even to reflect upon it calmly, so persuaded are they that it is by the mind only that their bodies are set in motion. And yet what body can or cannot do no one has yet determined; body, *i.e.*, by the law of its own nature, and without assistance from mind. No one has so probed the human frame as to have detected all its functions and exhausted the list of them; there are powers exhibited by animals far exceeding human sagacity; and, again, feats are performed by somnambulists on which in the waking state the same persons would never venture — itself a proof that body is able to accomplish what mind can only admire. Men *say* that mind moves body, but how it moves it they cannot tell, or what degree of motion it can impart to it; so that, in fact, they do not know what they say, and are only confessing their own ignorance in specious language. They will answer me, that whether or not they understand how it can be, yet that they are assured by plain experience that unless mind could perceive, body would be altogether inactive; they know that it depends on the mind whether the tongue speaks or is silent. But do they not equally experience that if their bodies are paralysed their minds cannot think? — that if their bodies are asleep their minds are without power? — that their minds are not at all times equally able to exert themselves even on the same subject, but depend on the state

of their bodies? And as for experience proving that the members of the body can be controlled by the mind, I fear experience proves very much the reverse. But it is absurd (they rejoin) to attempt to explain from the mere laws of body such things as pictures, or palaces, or works of art; the body could not build a church unless mind directed it. I have shown, however, that we do not yet know what body can or cannot do, or what would naturally follow from the structure of it; that we experience in the feats of somnambulists something which antecedently to that experience would have seemed incredible. This fabric of the human body exceeds infinitely any contrivance of human skill, and an infinity of things, as I have already proved, ought to follow from it.

We are not concerned to answer this reasoning, although if the matter were one the debating of which could be of any profit, it would undoubtedly have its weight, and would require to be patiently considered. Life is too serious, however, to be wasted with impunity over speculations in which certainty is impossible, and in which we are trifling with what is inscrutable.

Objections of a far graver kind were anticipated by Spinoza himself, when he went on to gather out of his philosophy ‘that the mind of man being part of the Infinite intelligence, when we say that such a mind perceives this thing or that, we are, in fact, saying that God perceives it, not as he is Infinite, but as he is represented by the nature of this or that idea; and similarly, when we say that a man does this or that action, we say that God does it, not *quâ* he is Infinite, but *quâ* he is expressed in that man’s nature.’ ‘Here,’ he says, ‘many readers will no doubt hesitate, and many difficulties will occur to them in the way of such a supposition.’

We confess that we ourselves are among these hesitating readers. As long as the Being whom Spinoza so freely names remains surrounded with the associations which in this country we bring with us out of our childhood, not all the logic in the world would make us listen to language such as this. It is not so — we know it, and that is enough. We are well aware of the phalanx of difficulties which lie about our theistic conceptions. They are quite enough, if

religion depended on speculative consistency, and not in obedience of life, to perplex and terrify us. What are we? what *is* anything? If it be not divine — what is it then? If created — out of what is it created? and how created — and why? These questions, and others far more momentous which we do not enter upon here, may be asked and cannot be answered; but we cannot any the more consent to Spinoza on the ground that he alone consistently provides an answer; because, as we have said again and again, we do not care to have them answered at all. Conscience is the single tribunal to which we choose to be referred, and conscience declares imperatively that what he says is not true. It is painful to speak of all this, and as far as possible we designedly avoid it. Pantheism is not Atheism, but the Infinite Positive and the Infinite Negative are not so remote from one another in their practical bearings; only let us remember that we are far indeed from the truth if we think that God to Spinoza was *nothing else* but that world which we experience. It is but one of infinite expressions of him — a conception which makes us giddy in the effort to realise it.

We have arrived at last at the outwork of the whole matter in its bearings upon life and human duty. It was in the search after this last, that Spinoza, as we said, travelled over so strange a country, and we now expect his conclusions. To discover the true good of man, to direct his actions to such ends as will secure to him real and lasting felicity, and, by a comparison of his powers with the objects offered to them, to ascertain how far they are capable of arriving at these objects, and by what means they can best be trained towards them — is the aim which Spinoza assigns to philosophy. ‘Most people,’ he adds, ‘deride or vilify their nature; it is a better thing to endeavour to understand it; and however extravagant my proceeding may be thought, I propose to analyse the properties of that nature as if it were a mathematical figure.’ Mind being, as he conceives himself to have shown, nothing else than the idea corresponding to this or that affection of body, we are not, therefore, to think of it as a faculty, but simply and merely as an act. There is no general power called intellect, any more than there is any general abstract volition, but only *hic et ille intellectus et hæc et illa volitio*.

Again, by the word Mind is understood not merely an act or acts of will or intellect, but all forms also of consciousness of sensation or emotion. The human body being composed of many small bodies, the mind is similarly composed of many minds, and the unity of body and of mind depends on the relation which the component portions maintain towards each other. This is obviously the case with body; and if we can translate metaphysics into common experience, it is equally the case with mind. There are pleasures of sense and pleasures of intellect; a thousand tastes, tendencies, and inclinations form our mental composition; and since one contradicts another, and each has a tendency to become dominant, it is only in the harmonious equipoise of their several activities, in their due and just subordination, that any unity of action or consistency of feeling is possible. After a masterly analysis of all these tendencies (the most complete by far which has ever been made by any moral philosopher), Spinoza arrives at the principles under which unity and consistency can be obtained as the condition upon which a being so composed can look for any sort of happiness; and these principles, arrived at as they are by a route so different, are the same, and are proposed by Spinoza as being the same, as those of the Christian religion.

It might seem impossible in a system which binds together in so inexorable a sequence the relations of cause and effect, to make a place for the action of self-control; but consideration will show that, however vast the difference between those who deny and those who affirm the liberty of the will (in the sense in which the expression is usually understood), it is not a difference which affects the conduct or alters the practical bearings of it. Conduct may be determined by laws — laws as absolute as those of matter; and yet the one as well as the other may be brought under control by a proper understanding of those laws. Now, experience seems plainly to say, that while all our actions arise out of desire — that whatever we do, we do for the sake of something which we wish to be or to obtain — we are differently affected towards what is proposed to us as an object of desire, in proportion as we understand the nature of such object in itself and in its consequences. The better we know, the better we act; and the fallacy of all

common arguments against necessitarianism lies in the assumption that it leaves no room for self-direction: it merely insists, in exact conformity with experience, on the conditions under which self-determination is possible. Conduct, according to the necessitarian, depends on knowledge. Let a man certainly know that there is poison in the cup of wine before him, and he will not drink it. By the law of cause and effect, his desire for the wine is overcome by the fear of the pain or the death which will follow. So with everything which comes before him. Let the consequences of any action be clear, definite, and inevitable, and though Spinoza would not say that the knowledge of them will be absolutely sufficient to determine the conduct (because the clearest knowledge may be overcome by violent passion), yet it is the best which we have to trust to, and will do much if it cannot do all.

On this hypothesis, after a diagnosis of the various tendencies of human nature, called commonly the passions and affections, he returns upon the nature of our ordinary knowledge to derive out of it the means for their subordination. All these tendencies of themselves seek their own objects — seek them blindly and immoderately; and the mistakes and the unhappinesses of life arise from the want of due understanding of these objects, and a just moderation of the desire for them. His analysis is remarkably clear, but it is too long for us to enter upon it; the important thing being the character of the control which is to be exerted. To arrive at this, he employs a distinction of great practical utility, and which is peculiarly his own.

Following his tripartite division of knowledge, he finds all kinds of it arrange themselves under one of two classes, and to be either adequate or inadequate. By adequate knowledge he does not mean what is exhaustive and complete, but what, as far as it goes, is distinct and unconfused: by inadequate, he means what we know merely as fact either derived from our own sensations, or from the authority of others, while of the connexion of it with other facts, of the causes, effects, or meaning of it we know nothing. We may have an adequate idea of a circle, though we are unacquainted with all the properties which belong to it; we conceive it

distinctly as a figure generated by the rotation of a line, one end of which is stationary. Phenomena, on the other hand, however made known to us — phenomena of the senses, and phenomena of experience, as long as they remain phenomena merely, and unseen in any higher relation — we can never know except as inadequately. We cannot tell what outward things are by coming in contact with certain features of them. We have a very imperfect acquaintance even with our own bodies, and the sensations which we experience of various kinds rather indicate to us the nature of these bodies themselves than of the objects which affect them. Now, it is obvious that the greater part of mankind act only upon knowledge of this latter kind. The amusements, even the active pursuits, of most of us remain wholly within the range of uncertainty, and, therefore, are full of hazard and precariousness: little or nothing issues as we expect. We look for pleasure and we find pain; we shun one pain and find a greater; and thus arises the ineffectual character which we so complain of in life — the disappointments, failures, mortifications which form the material of so much moral meditation on the vanity of the world. Much of all this is inevitable from the constitution of our nature. The mind is too infirm to be entirely occupied with higher knowledge. The conditions of life oblige us to act in many cases which cannot be understood by us except with the utmost inadequacy; and the resignation to the higher will which has determined all things in the wisest way, is imperfect in the best of us. Yet much is possible, if not all; and, although through a large tract of life ‘there comes one event to all, to the wise and to the unwise,’ ‘yet wisdom excelleth folly as far as light excelleth darkness.’ The phenomena of experience, after inductive experiment, and just and careful consideration, arrange themselves under laws uniform in their operation, and furnishing a guide to the judgment; and over all things, although the interval must remain unexplored for ever, because what we would search into is Infinite, may be seen the beginning of all things, the absolute eternal God. ‘Mens humana,’ Spinoza continues, ‘quædam agit, quædam vero patitur.’ In so far as it is influenced by inadequate ideas — ‘eatenus patitur’ — it is passive and in bondage, it is the sport of fortune and

caprice: in so far as its ideas are adequate— ‘*eatenus agit*’ — it is active, it is itself. While we are governed by outward temptations, by the casual pleasures, by the fortunes or the misfortunes of life, we are but instruments, yielding ourselves to be acted upon as the animal is acted on by its appetites, or the inanimate matter by the laws which bind it; we are slaves — instruments, it may be, of some higher purpose in the order of nature, but in ourselves nothing; instruments which are employed for a special work, and which are consumed in effecting it. So far, on the contrary, as we know clearly what we do, as we understand what we are, and direct our conduct not by the passing emotion of the moment, but by a grave, clear, and constant knowledge of what is really good, so far we are said to act — we are ourselves the spring of our own activity — we pursue the genuine well-being of our entire nature, and *that* we can always find, and it never disappoints us when found.

All things desire life; all things seek for energy, and fuller and ampler being. The component parts of man, his various appetites and passions, are seeking larger activity while pursuing each its immoderate indulgence; and it is the primary law of every single being that it so follows what will give it increased vitality. Whatever will contribute to such increase is the proper good of each; and the good of man as a united being is measured and determined by the effect of it upon his collective powers. The appetites gather power from their several objects of desire; but the power of the part is the weakness of the whole; and man as a collective person gathers life, being, and self-mastery only from the absolute good, — the source of all real good, and truth, and energy, — that is, God. The love of God is the extinction of all other loves and all other desires. To know God, as far as man can know him, is power, self-government, and peace. And this is virtue, and this is blessedness.

Thus, by a formal process of demonstration, we are brought round to the old conclusions of theology; and Spinoza protests that it is no new doctrine which he is teaching, but that it is one which in various dialects has been believed from the beginning of the world. Happiness depends on the consistency and coherency of

character, and that coherency can only be given by the knowledge of the One Being, to know whom is to know all things adequately, and to love whom is to have conquered every other inclination. The more entirely our minds rest on him — the more distinctly we regard all things in their relation to him, the more we cease to be under the dominion of external things; we surrender ourselves consciously to do his will, and as living men and not as passive things we become the instruments of his power. When the true nature and true causes of our affections become clear to us, they have no more power to influence us. The more we understand, the less can feeling sway us; we know that all things are what they are, because they are so constituted that they could not be otherwise, and we cease to be angry with our brother, because he disappoints us; we shall not fret at calamity, nor complain of fortune, because no such thing as fortune exists; and if we fail it is better than if we had succeeded, not perhaps for ourselves, yet for the universe. We cannot fear, when nothing can befall us except what God wills, and we shall not violently hope, when the future, whatever it be, will be the best which is possible. Seeing all things in their place in the everlasting order, Past and Future will not affect us. The temptation of present pleasure will not overcome the certainty of future pain, for the pain will be as sure as the pleasure, and we shall see all things under a rule of adamant. The foolish and the ignorant are led astray by the idea of contingency, and expect to escape the just issues of their actions; the wise man will know that each action brings with it its inevitable consequences, which even God cannot change without ceasing to be himself.

In such a manner, through all the conditions of life, Spinoza pursues the advantages which will accrue to man from the knowledge of God, God and man being what his philosophy has described them. His practical teaching is singularly beautiful; although much of its beauty is perhaps due to associations which have arisen out of Christianity, and which in the system of Pantheism have no proper abiding place. Retaining, indeed, all that is beautiful in Christianity, he even seems to have relieved himself of the more fearful features of the general creed. He acknowledges no hell, no devil, no positive and active agency at enmity with

God; but sees in all things infinite gradations of beings, all in their way obedient, and all fulfilling the part allotted to them. Doubtless a pleasant exchange and a grateful deliverance, if only we could persuade ourselves that a hundred pages of judiciously arranged demonstrations could really and indeed have worked it for us; if we could indeed believe that we could have the year without its winter, day without night, sunlight without shadow. Evil is unhappily too real a thing to be so disposed of.

But if we cannot believe Spinoza's system taken in its entire completeness, yet we may not blind ourselves to the disinterestedness and calm nobility which pervades his theories of human life and obligation. He will not hear of a virtue which desires to be rewarded. Virtue is the power of God in the human soul, and that is the exhaustive end of all human desire. '*Beatitudo non est virtutis pretium, sed ipsa virtus. Nihil aliud est quam ipsa animi acquiescentia, quæ ex Dei intuitivâ cognitione oritur.*' The same spirit of generosity exhibits itself in all his conclusions. The ordinary objects of desire, he says, are of such a kind that for one man to obtain them is for another to lose them; and this alone would suffice to prove that they are not what any man should labour after. But the fulness of God suffices for us all; and he who possesses this good desires only to communicate it to every one, and to make all mankind as happy as himself. And again:— '*The wise man will not speak in society of his neighbour's faults, and sparingly of the infirmity of human nature; but he will speak largely of human virtue and human power, and of the means by which that nature can best be perfected, so to lead men to put away that fear and aversion with which they look on goodness, and learn with relieved hearts to love and desire it.*' And once more: — '*He who loves God will not desire that God should love him in return with any partial or particular affection, for that is to desire that God for his sake should change his everlasting nature and become lower than himself.*'

One grave element, indeed, of a religious faith would seem in such a system to be necessarily wanting. Where individual action is resolved into the modified activity of the Universal Being, all absorbing and all evolving, the individuality of

the personal man is but an evanescent and unreal shadow. Such individuality as we now possess, whatever it be, might continue to exist in a future state as really as it exists in the present, and those to whom it belongs might be anxious naturally for its persistence. Yet it would seem that if the soul be nothing except the idea of a body actually existing, when that body is decomposed into its elements, the soul corresponding to it must accompany it into an answering dissolution. And this, indeed, Spinoza in one sense actually affirms, when he denies to the mind any power of retaining consciousness of what has befallen it in life, ‘*nisi durante corpore.*’ But Spinozism is a philosophy full of surprises; and our calculations of what *must* belong to it are perpetually baffled. The imagination, the memory, the senses, whatever belongs to inadequate perception, perish necessarily and eternally; and the man who has been the slave of his inclinations, who has no knowledge of God, and no active possession of himself, having in life possessed no personality, loses in death the appearance of it with the dissolution of the body.

Nevertheless, there is in God an idea expressing the essence of the mind, united to the mind as the mind is united to the body, and thus there is in the soul something of an everlasting nature which cannot utterly perish. And here Spinoza, as he often does in many of his most solemn conclusions, deserts for a moment the thread of his demonstrations, and appeals to the consciousness. In spite of our non-recollection of what passed before our birth, in spite of all difficulties from the dissolution of the body, ‘*Nihilominus,*’ he says, ‘*sentimus experimurque nos æternos esse. Nam mens non minus res illas sentit quas intelligendo concipit, quam quas in memoriâ habet. Mentis enim oculi quibus res videt observatque sunt ipsæ demonstrationes.*’

This perception, immediately revealed to the mind, falls into easy harmony with the rest of the system. As the mind is not a faculty, but an act or acts, — not a power of perception, but the perception itself, in its high union with the highest object (to use the metaphysical language which Coleridge has made popular and partially intelligible), the object and the subject become one. If knowledge be

followed as it ought to be followed, and all objects of knowledge be regarded in their relations to the One Absolute Being, the knowledge of particular outward things, of nature, or life, or history, becomes, in fact, knowledge of God; and the more complete or adequate such knowledge, the more the mind is raised above what is perishable in the phenomena to the idea or law which lies beyond them. It learns to dwell exclusively upon the eternal, not upon the temporary; and being thus occupied with the everlasting laws, and its activity subsisting in its perfect union with them, it contracts in itself the character of the objects which possess it. Thus we are emancipated from the conditions of duration; we are liable even to death only *quatenus patimur*, as we are passive things and not active intelligences; and the more we possess such knowledge and are possessed by it, the more entirely the passive is superseded by the active — so that at last the human soul may ‘become of such a nature that the portion of it which will perish with the body in comparison with that of it which shall endure, shall be insignificant and *nullius momenti*.’ (Eth. v. 38.)

Such are the principal features of a philosophy, the influence of which upon Europe, direct and indirect, it is not easy to over-estimate. The account of it is far from being an account of the whole of Spinoza’s labours; his ‘Tractatus Theologico-Politicus’ was the forerunner of German historical criticism; the whole of which has been but the application of principles laid down in that remarkable work. But this is not a subject on which, upon the present occasion, we have cared to enter. We have designedly confined ourselves to the system which is most associated with the name of its author. It is this which has been really powerful, which has stolen over the minds even of thinkers who imagine themselves most opposed to it. It has appeared in the absolute Pantheism of Schelling and Hegel, in the Pantheistic Christianity of Herder and Schleiermacher. Passing into practical life it has formed the strong, shrewd judgment of Goethe, while again it has been able to unite with the theories of the most extreme materialism.

It lies too, perhaps (and here its influence has been unmixedly good), at the bottom of that more reverent contemplation of nature which has caused the success of our modern landscape painting, which inspired Wordsworth's poetry, and which, if ever physical science is to become an instrument of intellectual education, must first be infused into the lessons of nature; the sense of that 'something' interfused in the material world —

Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean, and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man; —
A motion and a spirit, which impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things.

If we shrink from regarding the extended universe, with Spinoza, as an actual manifestation of Almighty God, we are unable to rest in the mere denial that it is this. We go on to ask what it *is*, and we are obliged to conclude thus much at least of it, that every smallest being was once a thought in his mind; and in the study of what he has made, we are really and truly studying a revelation of himself.

It is not here, it is not on the physical, it is rather on the moral side, that the stumbling-block is lying; in that excuse for evil and for evil men which the necessitarian theory will furnish, disguise it in what fair-sounding words we will. So plain this is, that common-sense people, and especially English people, cannot bring themselves even to consider the question without impatience, and turn disdainfully and angrily from a theory which confuses their instincts of right and wrong. Although, however, error on this side is infinitely less mischievous than on the other, no vehement error can exist in this world with impunity; and it does appear that in our common view of these matters we have closed our eyes to certain grave facts of experience, and have given the fatalist a vantage ground of real truth which we ought to have considered and allowed. At the risk of tediousness we shall enter briefly into this unpromising ground. Life and the necessities of life are our best philosophers if we will only listen honestly to what

they say to us; and dislike the lesson as we may, it is cowardice which refuses to hear it.

The popular belief is, that right and wrong lie before every man, and that he is free to choose between them, and the responsibility of choice rests with himself. The fatalist's belief is that every man's actions are determined by causes external and internal over which he has no power, leaving no room for any moral choice whatever. The first is contradicted by facts, the second by the instinct of conscience. Even Spinoza allows that for practical purposes we are obliged to regard the future as contingent, and ourselves as able to influence it; and it is incredible that both our inward convictions and our outward conduct should be built together upon a falsehood. But if, as Butler says, whatever be the speculative account of the matter, we are practically forced to regard ourselves as free, this is but half the truth, for it may be equally said that practically we are forced to regard each other as *not* free; and to make allowance, every moment, for influences for which we cannot hold each other personally responsible. If not, — if every person of sound mind (in the common acceptance of the term) be equally able at all times to act right if only he *will*, — why all the care which we take of children? why the pains to keep them from bad society? why do we so anxiously watch their disposition, to determine the education which will best answer to it? Why in cases of guilt do we vary our moral censure according to the opportunities of the offender? Why do we find excuses for youth, for inexperience, for violent natural passion, for bad education, bad example? Why, except that we feel that all these things do affect the culpability of the guilty person, and that it is folly and inhumanity to disregard them? But what we act upon in private life we cannot acknowledge in our ethical theories, and while our conduct in detail is humane and just, we have been contented to gather our speculative philosophy out of the broad and coarse generalisations of political necessity. In the swift haste of social life we must indeed treat men as we find them. We have no time to make allowances; and the graduation of punishment by the scale of guilt is a mere impossibility. A thief is a thief in the law's eye though he has been trained from

his cradle in the kennels of St. Giles's; and definite penalties must be attached to definite acts, the conditions of political life not admitting of any other method of dealing with them. But it is absurd to argue from such rude necessity that each act therefore, by whomsoever committed, is of specific culpability. The act is one thing, the moral guilt is another. There are many cases in which, as Butler again allows, if we trace a sinner's history to the bottom, the guilt attributable to himself appears to vanish altogether.

This is plain matter of fact, and as long as we continue to deny or ignore it, there will be found men (not bad men, but men who love the truth as much as ourselves) who will see only what we neglect, and will insist upon it, and build their systems upon it.

And again, if less obvious, yet not less real, are those natural tendencies which each of us brings with him into the world, — which we did not make, and yet which almost as much determine what we are to be, as the properties of the seed determine the tree which shall grow from it. Men are self-willed, or violent, or obstinate, or weak, or generous, or affectionate; there is as large difference in their dispositions as in the features of their faces. Duties which are easy to one, another finds difficult or impossible. It is with morals as it is with art. Two children are taught to draw; one learns with ease, the other hardly or never. In vain the master will show him what to do. It seems so easy: it seems as if he had only to *will*, and the thing would be done; but it is not so. Between the desire and the execution lies the incapable organ which only wearily, and after long labour, imperfectly accomplishes what is required of it. And the same, *to a certain extent*, unless we will deny the patent facts of experience, holds true in moral actions. No wonder, therefore, that evaded or thrust aside as these things are in the popular beliefs, as soon as they are recognised in their full reality they should be mistaken for the whole truth, and the free-will theory be thrown aside as a chimera.

It may be said, and it often is said, that such reasonings are merely sophistical — that however we entangle ourselves in logic, we are conscious that we are free; we know — we are as sure as we are of our existence — that we have power to

act this way or that way, exactly as we choose. But this is less plain than it seems; and if granted, it proves less than it appears to prove. It may be true that we can act as we choose, but can we *choose*? Is not our choice determined for us? We cannot determine from the fact, because we always *have chosen* as soon as we act, and we cannot replace the conditions in such a way as to discover whether we could have chosen anything else. The stronger motive may have determined our volition without our perceiving it; and if we desire to prove our independence of motive, by showing that we *can* choose something different from that which we should naturally have chosen, we still cannot escape from the circle, this very desire becoming, as Mr. Hume observes, itself a *motive*. Again, consciousness of the possession of any power may easily be delusive; we can properly judge what our powers are only by what they have actually accomplished; we know what we *have* done, and we may infer from having done it that our power was equal to what it achieved. But it is easy for us to over-rate our strength if we try to measure our abilities in themselves. A man who can leap five yards may think that he can leap six; yet he may try and fail. A man who can write prose may only learn that he cannot write poetry from the badness of the verses which he produces. To the appeal to consciousness of power there is always an answer: — that we may believe ourselves to possess it, but that experience proves that we may be deceived.

There is, however, another group of feelings which cannot be set aside in this way, which do prove that, in some sense or other, in some degree or other, we are the authors of our own actions. It is one of the clearest of all inward phenomena, that, where two or more courses involving moral issues are before us, whether we have a consciousness of *power* to choose between them or not, we have a consciousness that we *ought* to choose between them; a sense of duty — ὅτι δεῖ τοῦτο πράττειν — as Aristotle expresses it, which we cannot shake off. Whatever this consciousness involves (and some measure of freedom it must involve or it is nonsense), the feeling exists within us, and refuses to yield before all the batteries of logic. It is not that of the two courses we know that one is in the long run the

best, and the other more immediately tempting. We have a sense of obligation irrespective of consequence, the violation of which is followed again by a sense of self-disapprobation, of censure, of blame. In vain will Spinoza tell us that such feelings, incompatible as they are with the theory of powerlessness, are mistakes arising out of a false philosophy. They are primary facts of sensation most vivid in minds of most vigorous sensibility; and although they may be extinguished by habitual profligacy, or possibly, perhaps, destroyed by logic, the paralysis of the conscience is no more a proof that it is not a real power of perceiving real things, than blindness is a proof that sight is not a real power. The perceptions of worth and worthlessness are not conclusions of reasoning, but immediate sensations like those of seeing and hearing; and although, like the other senses, they may be mistaken sometimes in the accounts they render to us, the fact of the existence of such feelings at all proves that there is something which corresponds to them. If there be any such things as ‘true ideas,’ or clear, distinct perceptions at all, this of praise and blame is one of them, and according to Spinoza’s own rule we must accept what it involves. And it involves that some where or other the influence of causes ceases to operate, and that some degree of power there is in men of self-determination, by the amount of which, and not by their specific actions, moral merit or demerit is to be measured. Speculative difficulties remain in abundance. It will be said in a case, *e.g.* of moral trial, that there may have been *power*; but was there *power enough* to resist the temptation? If there was, then it was resisted. If there was not, there was no responsibility. We must answer again from practical instinct. We refuse to allow men to be considered all equally guilty who have committed the same faults; and we insist that their actions must be measured against their opportunities. But a similar conviction assures us that there is somewhere a point of freedom. Where that point is — where other influences terminate, and responsibility begins — will always be of intricate and often impossible solution. But if there be such a point at all, it is fatal to necessitarianism, and man is what he has been hitherto supposed to be — an exception in the order of nature, with a power not differing in degree but differing

in kind from those of other creatures. Moral life, like all life, is a mystery; and as to anatomise the body will not reveal the secret of animation, so with the actions of the moral man. The spiritual life, which alone gives them meaning and being, glides away before the logical dissecting knife, and leaves it but a corpse to work upon.

Spinoza by Felix Adler



From 'Creed and Deed: A Series of Discourses'

Two centuries have elapsed since Spinoza passed from the world of the living, and to-day that high and tranquil spirit walks the earth once more and men make wide their hearts to receive his memory and his name. The great men whom the past has wronged, receive at last time's tardy recompense.

On the day that Columbus set sail for America, the Jews left Spain in exile. Many of their number, however, who could not find it in their hearts to bid adieu to their native land, remained and simulated the practice of devout Catholics while in secret they preserved their allegiance to their ancestral religion. They occupied high places in the church and state, and monks, prelates and bishops were counted in their ranks. Ere long the suspicions of the Inquisition were alarmed against these covert heretics, and their position became daily more perilous and insecure. Some were condemned to the stake, others pined for years in dungeons; those that could find the means, escaped and sought in distant lands security and repose from persecution. It was especially the Free States of Holland whose enlightened policy offered an asylum to the fugitives, and thither accordingly in great numbers they directed their steps. Their frugality, their thrift and enterprise, contributed not a little to build up the prosperity of the Dutch metropolis.

In the opening of the seventeenth century a considerable congregation of the Jews had collected in the city of Amsterdam. There in the year 1632, the child of Spanish emigrants, Benedict Spinoza was born. Of his childhood we know little. At an early age he was initiated into the mysteries of Hebrew lore, was instructed in the Hebrew grammar, and learned to read and translate the various writings of the Old Testament. He was taught to thread his way through the mazes of the

Talmud, and its subtle discussions proved an admirable discipline in preparing him for the favorite pursuits of his after years. Lastly he was introduced to the study of the Jewish philosophers, among whom Maimonides and Ibn Ezra engaged his especial attention. Maimonides, one of the most profound thinkers of the middle ages, strove to harmonize the teachings of Aristotle with the doctrines of the Bible. Ibn Ezra on the other hand, was a confirmed sceptic. In his biblical commentaries he anticipates many noteworthy discoveries of modern criticism, and his orthodoxy in other respects also is more than doubtful.

In all these different branches of theology the young Spinoza made rapid progress and soon gained astonishing proficiency. He was the favorite of his instructors, and they predicted that he would one day become a shining light of the synagogue. Not content, however, with this course of study, Spinoza addressed himself to the study of Roman literature, and with the assistance of a certain Dr. Van den Ende, who had at that time gained considerable repute as a teacher of liberal learning, he soon became an accomplished Latin scholar. He also took up the study of Geometry and of Physics, and acquired considerable skill in the art of sketching. His mind being thus stored with various knowledge, he was prepared to enter the vast realm of metaphysical speculation and here the works of Rene Descartes, preeminently engaged his attention. Descartes, whose motto, *De omnibus dubitandum est*, sufficiently indicates the revolutionary character of his teachings, was the leader of the new school of thought on the continent. His influence proved decisive in shaping the career of Spinoza. Bruno also deserves mention among those who determined the bias of Spinoza's mind. I mean that Bruno was among the first followers of Copernicus, proclaimed the doctrine of the infinity of worlds and who himself inculcated a species of pantheism for which he paid the last penalty at Rome in the year 1600, thirty-two years before Spinoza was born. By all these influences the mind of the young philosopher was widened beyond the sphere of his early education. In the pursuit of truth he sought the society of congenial minds, and found among the cultivated Christians of his day that intellectual sympathy of which he stood in need. From

the high plane of thought which he had now reached, the rites and practices of external religion dwindled in importance, and the questions of creed for which the mass of men contend appeared little and insignificant. His absence from the worship of the synagogue now began to be remarked; it was rumored that he neglected the prescribed fasts and he was openly charged with partaking of forbidden food. At first he was treated with great leniency. So high was his credit with the Rabbis, so impressed were they with his singular abilities, that they strove by every gentle means to win him back to his allegiance. They admonished him, held out prospects of honor and emolument; it is even stated that at last in despair of reclaiming him they offered an annual pension of a thousand florins to purchase his silence. Spinoza himself was keenly alive to the gravity of his position. It had been fondly hoped that he would shed new lustre upon the religion of Israel. He would be accused of vile ingratitude for deserting his people. He foresaw the inevitable rupture that would cut him off forever from friends and kinsmen, from the opportunities of wealth and honorable position, and deliver him over to privation and poverty. He himself tells us in the introduction of a work which had long been forgotten and has been only recently rescued from oblivion, that he saw riches and honor and all those goods for which men strive, placed before him on the one hand, and a sincere life serenely true to itself on the other; but that the former seemed veritable shams and evils compared with that one great good. Nay, he said, though he might never reach the absolute truth, he felt as one sick unto death, who knows but one balm that can help him and who must needs search for that balm whereby perchance he may be healed.

Great was the commotion stirred up against him in the Jewish community of Amsterdam. One evening a fanatic assaulted him on the street and attempted his life. The stroke of the assassin's dagger was successfully parried. But Spinoza felt that the city was now no longer safe for him to dwell in. He fled and for some time frequently changed his place of residence, until at last he settled at the Hague where he remained until his death. In the mean time the lenient spirit of the Jewish leaders had changed into stern, uncompromising rigor. Observe now how

persecution breeds persecution. It had been the pride of Judaism from of old that within its pale the practice of religion was deemed more essential than the theory; that it permitted the widest divergence in matters of belief, and granted ample tolerance to all. But these Jews of Amsterdam, fresh from the dungeons and the torture chambers of the Inquisition, had themselves imbibed the dark spirit of their oppressors. Uriel d'Acosta they had driven to the verge of insanity and to a tragic death by their cruel bigotry. And now the same methods were employed against a wiser and greater and purer man, far than he.

On the 27th of July, 1656, in the synagogue of Amsterdam, the sacred ark, containing the scrolls of the law, being kept open during the ceremony, the edict of excommunication was solemnly promulgated. It reads somewhat as follows:

“By the decree of the angels and the verdict of the saints we separate, curse and imprecate Baruch de Spinoza with the consent of the blessed God and of this holy congregation, before the holy books of the Law with the commandments that are inscribed therein, with the ban with which Joshua banned Jericho, with the curse with which Elias cursed the youths, and with all the imprecations that are written in the Law. Cursed be he by day and cursed by night; cursed when he lies down, and cursed when he rises; cursed in his going forth, and cursed in his coming in. May the Lord God refuse to pardon him; may his wrath and anger be kindled against this man, and on him rest all the curses that are written in this book of the Law. May the Lord wipe out his name from under the heavens, and separate him for evil from all the tribes of Israel, with all the curses of the firmament that are written in the book of the Law. And ye that hold fast to the Lord God are all living this day! we warn you that none shall communicate with him either by word of mouth or letter, nor show him any favor, nor rest under the same roof with him, nor approach his person within four yards, nor read any writing that he has written.”

When Spinoza heard of this anathema he calmly replied: “They compel me to do nothing which I was not previously resolved upon.” He retired from the commerce of the world. He coveted solitude. Within his silent chamber he moved

in a world of his own. There in twenty years of patient passionless toil he built up the mighty edifice of his system. It rises before us as if hewn of granite rock. Its simplicity, its grandeur, its structural power have been the wonder of men. I can offer only the barest outline of its design.

Man's questioning spirit seeks to penetrate to the heart of Nature, would grasp the origin of things. There is this mighty riddle: who will solve it? Various attempts have been made. Pantheism is one. Spinoza was the great philosopher of Pantheism.

Beneath all diversity there is unity. In all of Nature's myriad forms and changes, there is a substance unchangeable. It is uncreated, undivided, uncaused, the Absolute, Infinite, God. Thought and extension are its attributes; it is the One in All, the All in One. God is not matter, is not mind; is that deeper unity in which matter and mind are one; God or Nature, Spinoza says. This is not the God of theology. God is in the tree, in the stone, in the stars, in man. God does not live, nor labor for any purpose, but produces from the necessity of his Being in endless variety, in ceaseless activity. He is the inner cause of all things, the ultimate Reality, and all things are as in their nature they partake of him.

Man also is of God. The essence of man is in the mind. Man is a logical being. God alone owns truth; in so far as man thinks truly and clearly, he is a part of the infinite God. Logic is the basis of ethics. Spinoza ignores sentiment, ignores art. Good and evil are but other names for useful and not useful. But that alone is useful that we follow the necessary and universal laws, seeking by the depth and reach of intellect to know and understand.

Virtue is the pursuit of knowledge. There are three kinds of knowledge: the blurred perceptions of the senses, the light of the understanding, the intuition of intellect. The last is the highest.

Virtue is the sense of being; whatever heightens the joyous consciousness of our active faculties is therefore good. The wise man delights in the moderate enjoyment of pleasant food and drink, in the color and loveliness of green shrubs, in the adornment of garments, in music's sweetness. But our true being is to be

found only in intellect; hence, virtue the joy of being, is the joy of thought; hence, the bold assertion — that is moral which helps, and that immoral which hinders thought.

Man is a social being. As a drop is raised upward in the great ocean by the onflowing of the wave, so the individual mind is exalted by the presence and communion of congenial minds moving in the same current.

'Tis thus that Spinoza deduces the social virtues. Hate is evil at all times, for hate implies the isolation and the weakness of the powers of reason. We should reward hatred with love and restore the broken accord of intellect. Love is the sense of kinship in the common search for reason's goal — wisdom. That all men should so live and act together that they may form, as it were, one body and one mind, is the ideal of life. Friendship therefore he prizes as the dearest of earth's possessions, and wedlock he esteems holy because in it is cemented the union of two souls for the common search of truth. We should be serene at all times and shun fear, which is weakness, and hope also which is the child of desire, and haughtiness and humbleness and remorse and pity should we avoid. But in stillness and with collected power shall we possess our souls obedient to the laws of mind that make our being and helping when we help for reason's sake. The passions bind us to passing phenomena. When they become transparent to our reason, when we know their causes then our nature conquers outward nature and we are masters, we are free.

Thus the emotional life is extinguished. The feelings lose their color and vitality, become blank "as lines and surfaces," and man, freed from the constraints of passion, dwells in the pure realm of intellect, and in constant intercourse with the mind of God, fulfills the purpose of his existence — to know and understand.

Against the blows of misfortune also reason steels us. Sorrow is but the lurking suspicion that all might have been otherwise. When we come to know that all things are by necessity, we shall find tranquillity in yielding to the inevitable. For so God works by necessity. For all things are in his hands as clay in the hand of the potter, which the potter taketh and fashioneth therefrom vessels of diverse

value, some to honor and some to disgrace. And none shall rebuke him, for all is by necessity.

When the body passes away the mind does not wholly perish, but something remains that is infinite, an eternal modus dwelling in the depths of the eternal mind. But though we knew not that something of the mind remained, yet were goodness and strength of soul to be sought for above all else. For who, foreseeing that he cannot always feed on healthy nourishment, would therefore sate himself with deadly poison? or who, though he knew that the mind is not immortal, would therefore lead an empty life, devoid of reason's good and guidance? The wisdom of the wise and the freedom of the free is not in the aspect of death but of life. Religion and piety lead us to follow the laws of necessity in the world where they are manifest, to dwell on the intellect of God, of God their fount and origin.

But I forbear to enter farther into this wonderful system. We see a giant wrestling with nature, seeking to wrest from her her secret. Mysterious nature baffles him and the riddle is still unread. That substance of which he speaks is no more than an abstraction of the mind whose reality in the outward world he has failed to prove. He has also erred in turning aside from the rich and manifold life of the emotions, for the emotions are not in themselves evil, they are the seminal principle of all virtue.

On pillars of intellect, Spinoza reared his system. Still, solemn, sublime like high mountains it towers upward, but is devoid of color and warmth, and even the momentary glow that now and then starts up in his writings, passes quickly away like the flush of evening that reddens the snowy summits of Alpine ranges.

Spinoza's name marks a lofty peak in human history. He was a true man; no man more fully lived his teachings. If he describes the pursuit of knowledge as the highest virtue, he was himself a noble example of tireless devotion in that pursuit. He was well versed in the natural sciences, skillful in the use of the microscope, and his contributions to the study of the inner life of man have earned him lasting recognition. Johannes Mueller, the distinguished physiologist,

has included the third division of Spinoza's *Ethics* in his well known work on physiology.

Religion, however, was Spinoza's favorite theme, that religion which is free from all passionate longings and averse to superstition of whatever kind. He was among the first to hurl his mighty arguments against the infallible authority of the Bible, arguments that still command attention though two hundred years have since passed by. Miracles, he said, are past belief, the beauty of Cosmos is far more deserving of admiration than any so called miracle could possibly be. He demanded — this was a great and novel claim — that the methods of natural science be applied to the study of scripture, that the character of the age and local surroundings be considered in determining the meaning of each scriptural author. In brief that a natural history of the bible, so to speak, should be attempted. He claimed that the priesthood had falsified the very book which they professed to regard most holy. He denied the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and set forth in singularly clear and lucid language the discrepancies in which that work abounds. He closed the treatise in which these views are laid down — the Theologico-political Tract — with a magnificent plea for liberty of conscience and of speech. That state alone, he says, can be free and happy which rests on the freedom of the Individual citizen. Where the right of free utterance is curtailed, hypocrisy and shameful conformance flourish, and public contumely and disgrace which ought to serve as a mete punishment for the vicious, become a halo about the head of the most noble of men. Religion and piety, he concludes, the state has a right to demand, but nothing hereafter shall be known as religion and piety save the practice of equity and of a wise and helpful love.

It was a bold awakening note which thus rang out into the seventeenth century, and theologians were bitter in their replies. The book was confiscated and Christian curses were added to Jewish anathemas. But they failed to affect Spinoza.

Few men have suffered as he did. Few have preserved the same equanimity of soul in the face of adverse fortune. Twenty years he dwelt alone. For days he did

not leave his student's closet, drawing his mighty circles, intent on those high thoughts that formed the companionship he loved. Those that knew him well revered him. De Witt the noble statesman, De Witt who ended his days so miserably, torn to pieces by a maddened mob, sought his counsel. Young ardent disciples from a distance sent him words of cheer into his solitude. His soul was pure as sunlight, his character crystal clear. He was frugal in the extreme: a few pence a day sufficed to sustain him. Not that he affected austere views in general, but the deep meditations that occupied his mind left him little time or inclination for the grosser pleasures. His sense of honor was scrupulously nice. Again and again did he reject the munificent pensions which his friends pressed upon him; he would be free and self-sustained in all things. In his leisure hours he busied himself with the grinding and polishing of optical lenses, an exercise that offered him at once the means of support and a welcome relaxation from the severe strain of mental effort. His temper was rarely ruffled; he was placid, genial, childlike. When wearied with his labors he would descend to the family of his landlord, the painter Van der Speke, and entering into the affairs of these simple people, he found, in their unaffected converse, the relief he sought.

He valued the peace of mind which he had purchased so dearly. When the Elector of the Palatinate offered him the chair of philosophy at the University of Heidelberg on condition that he would so expound his philosophy as not to interfere with the established religion, he declined, replying that he could teach the truth only as he saw it, and that evil and designing men would doubtless add point and poison to his words. Yet he was fearless. When toward the close of his career, his life was again imperiled, the grave tranquillity of his demeanor inspired his agitated friends with calmness and confidence.

He had gained his forty-fourth year. For half a life time he had been fighting a treacherous disease, that preyed in secret upon his health. His life was slowly ebbing away amidst constant suffering, yet no complaint crossed his lips and his nearest companions were hardly aware of what he endured. In the early part of the year 1677 one day in February, while the family of the painter were at church the

end approached. Only a single friend was with him. Calmly as he had lived, in the stillness of the Sunday afternoon, Spinoza passed away.

He has left a name in history that will not fade. His people cast him out, Christianity rejected him, but he has found a wider fellowship, he belongs to all mankind. Great hearts have throbbed responsive to his teachings and many a sorrowful soul has owned the restful influence of his words. He was a helper of mankind. Not surely because he solved the ultimate problems of existence — what mortal ever will — but because he was wise in the secret of the heart, because he taught men to appease their fretful passions in the aspect of the infinite laws in which we live and are.

Sacred is the hour in which we read his Ethics. From the heat and glare of life we enter into its precincts as into the cool interior of some hallowed temple of religion. But no idol stands there; the spirit of truth alone presides and sanctifies the place and us. The great men of the past we will reverence. They are milestones on the highway of humanity, types of the Infinite, that has dawned in human breasts. Such an one was he of whom I have spoken. And more and more as the light increases among men will all that was good and great in him shine forth to irradiate their path. And as we stand here to-day on this day of remembrance to recall his teachings and his example, so when other centuries shall have elapsed, the memory of Spinoza will still live, posterity will still own him, and distant generations will name him anew: Benedictus — Blessed!

Spinoza by William Hale White



From 'Pages from a Journal with Other Papers'

Now that twenty years have passed since I began the study of Spinoza it is good to find that he still holds his ground. Much in him remains obscure, but there is enough which is sufficiently clear to give a direction to thought and to modify action. To the professional metaphysician Spinoza's work is already surpassed, and is absorbed in subsequent systems. We are told to read him once because he is historically interesting, and then we are supposed to have done with him. But if "Spinozism," as it is called, is but a stage of development there is something in Spinoza which can be superseded as little as the *Imitation of Christ* or the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and it is this which continues to draw men to him. Goethe never cared for set philosophical systems. Very early in life he thought he had found out that they were useless pieces of construction, but to the end of his days he clung to Spinoza, and Philina, of all persons in the world, repeats one of the finest sayings in the *Ethic*. So far as the metaphysicians are carpenters, and there is much carpentering in most of them, Goethe was right, and the larger part of their industry endures wind and weather but for a short time. Spinoza's object was not to make a scheme of the universe. He felt that the things on which men usually set their hearts give no permanent satisfaction, and he cast about for some means by which to secure "a joy continuous and supreme to all eternity." I propose now, without attempting to connect or contrast Spinoza with Descartes or the Germans, to name some of those thoughts in his books by which he conceived he had attained his end.

The sorrow of life is the rigidity of the material universe in which we are placed. We are bound by physical laws, and there is a constant pressure of matter-of-fact evidence to prove that we are nothing but common and cheap products of

the earth to which in a few moments or years we return. Spinoza's chief aim is to free us from this sorrow, and to free us from it by *thinking*. The emphasis on this word is important. He continually insists that a thing is not unreal because we cannot imagine it. His own science, mathematics, affords him examples of what *must* be, although we cannot picture it, and he believes that true consolation lies in the region of that which cannot be imaged but can be thought.

Setting out on his quest, he lays hold at the very beginning on the idea of Substance, which he afterwards identifies with the idea of God. "By Substance I understand that which is in itself and is conceived through itself; in other words, that, the conception of which does not need the conception of another thing from which it must be formed." "By God, I understand Being absolutely infinite, that is to say, substance consisting of infinite attributes, each one of which expresses eternal and infinite essence." "God, or substance consisting of infinite attributes, each one of which expresses eternal and infinite essence, necessarily exists." By the phrases "in itself" and "by itself," we are to understand that this conception cannot be explained in other terms. Substance must be posited, and there we must leave it. The demonstration of the last-quoted proposition, the 11th, is elusive, and I must pass it by, merely observing that the objection that no idea involves existence, and that consequently the idea of God does not involve it, is not a refutation of Spinoza, who might rejoin that it is impossible not to affirm existence of God as the *Ethic* defines him. Spinoza escapes one great theological difficulty. Directly we begin to reflect we are dissatisfied with a material God, and the nobler religions assert that God is a Spirit. But if He be a pure spirit whence comes the material universe? To Spinoza pure spirit and pure matter are mere artifices of the understanding. His God is the Substance with infinite attributes of which thought and extension are the two revealed to man, and he goes further, for he maintains that they are one and the same thing viewed in different ways, inside and outside of the same reality. The conception of God, strictly speaking, is not incomprehensible, but it is not *circum*-prehensible; if it were it could not be the true conception of Him.

Spinoza declares that “the human mind possesses an adequate knowledge of the eternal and infinite essence of God” - not of God in His completeness, but it is adequate. The demonstration of this proposition is at first sight unsatisfactory, because we look for one which shall enable us to form an image of God like that which we can form of a triangle. But we cannot have “a knowledge of God as distinct as that which we have of common notions, because we cannot imagine God as we can bodies.” “To your question,” says Spinoza to Boxel, “whether I have as clear an idea of God as I have of a triangle? I answer, Yes. But if you ask me whether I have as clear an image of God as I have of a triangle I shall say, No; for we cannot imagine God, but we can in a measure understand Him. Here also, it is to be observed that I do not say that I altogether know God, but that I understand some of His attributes - not all, nor the greatest part, and it is clear that my ignorance of very many does not prevent my knowledge of certain others. When I learned the elements of Euclid, I very soon understood that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles, and I clearly perceived this property of a triangle, although I was ignorant of many others.”

“Individual things are nothing but affections or modes of God’s attributes, expressing those attributes in a certain and determinate manner,” and hence “the more we understand individual objects, the more we understand God.”

The intellect of God in no way resembles the human intellect, for we cannot conceive Him as proposing an end and considering the means to attain it. “The intellect of God, in so far as it is conceived to constitute His essence, is in truth the cause of things, both of their essence and of their existence - a truth which seems to have been understood by those who have maintained that God’s intellect, will, and power are one and the same thing.”

The whole of God is *fact*, and Spinoza denies any reserve in Him of something unexpressed. “The omnipotence of God has been actual from eternity, and in the same actuality will remain to eternity,” not of course in the sense that everything which exists has always existed as we now know it, or that nothing will exist

hereafter which does not exist now, but that in God everything that has been, and will be, eternally *is*.

The reader will perhaps ask, What has this theology to do with the “joy continuous and supreme”? We shall presently meet with some deductions which contribute to it, but it is not difficult to understand that Spinoza, to use his own word, might call the truths set forth in these propositions “blessed.” Let a man once believe in that God of infinite attributes of which thought and extension are those by which He manifests Himself to us; let him see that the opposition between thought and matter is fictitious; that his mind “is a part of the infinite intellect of God”; that he is not a mere transient, outside interpreter of the universe, but himself the soul or law, which is the universe, and he will feel a relationship with infinity which will emancipate him.

It is not true that in Spinoza’s God there is so little that is positive that it is not worth preserving. All Nature is in Him, and if the objector is sincere he will confess that it is not the lack of contents in the idea which is disappointing, but a lack of contents particularly interesting to himself.

The opposition between the mind and body of man as two diverse entities ceases with that between thought and extension. It would be impossible briefly to explain in all its fulness what Spinoza means by the proposition: “The object of the idea constituting the human mind is a body” ; it is sufficient here to say that, just as extension and thought are one, considered in different aspects, so body and mind are one. We shall find in the fifth part of the *Ethic* that Spinoza affirms the eternity of the mind, though not perhaps in the way in which it is usually believed.

Following the order of the *Ethic* we now come to its more directly ethical maxims. Spinoza denies the freedom commonly assigned to the will, or perhaps it is more correct to say he denies that it is intelligible. The will is determined by the intellect. The idea of the triangle involves the affirmation or volition that its three angles are equal to two right angles. If we understand what a triangle is we are not “free” to believe that it contains more or less than two right angles, nor to

act as if it contained more or less than two. The only real freedom of the mind is obedience to the reason, and the mind is enslaved when it is under the dominion of the passions. "God does not act from freedom of the will," and consequently "things could have been produced by God in no other manner and in no other order than that in which they have been produced."

"If you will but reflect," Spinoza tells Boxel, "that indifference is nothing but ignorance or doubt, and that a will always constant and in all things determinate is a virtue and a necessary property of the intellect, you will see that my words are entirely in accord with the truth." To the same effect is a passage in a letter to Blyenbergh, "Our liberty does not consist in a certain contingency nor in a certain indifference, but in the manner of affirming or denying, so that in proportion as we affirm or deny anything with less indifference, are we the more free." So also to Schuller, "I call that thing free which exists and acts solely from the necessity of its own nature: I call that thing coerced which is determined to exist and to act in a certain and determinate manner by another." With regard to this definition it might be objected that the necessity does not lie solely in the person who wills but is also in the object. The triangle as well as the nature of man contains the necessity. What Spinoza means is that the free man by the necessity of his nature is bound to assert the truth of what follows from the definition of a triangle and that the stronger he feels the necessity the more free he is. Hence it follows that the wider the range of the intellect and the more imperative the necessity which binds it, the larger is its freedom.

In genuine freedom Spinoza rejoices. "The doctrine is of service in so far as it teaches us that we do everything by the will of God alone, and that we are partakers of the divine nature in proportion as our actions become more and more perfect and we more and more understand God. This doctrine, therefore, besides giving repose in every way to the soul, has also this advantage, that it teaches us in what our highest happiness or blessedness consists, namely, in the knowledge of God alone, by which we are drawn to do those things only which love and piety persuade." In other words, being part of the whole, the grandeur and office

of the whole are ours. We are anxious about what we call “personality,” but in truth there is nothing in it of any worth, and the less we care for it the more “blessed” we are.

“By the desire which springs from reason we follow good directly and avoid evil indirectly” : our aim should be the good; in obtaining that we are delivered from evil. To the same purpose is the conclusion of the fifth book of the *Ethic* that “No one delights in blessedness because he has restrained his affects, but, on the contrary, the power of restraining his lusts springs from blessedness itself.” This is exactly what the Gospel says to the Law.

Fear is not the motive of a free man to do what is good. “A free man thinks of nothing less than of death, and his wisdom is not a meditation upon death, but upon life.” This is the celebrated sixty-seventh proposition of the fourth part. If we examine the proof which directly depends on the sixty-third proposition of the same part - “he who is led by fear, and does what is good in order that he may avoid what is evil, is not led by reason” - we shall see that Spinoza is referring to the fear of the “evil” of hell-fire.

All Spinoza’s teaching with regard to the passions is a consequence of what he believes of God and man. He will study the passions and not curse them. He finds that by understanding them “we can bring it to pass that we suffer less from them. We have, therefore, mainly to strive to acquire a clear and distinct knowledge of each affect.” “If the human mind had none but adequate ideas it would form no notion of evil.” “The difference between a man who is led by affect or opinion alone and one who is led by reason” is that “the former, whether he wills it or not, does those things of which he is entirely ignorant, but the latter does the will of no one but himself.” *They know not what they do.*

The direct influence of Spinoza’s theology is also shown in his treatment of pity, hatred, laughter, and contempt. “The man who has properly understood that everything follows from the necessity of the divine nature, and comes to pass according to the eternal laws and rules of nature, will in truth discover nothing which is worthy of hatred, laughter, or contempt, nor will he pity any one, but, so

far as human virtue is able, he will endeavour to *do well*, as we say, and to *rejoice*.” By pity is to be understood mere blind sympathy. The good that we do by this pity with the eyes of the mind shut ought to be done with them open. “He who lives according to the guidance of reason strives as much as possible to repay the hatred, anger, or contempt of others towards himself with love or generosity. . . . He who wishes to avenge injuries by hating in return does indeed live miserably. But he who, on the contrary, strives to drive out hatred by love, fights joyfully and confidently, with equal ease resisting one man or a number of men, and needing scarcely any assistance from fortune. Those whom he conquers yield gladly, not from defect of strength, but from an increase of it.”

“Joy is the passion by which the mind passes to a greater perfection: sorrow, on the other hand, is the passion by which it passes to a less perfection.” “No God and no human being, except an envious one, is delighted by my impotence or my trouble, or esteems as any virtue in us tears, sighs, fears, and other things of this kind, which are signs of mental impotence; on the contrary, the greater the joy with which we are affected, the greater the perfection to which we pass thereby; that is to say, the more do we necessarily partake of the divine nature.” It would be difficult to find an account of joy and sorrow which is closer to the facts than that which Spinoza gives. He lived amongst people Roman Catholic and Protestant who worshipped sorrow. Sorrow was the divinely decreed law of life and joy was merely a permitted exception. He reversed this order and his claim to be considered in this respect as one of the great revolutionary religious and moral reformers has not been sufficiently recognised. It is remarkable that, unlike other reformers, he has not contradicted error by an exaggeration, which itself very soon stands in need of contradiction, but by simple sanity which requires no correction. One reason for this peculiarity is that the *Ethic* was the result of long meditation. It was published posthumously and was discussed in draft for many years before his death. Usually what we call our convictions are propositions which we have not thoroughly examined in quietude, but notions which have just come into our heads and are irreversible to us solely because we are committed to

them. Much may be urged against the *Ethic* and on behalf of hatred, contempt, and sorrow. The “other side” may be produced mechanically to almost every truth; the more easily, the more divine that truth is, and against no truths is it producible with less genuine mental effort than against those uttered by the founder of Christianity. The question, however, if we are dealing with the New Testament, is not whether the Sermon on the Mount can be turned inside out in a debating society, but whether it does not represent better than anything which the clever leader of the opposition can formulate the principle or temper which should govern our conduct.

There is a group of propositions in the last part of the *Ethic*, which, although they are difficult, it may be well to notice, because they were evidently regarded by Spinoza as helping him to the end he had in view. The difficulty lies in a peculiar combination of religious ideas and scientific form. These propositions are the following:-

“The mind can cause all the affections of the body or the images of things to be related to the idea of God.”

“He who clearly and distinctly understands himself and his affects loves God, and loves Him better the better he understands himself and his affects.”

“This love to God above everything else ought to occupy the mind.”

“God is free from passions, nor is He affected with any affect of joy or sorrow.”

“No one can hate God.”

“He who loves God cannot strive that God should love him in return.”

“This love to God cannot be defiled either by the effect of envy or jealousy, but is the more strengthened the more people we imagine to be connected with God by the same bond of love.”

The proof of the first of these propositions, using language somewhat different from that of the text, is as follows:- There is no affection of the body of which the mind cannot form some clear and distinct conception, that is to say, of everything perceived it is capable of forming a clear and adequate idea, not exhaustive, as

Spinoza is careful to warn us, but an idea not distorted by our personality, and one which is in accordance with the thing itself, adequate as far as it goes. Newton's perception that the moon perpetually falls to the earth by the same numerical law under which a stone falls to it was an adequate perception. "Therefore," continues the demonstration (quoting the fifteenth proposition of the first part - "Whatever is, is in God, and nothing can either be or be conceived without God"), "the mind can cause all the affections of the body to be related to the idea of God." Spinoza, having arrived at his adequate idea thus takes a further step to the idea of God. What is perceived is not an isolated external phenomenon. It is a reality in God: it *is* God: there is nothing more to be thought or said of God than the affirmation of such realities as these. The "relation to the idea of God" means that in the affirmation He is affirmed. "Nothing," that is to say, no reality "can be conceived without God."

But it is possible for the word "love" to be applied to the relationship between man and God. He who has a clear and adequate perception passes to greater perfection, and therefore rejoices. Joy, accompanied with the idea of a cause, is love. By the fourteenth proposition this joy is accompanied by the idea of God as its cause, and therefore love to God follows. The demonstration seems formal, and we ask ourselves, What is the actual emotion which Spinoza describes? It is not new to him, for in the *Short Treatise*, which is an early sketch for the *Ethic*, he thus writes:- "Hence it follows incontrovertibly that it is knowledge which is the cause of love, so that when we learn to know God in this way, we must necessarily unite ourselves to Him, for He cannot be known, nor can he reveal Himself, save as that which is supremely great and good. In this union alone, as we have already said, our happiness consists. I do not say that we must know Him adequately; but it is sufficient for us, in order to be united with Him, to know Him in a measure, for the knowledge we have of the body is not of such a kind that we can know it as it is or perfectly; and yet what a union! what love!"

Perhaps it may clear the ground a little if we observe that Spinoza often avoids a negative by a positive statement. Here he may intend to show us what the love

of God is not, that it is not what it is described in the popular religion to be. "The only love of God I know," we may imagine him saying, "thus arises. The adequate perception is the keenest of human joys for thereby I see God Himself. That which I see is not a thing or a person, but nevertheless what I feel towards it can be called by no other name than love. Although the object of this love is not thing or person it is not indefinite, it is this only which is definite; 'thing' and 'person' are abstract and unreal. There was a love to God in Kepler's heart when the three laws were revealed to him. If it was not love to God, what is love to Him?"

To the eighteenth proposition, "No one can hate God," there is a scholium which shows that the problem of pain which Spinoza has left unsolved must have occurred to him. "But some may object that if we understand God to be the cause of all things, we do for that very reason consider Him to be the cause of sorrow. But I reply that in so far as we understand the causes of sorrow, it ceases to be a passion (Pro, pt. 5), that is to say (Pro, pt. 3) it ceases to be a sorrow; and therefore in so far as we understand God to be the cause of sorrow do we rejoice." The third proposition of the fifth part which he quotes merely proves that in so far as we understand passion it ceases to be a passion. He replies to those "who ask why God has not created all men in such a manner that they might be controlled by the dictates of reason alone," "Because to Him material was not wanting for the creation of everything, from the highest down to the very lowest grade of perfection; or, to speak more properly, because the laws of His nature were so ample that they sufficed for the production of everything which can be conceived by an infinite intellect." Nevertheless of pain we have no explanation. Pain is not lessened by understanding it, nor is its mystery penetrated if we see that to God material could not have been wanting for the creation of men or animals who have to endure it all their lives. But if Spinoza is silent in the presence of pain, so also is every religion and philosophy which the world has seen. Silence is the only conclusion of the Book of Job, and patient fortitude in the hope of future enlightenment is the conclusion of Christianity.

It is a weak mistake, however, to put aside what religions and philosophies tell us because it is insufficient. To Job it is not revealed why suffering is apportioned so unequally or why it exists, but the answer of the Almighty from the whirlwind he cannot dispute, and although Spinoza has nothing more to say about pain than he says in the passages just quoted and was certainly not exempt from it himself, it may be impossible that any man should hate God.

We now come to the final propositions of the *Ethic*, those in which Spinoza declares his belief in the eternity of mind. The twenty-second and twenty-third propositions of the fifth part are as follows:-

“In God, nevertheless, there necessarily exists an idea which expresses the essence of this or that human body under the form of eternity.”

“The human mind cannot be absolutely destroyed with the body, but something of it remains which is eternal.”

The word “nevertheless” is a reference to the preceding proposition which denies the continuity of memory or imagination excepting so long as the body lasts. The demonstration of the twenty-third proposition is not easy to grasp, but the substance of it is that although the mind is the idea of the body, that is to say, the mind is body as thought and body is thought as extension, the mind, or essence of the body, is not completely destroyed with the body. It exists as an eternal idea, and by an eternal necessity in God. Here again we must not think of that personality which is nothing better than a material notion, an image from the concrete applied to mind, but we must cling fast to thought, to the thoughts which alone makes us what we *are*, and these, says Spinoza, are in God and are not to be defined by time. They have always been and always will be. The enunciation of the thirty-third proposition is, “The intellectual love of God which arises from the third kind of knowledge is eternal.” The “third kind of knowledge” is that intuitive science which “advances from an adequate idea of the formal essence of certain attributes of God to the adequate knowledge of the essence of things; “No love except intellectual love is eternal,” and the scholium to this proposition adds, “If we look at the common opinion of men, we shall see that they are indeed

conscious of the eternity of their minds, but they confound it with duration, and attribute it to imagination or memory, which they believe remain after death.” The intellectual love of the mind towards God is the very “love with which He loves Himself, not in so far as He is infinite, but in so far as He can be manifested through the essence of the human mind, considered under the form of eternity; that is to say, the intellectual love of the mind towards God is part of the infinite love with which God loves Himself.” “Hence it follows that God, in so far as He loves Himself, loves men, and consequently that the love of God towards men and the intellectual love of the mind towards God are one and the same thing.” The more adequate ideas the mind forms “the less it suffers from those affects which are evil, and the less it fears death” because “the greater is that part which remains unharmed, and the less consequently does it suffer from the affects.” It is possible even “for the human mind to be of such a nature that that part of it which we have shown perishes with its body, in comparison with the part of it which remains, is of no consequence.”

Spinoza, it is clear, holds that in some way - in what way he will not venture to determine - the more our souls are possessed by the intellectual love of God, the less is death to be dreaded, for the smaller is that part of us which can die. Three parallel passages may be appended. One will show that this was Spinoza’s belief from early years and the other two that it is not peculiar to him. “If the soul is united with some other thing which is and remains unchangeable, it must also remain unchangeable and permanent.” “Further, this creative reason does not at one time think, at another time not think [it thinks eternally]: and when separated from the body it remains nothing but what it essentially is: and thus it is alone immortal and eternal. Of this unceasing work of thought, however, we retain no memory, because this reason is unaffected by its objects; whereas the receptive, passive intellect (which is affected) is perishable, and can really think nothing without the support of the creative intellect.” The third quotation is from a great philosophic writer, but one to whom perhaps we should not turn for such a

coincidence. “I believe,” said Pantagruel, “that all intellectual souls are exempt from the scissors of Atropos. They are all immortal.”

I have not tried to write an essay on Spinoza, for in writing an essay there is a temptation to a consistency and completeness which are contributed by the writer and are not to be found in his subject. The warning must be reiterated that here as elsewhere we are too desirous, both writers and readers, of clear definition where none is possible. We do not stop where the object of our contemplation stops for our eyes. For my own part I must say that there is much in Spinoza which is beyond me, much which I cannot *extend*, and much which, if it can be extended, seems to involve contradiction. But I have also found his works productive beyond those of almost any man I know of that *acquiescentia mentis* which enables us to live.

The Biographies



A seventeenth century portrait of an unidentified man by Barend Graat — recent speculation has suggested that the sitter was Spinoza.

Spinoza: The Man and the Philosopher by Arthur Bolles Lee



From 'Littell's Living Age', Volume 133, Issue 1714

The 21st of February, 1877, has been consecrated to the celebration of the bicentenary anniversary of the death of a very great man; of a man so great indeed, that humanity had to move a distance of considerably more than a century before reaching the perspective point from which his greatness could be measured. To all but an insignificant few of his contemporaries, Spinoza was either unknown, or, if known, was an object of aversion and of superstitious dread: the nineteenth century raises a statue to him. If the monument destined to be so tardily erected at the Hague had been unveiled just thirty years ago, it would have been impossible to detect, in the mind of any person capable of judging, the faintest whisper of a doubt that the tribute was justly paid, not alone to lofty genius and splendid zeal for truth and liberty, but to unblemished nobleness and purity of private life as well. To-day, such singleness of belief is less easy. Of late years, historical research has brought to light new facts and new traditions concerning Spinoza's life; and it has become necessary, in order to a solid appreciation of his character, to re-examine the history of his life.

Baruch de Spinoza was born at Amsterdam on the 24th November, 1632. Of the social rank into which he was born, it must be said, that the knowledge we possess is neither precise nor certain. His principal biographer, Colerus, tells us that the representation which gives him out as being born of poor parents and of low extraction is untrue; and that his parents, Portuguese Jews, merchants at Amsterdam, were respectable people and well-to-do ("*honnêtes gens et à leur aise*"), living in a good house ("*dans une assez belle maison*"), on the Burgwal. A later account expressly contradicts the last detail, and states that the philosopher

was born in a house on the Houtgracht. According to another contemporary biographer, Lucas, it was because his father did not possess the means of launching him in a commercial career that he resolved to have him taught the Hebrew humanities. Such is the dearth, not only of facts, but of hearsay and even of imagination, concerning his early childhood, that we are almost grateful to Lucas for the following anecdote. He relates that Spinoza's father,

being a man of common sense, used to teach him not to confound superstition with solid piety; and being desirous to put his son to the proof, charged him, when he was yet but ten years old, to receive for him certain moneys due to the father from an old woman of Amsterdam. When he had come into her house, where he found her reading the Bible, the old woman motioned him to wait until she had finished her devotions. Which being done, the child told her of his errand, and the good old woman, having counted out the money on the table for him, said, "Here is what I owe your father. May you be one day as pious a man as he is; he has never gone astray from the law of Moses; and heaven will bless you only so far as you shall resemble him." And as she finished speaking she took up the money to place it in the child's purse; but he, discerning in this woman the marks of that false piety against which his father had warned him, omitted not to count it after her, in spite of her resistance, and finding that there were wanting two ducats that the pious old woman had let fall into a drawer through a slit made to that end in the table, he was confirmed in his suspicion.

So far, if there is nothing very interesting in the story, neither is there anything very improbable in it. Unfortunately Lucas, who throughout his biography is too little mindful of the maxim, "*Qui dit trop ne dit rien*" [Who says too much does not say anything], goes on to say that,

puffed up with the success of this adventure, and with the applause of his father, he set himself to observe this sort of people more closely than before; passing upon them judgment of so fine a sarcasm that all persons were astonished.

A kind of conduct that would stand in incredible contradiction with all that we know of Spinoza's social habits and modes of thought.

It may be taken as fairly certain that Spinoza had the advantage of a by no means despicable education. He was very early conducted through a thorough course of Talmudistic study; and the thorough study of the Talmud constituted in itself a discipline that was, for those days, of no mean order.

It is important to remember [remarks Dr. Ginsberg in the excellent introduction prefixed to his edition of the *Ethica*] that the Talmud embraces all possible aspects of Jewish culture — its points of contact with the culture of other civilizations, as well as its points of difference from them. The polemical attitude of the Talmud is an occasion for bringing under consideration the whole range of speculative problems proposed or resolved by the Græco-Roman world. And if the Talmud places itself in a purely polemical attitude in regard to the different manners in which the cosmos is conceived by Platonism, Aristotelianism, Neo-Platonism, Stoicism, Epicureanism, and Scepticism, yet it could not do so without imparting a considerable knowledge of the errors that it combats; and the young Talmudist became familiar with them, adopted them as part of the mechanism of his mind.

In his Talmudistic studies he was directed by the rabbin Morteira, who was, in the words of the ingeniously snappish paraphrase of Lucas, “a man celebrated amongst the Jews, and the least ignorant of all the rabbins of his time.” Morteira, we are told by this writer, was struck with admiration for the genius and character of his disciple. The works of the Arabo-Hebraic philosophers of the Middle Ages, of Maimonides in particular, were studied, and at fifteen Spinoza was an accomplished Talmudist. Some such conclusion at least is what remains to us after due distillation of Lucas’s somewhat unsatisfactory assertion that “before he was fifteen years old he used to propound objections that the most learned among the Jews found difficulty in resolving.” Later on, Latin was studied, at first with a certain German for a master, and afterwards under the guidance of Franz Van den Ende, a physician of Amsterdam. This was an important moment in his philosophical development. Van den Ende was a man of no ordinary culture, and of no ordinary character. He fell a victim to his zeal for liberty, and was hanged

for political intrigues in France: in France, not in the Netherlands as stated by Heine in his "*Deutschland*." Let us hope that the great poet's spirit may by this time have found consolation in the knowledge that worthy Van den Ende was not hanged in the country "where they hang worse than anywhere else in the world," but in pleasant, graceful, *spirituel* France, where doubtless they ordered those things better.

The horror-struck tone in which Colerus's account of him is given makes it too amusing to be passed by in silence: —

This man [he says] taught with much success, and gained such a reputation that the richest traders of the city entrusted him with the education of their children, until it became known that he taught his pupils other lore than Latin. For it was at length discovered that he used to sow in the minds of these young men the seeds of atheism.

A fact that good, charitable old Colerus does not state lightly; he says that he can prove it, if need be,

by the testimony of many pious souls, which know not how sufficiently to bless the memory of their parents who withdrew them, whilst it was still time, from the school of Satan, by removing them from the instruction of a master so pernicious and so impious.

We greatly suspect that the teaching here stigmatized as atheistical, was, in point of fact, merely the black art of physiology, in the literal sense of the term, the not yet entirely unsuspected study of natural science. The internal evidence of Spinoza's writings leaves no room for doubt that he possessed remarkably sound knowledge of nature; his whole method of thought, when he is dealing with the finite, is eminently scientific, eminently positive. Mr. Lewes has long ago pointed out that in physiological matters he never betrays ignorance. His choice of the trade of an optician is evidence of his early love for science. Colerus expressly states that, "finding himself the more strongly drawn to the investigation of natural causes and products, he abandoned theology in order to devote himself

entirely to physics.” All this points to the conclusion that it was to Van den Ende that he owed the stimulus that have a scientific bias to his mind.

Van den Ende had a daughter, a perfect mistress, says Colerus, of Latin and of music, and Spinoza fell in love with her, continues the biographer; nay, even determined, as he himself did often since confess, to marry her. But her wit and her gaiety had also touched the heart of another of Van den Ende’s pupils, one Kerckering of Hamburg, who, becoming jealous of Spinoza, increased so greatly in assiduity as to succeed in winning his mistress’s affections, to which result a present of a pearl necklace, of the value of two or three hundred pistoles, doubtless contributed. And after the said Kerckering had abjured the Lutheran religion, which was that which he professed, and had embraced the Catholic faith, she fulfilled her promise of marrying him. When Mr. Lewes was writing his “Biographical History of Philosophy” in 1852, he was able to picture this courtship

as a sort of odd reverse of Abelard and Heloisa. Spinoza, we fancy, not inattentive to the instruction, but the more in love with it coming from so soft a mouth; not inattentive, yet not wholly absorbed. He watches her hand as it moves along the page, and longs to squeeze it. While “looking out” in the dictionary their hands touch, and he is thrilled, but the word is *found*, nevertheless.

The romance of a Platonic love, that, being rejected, transformed itself into philosophy, may be a pleasing and artistically proper ingredient in the life of the great mystic. It may be hard for us to be obliged to confess that it is true only in so far as “imagination is truer than fact,” but from the historical point of view we must allow it to lapse into the limbo to which modern criticism has consigned the myth of William Tell and the fiction of Julia Alpinula, for we now know, on the prosaic testimony of a marriage register, that Clara Maria Van den Ende was married to Dirck Kerckrinck in 1671, at the age of twenty-seven. She was therefore only twelve years old in 1656, by which time Spinoza had quitted Van den Ende. It does not appear, then, that love-lessons formed any part of Spinoza’s occupations whilst he was with Van den Ende. Probably the want of such

emotions was not felt by him. Other heavings and stirrings were being felt in the young prophet's breast; and even if the occasion of looking too curiously on a daughter of Eve had presented itself, we must think that his strong soul would have resisted the temptation, with a presentiment that its mission was to go forth amongst mankind, "dread, fathomless, alone."

It was probably Van den Ende who introduced him to the writings of Descartes; a most important event for him. In a mind that was already in more than unconscious revolt against rabbinical authority and rabbinical tradition, the method of Descartes, with its honest individualism and its fearless scepticism, must have produced an explosion. That such and such a doctrine must be believed by you because it was the doctrine of such and such a rabbin, or of such and such a prophet, must have roused indignation from a very early age in the breast of a child who for genius and for character so far transcended all the rabbins, and almost all the prophets. The spark of Descartes' teaching, that the one principle of evidence is clear and distinct seeing for oneself, must have fallen upon very well-prepared fuel.

From that time forth [says Colerus] he was very reserved with the Jewish doctors, avoiding as much as possible all commerce with them; he was rarely seen in their synagogues, showing himself there only in a perfunctory manner (*par manière d'acquit*); which irritated them extremely against him, as they nothing doubted but that he would shortly abandon them and turn Christian.

We imagine Spinoza in a state of doubt; he does not yet quite see clearly; he leans now to the side of tradition and belief, now to that of incredulity and revolt. His indignation against the falseness and ineptitudes of the Jewish tradition we imagine to have now and then flashed out from him in manifestations honest rather than prudent.

Certain young men [relates Lucas] who called themselves his most intimate friends, conjured him to tell them his true opinions. "What think you?" they asked; "hath God: a body? Be there in truth angels? is the soul immortal?"

We gather that to questions such as these be made replies such as that, according to the Bible (by which is meant, of course, only the Old Testament), God is evidently material, the idea of spirit being perfectly unknown to that book; that by angels were there meant certain phantoms, phenomena of a merely subjective order, not real and permanent substances (a heresy, by-the-bye, of which it is difficult to perceive the offensiveness); and that —

As for the soul, wherever it is mentioned in the Scriptures, this word expresses simply life, or that which hath life. So that to seek for proofs of immortality in the Scriptures were absurd.

A heresy which bears a most amusing resemblance to a remark for which Gibbon got into hot water; an element, however, which was but most mildly lukewarm in comparison with the seething floods of fanaticism that were to roll over the soul of Spinoza. The reader will observe that none of these are philosophical assertions but that they are, all of them, merely propositions belonging to the perfectly positive science of Biblical criticism. A tittle of evidence may perhaps be considered to be contained in the quaint statement of Stolle's old man (of whom more hereafter) that Spinoza was excommunicated because he "was charged with having rejected the books of Moses as a human book, not written by Moses (*weil man ihn beschuldigt, dass er die Bücher Mosis, als ein menschlich Buch, so Moses nie gemacht, verworfen*)."

"Reflecting," continues Lucas, "that curiosity seldom springs from good intentions, he set himself to observe the conduct of these friends; and found in it so much to disapprove of that he broke with them, and would no longer speak with them."

The "friends" vowed vengeance, — so the story runs, — which they instituted by crying him down in the opinion of the people, giving warning that instead of becoming one of the pillars of the synagogue this young man was more likely to become a destroyer of it; and proceeded afterwards to lodge a formal accusation against him with the rabbins. The accused was summoned to appear before the rabbins. He obeyed, and betook himself to the synagogue. There the Jewish doctors, "with the downcast visages of men tormented by their zeal for the house

of God,” told him that he was “accused of the blackest and most enormous of crimes, contempt of the law.” And on his denying this (to this day the whole of Spinoza’s writings are an eloquent witness that with his sweet reasonableness of soul he must have been ever incapable of any outrage against religion or the State) the false friends stepped forward with their deposition. The judges urged the accused to recant; but to their entreaties and to their menaces he now opposed a haughty defiance. Morteira then arrived upon the scene, armed with friendly exhortation as well as with official menace. The threat of excommunication to which he at length proceeded did not mend matters; and the assembly broke tip without any definite result having been obtained. The strangeness and the bitterness of this story of betrayal as related by Lucas do not tempt belief; yet it should be remembered that the anathema by which Spinoza was excommunicated refers to “witnesses,” and that fanaticism is capable of malignity and of treachery to an extent the quantification of which may be left to the reader.

As to what followed we are on a firmer ground of history. The “secession” from the synagogue of a young man who was already widely known as a favorite disciple of Morteira and as a Talmudist of extraordinary attainments, was not a thing to be lightly incurred. Further efforts were made to extract concessions from him; he remained deaf to exhortation. The price attached to his friendship by the rabbins showed itself in the offer that they made him of an annuity of 1,000 florins, “to induce him to stay among them, and to continue to show himself from time to time in their synagogues.” The apostate refused. A less gentle *argumentum ad hominem* was tried by some person unknown to infamy. One evening, as the philosopher was leaving the old Portuguese synagogue,

He saw some one near him, poignard in hand and this having caused him to be on his guard, and to keep to one side, he escaped the thrust, which took effect only upon his clothes. He preserved the *justaucorps* pierced by the thrust in memory of the event.

Quitting Amsterdam, he retired some little distance into the country, with a friend, of whom all that we know is that he was a member of the religious sect

known as Rijnsburgers or *Collegiants*. During this absence from Amsterdam, Morteira's threat was put into execution, and the anathema of excommunication was fulminated against the obstinate infidel from the pulpit of the synagogue.

Many curious accounts of the institution of excommunication as practised by the Jews of that time are extant; and the student is generally refreshed in his journey over the abstract wastes of philosophy by the narration of a scene that might fittingly have been invented for an *opéra comique*. In the handsome old Portuguese synagogue of Amsterdam an awestruck crowd is assembled.

The ceremony begins by the lighting of numbers of black wax candles and the opening of the tabernacle in which the books of the law are kept. The *chancre*, from an elevated place, intones with a loud, lugubrious voice the words of execration, whilst another *chancre* winds a horn — or a cornet, called in Hebrew *sophar*. The black wax candles are held downwards, so that their wax falls drop by drop into a vat full of blood. The people, filled with holy horror and with sacred rage at the sight of this sombre spectacle, cry, *Amen*, with a furious voice that testifies to their belief that they would be rendering service to God if they were to tear the excommunicate to pieces, which they would no doubt do if they met with him in that moment, or on coming out of the synagogue.

But Lucas expressly states that the melodramatic accessories of horn, and candles dripping into the blood-vat, were not observed in the case of Spinoza, who was not accused of blasphemy (a crime which is punished with the above-described species of anathema), but only of contempt for Moses and the law; for which the ceremony of excommunication consisted in the simple reading of the anathema. This of itself may, perhaps, be considered sufficiently melodramatic. The document is important as well as curious; we therefore translate it in full. It bears the date of the 6th day of the month Ab, in the year 5416, that is to say, the 16th July, 1656. It is written as follows —

The herem that was given forth of the Sanctuary on the 6th day of the month Ad, against Baruch de Espinoza.

The Masters of the Ecclesiastical Council make known to you that, having long had knowledge of the bad opinions and of the bad works of Baruch de Espinoza, they have carefully studied *by various ways and promises* to draw him back from his bad ways; and being nothing able to remedy the same, but, on the contrary, getting daily fresh notification of the horrible heresies that he practised and taught, and of the enormous works that he wrought (*ynormes obras que obrava*); and finding *many witnesses*, worthy to be believed, of these things, who deposed and testified *in the presence of the said Espinosa*, who was by them convicted: after due consideration of all things, in the presence of the Lords of the Wise Men (dos SSrs. Hahamim), have determined, with their assent, that the said Espinoza shall be anathema and separated from the nation of Israel, as they now declare in the Herem, with the Herem following (*como actualmente o poni em Herem, com o Herem seguinte*): —

By the sentence of the Angels, by the sentence of the Saints, we anathematize, separate, and curse and execrate Baruch de Espinoza, with the consent of the Ecclesiastical Tribunal, and with the consent of all that holy community before the holy Sepharim, with their six hundred and thirteen precepts that are written in them, with the Herem with which Joshua cursed Jericho, with the malediction with which Elisha cursed the children, and with all the maledictions that are written in the law: cursed be he by day and cursed be he by night, cursed be he in his sleeping and cursed be he in his uprising, cursed in his going out and cursed in his entering in; may the Lord refuse to know him, may the fury of the Lord and his jealousy be hot after that man, and lay upon him all the maledictions that are written in the Book of the Law; and may the Lord blot out his name from beneath the heavens, and may the Lord separate him for evil from all the tribes of Israel, with all the maledictions of the firmament that are written in the Book of the Law; and you, cleaving to the Lord your God, may you have life!

But take notice, that none may speak with him by mouth, none by writing, none show him any favor, none be under the same roof with him, none within the distance of four ells from him, none read any document made or written by him.

A smile involuntarily rises as we read this breathless cursing, and we think of Mr. Shandy and of Dr. Slop, of Trim and of Uncle Toby, and his “For my own part, I could not have the heart to curse a dog so.” On the lips of the outcast thinker it must have produced a harder, bitterer curl. Spinoza changed his Jewish name of Baruch for the Christian one of Benedict. Very willingly withdrawing from the society of those of his race, he found friends both sympathetic and generous amongst the Gentiles. Of his family — of those, that is, who if the ties of blood are to be anything but fetters, ought to have been forthcoming as a help and a consolation in such a crisis as this — history makes no mention relating to this epoch. From their conduct later on it may be inferred that they now joined the hue and cry against the “atheist.” The fury of the Jews may have been increased by the suspicion that the apostate was about to embrace the creed of Christianity. According to one account there was a recrudescence of zeal on the part of the synagogue, in the time that followed the excommunication.

Morteira, in particular, after the affront that he had received from his disciple, could not suffer that he should even remain in the same city with him. Procuring himself to be escorted by another rabbin of similar temper, he came before the magistrates, to whom he represented that if he had excommunicated M. de Spinoza, it was for no common cause, but on account of most execrable blasphemies against Moses and against God. He exaggerated this falsehood in all the ways that an holy hatred can suggest to an irreconcilable heart, and in conclusion demanded that the accused should be banished from Amsterdam. At the sight of the rabbin’s passion it was easy to see that it was less a pious zeal than a secret rage that was urging him to vengeance; and, in fact, the judges, seeing this, endeavored to elude his demands, and referred him to the clergy. These, having examined the affair, found themselves in great embarrassment. After the manner in which the accused justified himself, they were unable to discover anything impious in him; yet the accuser was a rabbin, and the rank he held bid them be mindful of their own rank; so that, after all due consideration, they were unable without outrage to their cloth to absolve a man that one of their order

wished to ruin; and this reason, good or bad, caused them to conclude in favor of the rabbin. . . . The magistrates, not daring to contradict them, for reasons which it is easy to divine, condemned the accused to an exile of some months.

This account, for which Lucas is responsible, is corroborated by the fact that Spinoza retorted to the excommunication by writing a certain volume of “Apology,” now no longer extant, in which the Jews were “severely handled.” Colerus says, “*Il protesta contre cet acte d’excommunication, et y fit une response en espagnol qui fut adressée aux rabbins, et qu’ils reçurent comme nous le marquerons dans la suite.*” (It is unfortunate that the worthy author forgets to “*marquer dans la suite*” the matter in question, and never mentions it again.) It is evident that such an act of defiance might of itself constitute a sufficient reason for the reprisals which ended in Spinoza’s exile.

We must stop for a moment to consider this “*Apologia para Justificarse de sa Abdicacion de la Synagoga*,” the first fruits of Spinoza’s pen. We have already stated that it is no longer extant. Rienwertz states that he had had the manuscript in his possession, and that it was a large book, in which the Jews were severely handled. A more satisfactory indication of its nature is afforded by the statement of Bayle, that the argument of it may be found in the twentieth chapter of the “*Tractatus Theiologico-Politicus*.” The thesis of that chapter is, “that in a free state (republic) it is lawful for every man to think in his own way, and to publish that which he thinks.” Thought, from its very nature, is incapable of being bound by laws — is incapable of being given over to reigning powers, with those other “natural rights” that Spinoza allows, with Hobbes, may be so made over to the sovereign; and if thought cannot be bound, neither can speech, though of course the latter is susceptible of a measure of coercion; but no sooner has the author laid down this principle, than he proceeds to limit its application by considering how far the liberty of speech may usefully be conceded — that is, how far the exercise of such coercion as is possible may be desirable. Now the end of a state is the security of liberty to its subjects (“*Finis reipublicæ revera libertas est*”). Spinoza therefore concludes that all opinions should be allowed to be published, except

sedition opinions. Seditious opinions he defines as those “which being accepted would nullify the contract by which the citizen has yielded up the right of acting according to his individual will (*ex proprio suo arbitrio*).” From such a latitude of the liberty of speech he allows that inconveniences would arise; but it must be conceded, nevertheless; “for those things that cannot be prohibited” (he means, “whose prohibition is not supported by a sufficient sanction”) “must necessarily be conceded, even though ills do thence arise.” Proceeding to examine the ills that arise from the illegal and tyrannous persecution by the State of the liberty of speech, he shows that such persecution falls, not on the unworthy members of society, “the greedy, the timeserving, and the otherwise impotent in character, who have no care for truth and piety, for whom blessedness consists in contemplating the gold in their coffers, and having their bellies gorged (*nummus in arce contemplari et ventres distentos habere*),” but on those whom a good education, integrity of morals, and the practice of virtue have endowed with a liberal mind: —

Men such as these [he continues] will not be silenced by tyrannous laws, for men are so constituted that they hear nothing less patiently than to have the opinions that they believe true treated as crimes, and to have things reputed wicked, by which they are moved to piety towards God and man.

He concludes

that the true schismatics are they who condemn the writings of others, and seditiously stir up the petulant vulgar against them; and not the writers themselves, who write, for the most part, only for the learned, using no other aid than reason; and that the true disturbers are they who in any State endeavor to destroy the liberty of judgment, which cannot be destroyed.

Spinoza has been accused, amongst other odd accusations, of bitterness against Judaism. We have extracted out of this twentieth chapter of the “Theologico-Political Treatise,” which may very well be taken as a sample of the book, the most uncompromising expressions that we could find; the reader who is acquainted, even slightly, with the amenities to which theological discussion in

this nineteenth century has given rise, may be left to say whether language such as this should be considered a very “bitter” reply to execration, excommunication, banishment, and attempted murder.

The die was thrown. Spinoza was now twenty-four years of age — that is, if we take into account the precocity of his development, in the prime of genius and enthusiasm. Conscious of learning and of talents, and of the not entirely despicable advantages of a handsome face and commanding manners, he must have felt himself richly equipped for a career of honors and of power. Morally, he had but to palter but a little with his conscience, to be able to accept the brilliant career with self-approval. The obstacles that it threw in the way of self-development must have seemed, to all but a very searching gaze, to be more than counter-balanced by the facilities for culture that it afforded in the shape of affluence and security. The social element in which he would have had to move was not one of repulsive “Philistinism.” The Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam, formed at that time a community that we cannot help calling cultured, if not enlightened. With their traditional Talmudist education they connected modern studies. An eminent member of the college of rabbins by whom Spinoza was excommunicated, Menasse ben Israel, was publishing writings in Latin and in Spanish. Dr. Ginsberg tells us that Hugo Grotius has left a very appreciative judgment of this remarkable man, dating from the year 1639. From this it appears that Manasse ben Israel was well versed in ten languages, and composed poetry and other writings in Spanish as well as in Hebrew and in Latin. He is named in state documents theologian, philosopher, and doctor of physic. In 1632, at the age of twenty-seven, he published in Spanish his first great work, “Conciliator;” a writing the object of which is to reconcile with one another all the contradictory passages of the Holy Scriptures. It was the product of five years’ labor, and was therefore begun at the age of twenty-two. The author’s reading includes not only rabbinical literature, but the Greek and Roman poets, Plato and Aristotle, the Arabo-Hebraic philosophers, and the scholastics of the Middle Ages. More than two hundred and ten Hebrew works, and fifty-four Greek and Latin, Spanish and

Portuguese authors, are cited in the first part. The fourth and last part of this exhaustive work appeared in 1651. A society that could produce men such as this could hardly have been an intellectual desert, even for Spinoza; and the temptation to yield, to compromise, to sacrifice this or that moment of the absolute idea of his life to the profit of the rest, must have been a strong one. And as for the interests of humanity, Spinoza's mind was dangerously well furnished with the ethical maxims that justify compromise. He held a doctrine of exoteric and esoteric treatment of truth that we cannot but consider as wearing a dangerous likeness to the principles of obscurantism. Submission to authority, that is, submission to power, political or religious, is the very principle on which depends the whole of his doctrine of political and religious practice. A brave and uncomplaining acceptance of the established fact is one of the most prominent features of his attitude towards all branches of human endeavor; a tendency that in the higher walk of philosophy, in the doctrine of the ideal sage as contained in the "*Ethica*," appears in the conclusion that places the freedom of the sage in his "contemplative submission to the order of nature. . . ." He did not reject the Scriptures as an authority ruling the conduct of life, he merely contended for liberty in the interpretation of them. He did not even advise that this or that demonstrably false method of interpreting them was in all cases to be combated. Many are the forms under which belief may be operative on conduct; and truth, if it is to be believed, must be accommodated to the intelligence of the believer. If Spinoza had accepted the career offered him by the rabbins, and had placed a golden lock upon his lips, the act would but have taken rank with the too often forgotten fallings off of many another great leader lost. But he refused to palter, were it even but ever so little, with his conscience. Shaking off the dust from his feet, he set his face towards a life of poverty and of toil, made worthy and worth having by the consciousness of independence and integrity, and by the warmth of the great design that was brooding within him.

Out of the four years of struggle and anxiety, and so weighty development, that followed his secession from the synagogue, from 1656, namely, to 1660, hardly a detail of his life has come down to us. We gather that his position must have been a hard one, at all events a very trying one. He was penniless. Rienwertz says that he got his living by teaching (*dass er Kinder informiret*). The writer of the MS. life discovered by Müller states that he lived with the “Collegiant” friend above mentioned, “on the road between Amsterdam and Auwerkerke, until he moved with him to Rijnsburg, near Leiden.”

Misfortune, it has been said, is the midwife that delivers genius of her children and in some way or other Spinoza found time for writing during these years. Though he published nothing, it is probable that he wrote a great deal. The “Theologico-Political Treatise” was written about this time; and during the same period the lately discovered “*Tractus de Deo et Homine*” — “Treatise on God and Man and his Welfare” — was probably entirely written. And if we take into account the composition of the “*Apologia*,” we shall see that these were years of intense activity.

Spinoza was at Rijnsburg in 1661, as appears by a letter to him from Oldenburg, the secretary of the then lately-instituted Royal Society of England. Oldenburg refers to his visit to the philosopher at Rijnsburg; and to their “conversation about God, about extension and infinite thought, about the difference and agreement of their attributes, about the manner of the union of the human mind with the body; also about the principles of the Cartesian and Baconian philosophies.” Colerus is therefore in error in saying that it was in 1664 that Spinoza moved to Rijnsburg — or Rhynsburg, as it is differently spelt. He there inhabited a very small house, “still standing” writes Van Vloten in 1862, “and easy to be known by its inscription, dating from 1667, from the pen of the poet Kamphuysen, —

Ach, waren alle menschen wijs,
En wilden daarby wel:

De aard waar heer een Paradijs,
Nu is ze meest een Hel;”

an inscription that is curiously appropriate to the circumstances in which the philosopher found himself when an inhabitant of the house. It may be rendered, for the benefit of those unacquainted with the language, —

If all mankind could but be wise,
And pure their wills as well,
This earth would be a paradise,
That now is but a hell.

Spinoza had living with him during that time a certain young man whose identity is not quite clear, but whom there is great reason to believe to be that Albert Burgh who in 1675 became a convert to Catholicism, and wrote to the author of the “*Ethica*” a letter of some five-and-thirty pages, full of exhortation to “repent, to acknowledge his ignorance to be wisdom, and his wisdom madness; to be humbled from his pride, and be healed.” The bear-leading of this youth was anything but a pleasant duty for the thinker; he complains bitterly of it in a letter to his friend Simon de Vries —

There is no one more annoying to me, nor none against whom I have to be more carefully on my guard, than he: wherefore I would have you and the others take heed not to communicate my opinions to him till he shall have attained a more mature age. He is too boyish yet and changeable, and greedy rather of novelty than of truth.

By “the others” is meant a certain circle of ardent friends who had gathered round the germ of the new doctrine, and were looking up in eager dependence to their leader. They had instituted a sort of club for the study in common of the new philosophy.

As for the course of study [writes Simon de Vries] we have thus ordered it. One of us (but each in turn) reads out to the rest, and explains according to his

judgment, demonstrating everything according to the order and series of your propositions; then, if it happen that one of us cannot convince another, we think it worth while to make a note of the matter and write to you, in order that, if possible, it may be made clear to us; and that we may be able, with you for a leader, to defend truth against the superstitiously religious and the superstitiously Christian, and to resist the onslaught of the whole world.

During these years an active correspondence was kept up with Oldenburg. It is interesting to watch in it the working of forces that tend to dissolve the friendship between these so widely different minds, a friendship whose persistent triumph over all differences of opinion and of feeling is most encouraging. Spinoza is conscious of holding opinions which Oldenburg would consider to be at least “strange,” and very likely “abominable;” but his friend has pressed him to communicate to him his thoughts on the weighty problems of philosophy and religion. So he writes that he will not refuse, for he holds “that friends should have all things in common, but most especially spiritual things.” He adds, “I will endeavor to give you the explanation you ask for, though I think that, unless your kindness help, this step will not be a means of attaching you more strongly to me.” He sends certain propositions of the “*Ethica*” which Oldenburg does not very well understand (this is in September, 1661); and the interest of the correspondence becomes transferred to the experiments of Robert Boyle, concerning whose book, “*De Nitro*,” Spinoza writes with a minuteness that testifies to the interest that he took in chemistry, and shows that he was not by any means devoid of practical acquaintance with the subject. He is in correspondence too with his good friend and medical adviser Ludwig Meyer, an Amsterdam Jew.

Of his way of life at Rijnsburg and at Voorburg, details are wanting, but an idea may be formed of it from Colerus description of his way of life at the Hague.

It is almost incredible [says Colerus] how sober and economical he was during that time. We find [from accounts found amongst his papers] that he lived a whole day on a milk-soup prepared with butter, which came to three sous, and a jug of beer at one sou and a half; another day he ate nothing but gruel prepared with

raisins and butter, and this dish cost him four sous and a half. In these accounts, mention is made of at most two half-pints of wine in a month; and although he was often invited to dine out, he preferred to live on what he could have at home to sitting at a sumptuous table at another's expense.

We should have gladly passed over this oft-told tale of the milk soup and the gruel — which after all does not prove much were it not that it is again necessary to vindicate Spinoza's character from the charge — one can hardly write the word seriously — of gluttony. In 1847, Professor Guhrauer published in the *Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, an account of the tradition concerning Spinoza that had been collected by one Gottlieb Stolle, a pupil of Christian Thomasius, during a voyage in Holland in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and written down by him in his "Memoirs." During his stay in Amsterdam in 1703, Stolle came to know "a certain old man," who had been personally acquainted with Spinoza. This old man stated that

In the beginning Spinoza lived very soberly, that is, so long as he had not much to spend; but as he became richer, he began to live better. From Amsterdam he went to Leyden, and thence afterwards to the Hague; and as he became acquainted with persons of distinction, he took to wearing a sword, dressing himself nicely, committed excesses in eating and drinking (he could take quite well a couple of cans of wine), and also —

But we must decline to attempt the translation of the very curious passage that follows; in short, the excesses he committed were such, "that he brought on consumption, of which he died." The reader who knows Spinoza, and has not the advantage of being acquainted with Stolle's old man, may be pardoned if he doubts the faithfulness of our quotation. He shall have the excerpt in the original; it is worth reading: —

Da er mit grossen Herrn bekannt geworden, (habe er) sich einen Degen angesteckt propre (*sic*) aufgeföhret im Essen und Trinken Excesse gemacht (wie er denn ein Paar Kannen Wein gar leicht auf sich genommen), auch wohl ad virgo

(sic!) gegangen, daher er sich endlich die Schwindsucht an dens Hals gezogen, und daran gestorben.

We have inserted, in the interest of grammar, a *sic* that appeared to be called for; as for the matter of the statements, we feel that marks of exclamation would be perfectly inadequate to the occasion. But let us look at the evidence. Firstly, Stolle's old man tells his story badly. To place the epoch of sensual indulgence at the end of a life whose whole course has been a chastening of the senses by moral suffering, by poverty, by intense thought, by the approaches of disease, is really clumsy. Secondly, all the other witnesses agree that Spinoza's life was one of perfect temperance. Rienwertz, his friend, the publisher of his works, told Stolle, that "he had always lived very moderately and been contented with little. He had never had any inclination to marriage, yet never blamed those who marry." We think of certain propositions of the "*Ethica*," and notwithstanding Stolle's old man, involuntarily we think of St. Paul. Stolle visited Bayle, the celebrated author of the dictionary, at Amsterdam, and Bayle told him that

as regards Spinoza's morals, he lived soberly at the Hague, without furniture, or feasting, or show (*er habe im Haag mässig gelebt, und von Hausrath, Saufen, und Pracht nichts gehabt*).

Lucas writes that

he was so temperate and so sober that the smallest means sufficed for his wants. He did not spend six sous a day, on an average, and did not drink more than a pint of wine in a month. "Nature is satisfied with little," he used to say, "and when she is content, I am so too."

The evidence of Colerus has been given above. It should be borne in mind that this writer is the chief and by far the most weighty authority for the facts of Spinoza's life; and his testimony to the purity of Spinoza's morals is by so much the more valuable as good Colerus was animated by a most vehement hatred and terror of the philosopher's teaching. He speaks of him, when examining his writings, as "this miserable man," and as "this celebrated atheist." He is satirical concerning the terms of the bill sent in after Spinoza's death by his barber, who

was so ill-advised as to speak of him in that document as “*M. Spinoza de bien-heureuse mémoire*.” The undertaker, two *taillandiers*, and a mercer, having paid the deceased the same compliment, Colerus devotes a grave paragraph to animadversion on the propriety of the term “*bien-heureuse*.” He ends a paragraph on the “Theologico-Political Treatise” with the apostrophe, “*Le seigneur te confonde, Satan, et te ferme la bouche!*” He asserts that that work is “full of nothing but lies and blasphemies,” and of the doctrine of the “*Ethica*,” he asks, whether it be not “the most pernicious atheism that has ever been seen in the world.” Such an attitude of mind must infallibly have inclined him to render to the philosopher’s moral character no more than the strictest measure of justice it is incredible that he should have passed over without due distillation the malicious stories that were current concerning the “reprobate” freethinker, and any confirmation of them must have destroyed the admiration that he evidently felt for his character. And Colerus informants were capable witnesses one of them, Van der Spyck, was an artist, and, judging from his eloquent portrait of Spinoza, by no means a bad artist; he must be considered to be a competent witness to the habits of the man who for more than six years lived in friendly intercourse with him under his own roof. For those who know Spinoza from his writings, such evidence must be superfluous; it is impossible to have the “*Ethica*” tolerably present to one’s mind, and to believe the writer capable of low sensuality.

The instruction of Albert Burgh, or other unknown pupil, seems not to have furnished him with a sufficient income and it was probably shortly after his excommunication that he set himself to work at a trade by which he could live. Colerus states that he “set himself to learn” the construction of lenses for telescopes and for other optical uses. It is probable that he had learned the art long before. It is well known that the Hebrew law ordained that all, even those destined to the study of the law, should learn some handiwork or other, by which in time of need they might subsist. The exiled thinker, looking somewhat blankly around him for a plan of life, was reminded of this perhaps once-despised handicraft. It

offered him, at least, “independence, the first of earthly blessings; “ and he gallantly cast in his lot with plain living and high thinking. He succeeded so well in his lens-grinding, we are told by Colerus, that

he was applied to from all sides for his glasses, the sale of which furnished enough to suffice for his wants. When the lenses were finished, his friends used to send and fetch them, sell them, and remit him the money that they brought in;

a practice which demonstrates in a most significant and even touching manner these friends’ sense of the fitness of relieving a philosopher from sublunary cares.

Most of his time he passed in his room. When tired of his meditations, he used in order to refresh himself, to come down-stairs and talk to the people of the house on any matter that would serve for conversation, even on trifles. Sometimes he would enjoy a pipe of tobacco; or, when he wished for longer relaxation, he would set spiders to fight with one another, or would throw flies into the spiders’ webs, taking such delight in the spectacle of the combat that he sometimes laughed outright.

So far Colerus. The anecdote is gravely brought forward by Dugald Stewart, in his “Dissertation” prefixed to the “Encyclopædia Britannica,” as evidence that Spinoza was “mad.” To us it appears that, if true, it bears testimony merely to the philosopher’s habits of hard thinking. Is it not a very picture of the childishly cheerful relaxation of a brain fairly brought to a standstill by thought? We of the present generation must take upon trust the statement of such a teacher as Carlyle that Dugald Stewart was an “amiable philosopher;” but our faith in the propriety of the one and of the other of the terms of the proposition is put to a somewhat severe trial by the thorough unfairness and incompetence of his estimate of Spinoza.

Persons whose æsthetic judgments were informed by their religious feelings, were of opinion that the philosopher was “little, yellow, that there was something sombre (*noir*) in his physiognomy, and that he wore a look of reprobation in his face (*qu’il portait sur son visage un caractère de réprobation*).” The accounts of the biographers agree that he was “of middle height, with well-proportioned

features, dark complexion, curly black hair, long black eyebrows, small, lively, dark eyes, and the general appearance of a Portuguese Jew.” Van der Spyck’s portrait of him shows us a perfectly handsome face. The forehead is not very conspicuous, but is very handsomely moulded; a broad and shallow furrow, scarcely perceptible, in the median line, testifies to the habitual contraction of the brows in thought. The eyes are not small; the orbit is very large, leaving between eye and eyebrow that all-important space where the soul seems to move; they look at you with a quite startling directness. The eyebrows are drawn in a wide true curve, dark and strong; the space between them is wide. The base of the nose is broad, and tapers downwards for some distance before reaching the level of the greatest narrowness, from which it swells out to form the bridge; the nose itself is Roman, with a slight Dantesque droop at the tip; broad on the level of the nostrils, The upper lip is very firm, the mouth exquisitely curved, and of a more lively appearance than any other feature of the face; its tendency to movement is controlled by a most sharply decisive line that cuts it obliquely downwards and backwards at the corner. The chin is large, massive, round, and handsome, of a firm, clear contour; and the face is set in a fine correct oval, with long dark hair flowing in broad waves down to the shoulders: every way a very noble face. So he looked, one thinks, when worthy Frau Van der Spyck asked him the uncomfortable question whether she could find salvation in the religion she professed. “Your religion is a good one,” was the answer; “you have no cause to seek for any other, nor to doubt that you will find your salvation in it, so be it that whilst following piety you lead a peaceable and tranquil life.” Those who. feel curious concerning the outermost of the hulls in which the philosopher’s spirit walked on earth, may choose between the statement of Stolle’s old man, that he was nicely dressed, and wore a sword by his side; that of Colerus, that he was careless of his clothes, “which were no better than those of the most simple citizen;” and that of Lucas, that he “had a quality that is by so much the more estimable as it is rarely found in a philosopher: he was extremely clean, and never

appeared in public without showing in his dress that which distinguishes the well-bred man from the pedant.”

The four years spent at Rijnsburg were full of life and movement; and some of the moments in their flight must have shaken a little golden dust about the quiet room in which the “*Ethica*” was being written. They are the busiest years of the philosopher’s life. Lenses were being ground, and lessons given, that he might eat. An extensive correspondence was being carried on ; an occupation which must have taken up much more time in those old days, when people wrote letters of a score, or two score of pages, which they forwarded by the kind hands of some travelling friend, than in this century of telegrams, and post-cards, and public newspapers. Books were being written. Of the “Apology” we have already spoken. On reading it over in the quiet of his country retreat, “on the road to Auwerkerke,” Spinoza probably reflected that the “dry light” was the better, and decided not to publish the MS. Instead, he set himself to treat the whole great question of liberty of thought, of Church and State, from the very foundations, in a thoroughly scientific manner. By the time he removed to Rijnsburg, the “Theologico-Political Treatise” was finished, or, at all events, was sufficiently advanced for him to be able to set to work on the “*Ethica*.” He did so, and in all probability produced, as the first result of his philosophical essay, the “Treatise on God and Man and his Welfare.” He was, perhaps, dissatisfied with the form that this work lent to his ideas, and for that reason — probably for others besides — withheld it from publication, and started again courageously to develop the system anew on another principle, the principle of mathematical form, which finally gave us the “*Ethica*” in its present shape. This was written down so fast, that in 1663 Spinoza was thinking of publishing it. In the early summer of that year, he had occasion, as we know from a letter of his to Oldenburg, to make a trip to Amsterdam “in order to fetch his furniture.” Whilst he was there, certain friends asked him to make them a copy of a *résumé* of the second part of Descartes’ “*Principia*,” in the form of mathematical demonstration that he had

dictated to Albert Burgh (if this be in reality the certain youth mentioned in his letter), for the use of the latter. At the same time they urged him to proceed, without loss of time, to a similar treatment of the first part of the "*Principia*."

Not liking to deny my friends [he writes to Oldenburg] I set myself straightway to the preparation of such a work; and finished it within two weeks, and handed it over to my friends. These then entreated me to allow them to publish the whole, —

a request to which he acceded.

For perhaps [he explains] some of those who fill the first places in my country, may be led by this writing to wish to see the other works which I have written, and which contain the exposition of my own opinions, and so may be induced to take measures for having them introduced to the public, safe under the escort of their authority. If it so fall out, I nothing doubt but that I shall shortly publish something; but if it be not so, I shall choose to be silent rather than intrude my opinions on my fellow-men against their desire.

The little book was published, together with an appendix of certain very suggestive "*Cogitata Metaphysica*," which form a bridge by which the student may pass, if he please, from Cartesianism to Spinozism. The "*Principia*" was a modest, and apparently a harmless little book enough, as befitted an innocent dove sent out to try whether in all the turbulent waters of the fatherland there might be found sufficient foothold for the "*Ethica*." Notwithstanding its airs of innocence, however, it soon became the cause of much throwing about of brains, amongst the Cartesians. Lucas tells us that

notwithstanding all that he says in praise of this celebrated writer, his partisans (*i.e.* the Cartesians), in order to ward off from him the suspicion of atheism, tried all ways to bring down thunderbolts on our philosophers head; thus putting in practice the policy of the followers of St. Augustine, who, in order to clear themselves of the reproach of leaning towards Calvinism, have written against that doctrine the most violent of books.

“Battre le chien devant le lion” appears to have been a very favorite device of theological warfare in the seventeenth and certain other centuries. The persons in the chief places in the land do not seem to have been attracted in the hoped-for manner by the *“Principia,”* and for seven years to come Spinoza published nothing more.

In the month of May, 1664, he removed to Voorburg, a village distant one mile from the Hague. There he lived in the “Kerklaan,” in the house of one Daniel Tydeman, an artist, “who seems to have held opinions more liberal than those that were generally current in the Reformed Church.” The author of Müller’s Dutch MS. suggests that it was Tydeman who first introduced Spinoza to the world of art. He may have had lessons in drawing, perhaps even in painting, from this artist. At all events, he seems to have undertaken art studies in a very serious way. He attained some proficiency in portrait-drawing in ink or charcoal. Colerus possessed an album of his portraits, amongst which were those of several distinguished persons, and one of himself, in the costume of a fisherman *“en chemise,”* carrying a net on his shoulder.

Very pleasant must have been these outlooks into the world of external beauty; one feels quite grateful that the ascetic thinker was able to sun his fancy for a little while before the sweet, moving skies, and the sunshine modestly dickering on the prim, brick-paved courts, before the sleeping water-wheels and dreaming waters, and the interiors lit up by maidens in white satin dresses, of the old masters that we love. In this respect, at least, he was born into the world at a happy date. In 1664 Holland had awakened to an artistic life of the brightest glory. There were living Wynants, and Albert Cuyp, Terburg, Bol, Adrian van Ostade, Van Loo, Wouverman, Pynacker, Nicholaas Berghem, Ruisdael, Van der Velde, Backuisen, and Jan Steen. Potter had died in his brilliant youth, ten years before; Metsu also a few years before; but still living, thinking, dreaming, and working hard, at the close of his splendid and miserable career, was that prince of luminous darkness, the magician Rembrandt. The hermit of Rijnsburg made an excursion now and then to Amsterdam; he was there in the spring of 1663. He may have strolled (one

cannot help indulging in such imaginings) absorbed in some philosophema of the “*De Deo*,” down the Roosgracht. Then, at the door of a mean house in this mean part of Amsterdam, there may have stood, refreshing himself in the sunshine, and absorbed in contemplation too, but in outward contemplation, a strange old man, with short disordered grizzly hair and beard, wearing a nightcap, or a colored kerchief for a headdress, and a fur-bordered dressing-gown variously spotted with dabs of paint. The philosopher, feeling that he was being scanned as he passed by, may have looked up at the wrinkled face, with its coarse puffy cheeks irregularly flecked with rich crimson blood, and started a little on remarking the powerful mouth, smiling its massive smile with its strong sanguine lips, the vertical fold of the brow with its two deep bordering furrows, and the small eyes shooting out from their deep setting their odd glance of energy and confidence. Then one thinks that these two great kindred spirits must have felt a shudder of no common order as their eyes met; or perhaps they may have felt nothing; the philosopher may have forgotten the distraction in a moment, and passed on in meditation, fancy free; whilst Rembrandt van Rhyn, merely revolving in his mind his observations on Hebrew physiognomy, may have turned to a most exceedingly disorderly palette, and set to work to sketch a memorandum of this Jewish face, as material for some future “Head of an Evangelist.”

Rembrandt, one thinks at all events, must have come home to Spinoza in his works with singular nearness. The two natures have singular points of likeness; their lives, as well as their work, have much of the same spirit. Both of these great men were mystics; both of them abstract thinkers, ideologists, metaphysicians preoccupied exclusively with the essence of things, and careless of the outsides of things; visionaries both, looking inwards and disdaining to look outwards; proud, impassable, absorbed in the idea to the extent of forgetting the reality, almost to the extent of denying the reality; alike in their lives of solitary labor, uncomplainingly persevering, and answering the unjust criticism and the unjust neglect of their contemporaries by the production of monumental works that stand like pyramids, in their inimitable solitary grandeur, in the view of their posterity.

The six years' residence at Voorburg was, it may be hoped, a happy one; at all events, it was a tranquil one, and affords the biographer not an incident of any moment to relate. The "*Ethica*" was slowly crystallizing in the quiet into its perfect geometric form; the "*Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*" was being thought over lovingly, and lovingly retouched; but, after the fiasco of the attempt to gain the public mind by means of the "*Principia*," Spinoza seems to have been quite undisturbed by any desire to publish it; a trait that is very characteristic of him. A large correspondence afforded him the means of instructing a coterie of earnest and eager disciples; sometimes, indeed, of instructing persons who were neither disciples nor earnest. Correspondents took up his time with the strangest questions. His friend Peter Balling had heard in the night certain groanings. Afterwards, his child fell ill, gave utterance to groanings which Balling recognized as identical with those he had before heard in the night, and died. Balling wrote to be instructed whether the groanings he had heard were "omens." Spinoza replied at some length in a very curious letter. He considered that the groanings heard by Balling were imaginations." It had happened to himself, he related, that, waking up one morning, the images of which his dreams had been composed remained obstinately before his eyes, as vivid as though they had been real things. Amongst these was the image of a "certain black and filthy Æthiopian" whom he had never before seen. This image in great part disappeared when he directed his eyes *with attention* to a book or other object; but returned with the same vividness as it at first possessed, so soon as he allowed his eyes to fall anywhere *carelessly (sine attentione)*. The image at length disappeared from the head downwards. His description of the phenomenon may be interesting to students of the psychology of dreams. The most interesting part of the letter is the passage in which he admits the possibility of a certain species of "omens." "The mind has a power of vague presentiment of future events, which it may sometimes exercise (*mens aliquid, quod futurum est, confuse potest præsentire*)."

The dreadful correspondence with Blyenbergh took place in this period. Mijnheer Willem van Blyen Bergh was a well-to-do merchant of Dordrecht, who occupied

his leisure hours with dilettante metaphysics. On the 12th December, 1664, he wrote to his “unknown friend” Spinoza, to beg that he would explain certain doubts that had arisen in his mind on the perusal of the treatise of Descartes’ “*Principia*.” God is the creative cause of all actions, as well as of all substances. Therefore he created the act of will that caused Adam to eat that apple. Therefore, either the eating of that apple was not a sin, or God is the cause of evil. A few days after receiving this letter, Spinoza answered it at great length, with that grand sweetness of his that we feel to be of so much higher worth than mere politeness. As regards that apple, he called Mijnheer van Blyen Bergh’s attention to the fact that he had not specified what he meant by “evil.” “As for me,” he added, italicizing the statement as we have italicized it, “*I am unable to admit that sin and evil are anything of a positive nature at all.*” No! in this world, which is the splendid phantasmagory reflected from the changing outside of the infinite substance of God, all is good; and all is perfect; even the impious are units of the perfectness of the whole; they are the necessary shadows in the great scheme of *chiaroscuro*. The above italicized statement is not to be taken to be in any way an acceptance of the position that if sin be nothing positive, then the impious serve God equally well with the righteous. Once more, no! They are indeed, after their own fashion, expressions of the perfect will of God; but they are not to be compared with the righteous.

For they who know not God are but as the tool in the workman’s hand, that serves unconsciously, and in its service is consumed; but the righteous serve God consciously, and through the service become ever more perfect (*improbi, quia Deum non cognoscunt, non sunt nisi instrumentum in manu artificis, quod inscium servit et serviendo consumitur; probi contra conscii serviunt, et serviendo perfectiores evadunt*).

More than one noble mind has found in this noble thought of Spinoza’s a refuge of inestimable value, and has felt for it a quite unbounded gratitude. Mijnheer van Blyen Bergh saw in it nothing but hard words, which he resented. He could not perceive what Spinoza meant by “*τό perfectiores evadere*,” nor what

may be the meaning of “*tó continuo perfectiores evadere*.” He returned to the charge with a very foolish letter of forty-two lengthy paragraphs, full of “objections.” With similar heavy paper bullets of the brain he continued for the next three months to bombard the philosopher. He even managed to personally penetrate into his retreat at Voorburg, and argue with him there. Of the conversation that took place on that occasion, no record has been preserved. We learn from Blyen Bergh’s next letter, that notwithstanding the intense efforts that he made to commit the colloquy to memory, he was unable to do so; and that when on the first opportunity he sat down to commit it to paper, he found that he could not remember one-fourth of the matter. He therefore begged that Spinoza would be kind enough to refresh his memory for him, and took the liberty of propounding five new questions. Concerning these, we shall probably have done our duty towards the curious reader, by relating that one of them is, “Whether, properly speaking, there be such a thing as error?” The persecution could be borne no longer, and, in his reply, Spinoza gently but firmly gave his questioner to understand that the demands on his time did not allow him to continue the correspondence. More agreeable was the renewal of the correspondence with Oldenburg, that had been allowed to lapse for nearly two years; and that now was carried gaily on with a new impetus through the greater part of the year 1665. Physical and metaphysical subjects were pleasantly discussed in these letters, and now and then some item of political gossip calls forth a tiny ripple on the surface of their philosophic calm. “I pass on to politics,” wrote Oldenburg on the 8th December, 1665, at the end of a letter in which he had discussed the mechanics of Descartes, and of Hugen’s, and the physiological observations that were being made by the Royal Society at Oxford: —

In every mouth here there is a rumor of the return of the Jews into their fatherland, after their dispersion for more than two thousand years. Few here believe it, but many hope it. You will signify to your friend what you have heard of the thing, and what you think about it. I long to know what the Amsterdam Jews have heard of the matter, and in what way they are affected by such a piece

of news, which, if it were true, would certainly seem to herald some catastrophe of the whole world.

Over his young friends of the philosophical club Spinoza continued to keep a fatherly watch. To one of them, namely, to a certain Bresser, the same “J. B. Med. Dr.” to whom the forty-second letter of Bruder’s collection is addressed, Spinoza wrote the altogether charming page published by Van Vloten at the end of his “*Supplementum*.” He gently reproaches his young friend with his neglect, and urges him to write.

I earnestly ask of you, nay, by our friendship I beg and beseech you, that you now turn your attention to some serious study, and henceforth devote to the culture of your mind and soul the better part of your life; now, I say, now, whilst it is yet time, and before you have cause to lament the downhill of your years. As to our correspondence, I have a word to say, in order that you may write to me with the greater freedom. Know then that I have long suspected, nay, been almost certain, that you are more diffident of your own powers than is desirable, and that you are fearful of asking or stating something that may fail to smack of learning (*quod virum doctum non redoleat*). I am not going to enter into praises of you, and narrate your gifts. But if you are fearful of my communicating your letters to others, so as to cause you to become a laughing-stock for them, I give you my word beforehand that I will keep them religiously for myself, and not communicate them to any soul without your leave.

Spinoza was in correspondence too with his friend Jarig Jellis, on philosophical matters, and on the attempts of one Helvetius to obtain gold by transmutation, a subject in which Spinoza seems to have been much interested.

His friends seem to have been dissatisfied with the remoteness and out-of-the-way character of the little village in which the master resided; and finally, in 1670, he yielded to their entreaties, and settled at the Hague. He there lived at first “*en pension*” on the Veexkaay, in the house of a certain Widow Van Velden. Finding this mode of life to be too expensive, he hired a room in the house of Henry Van der Spyck, an artist, on the Paviloengragt, “where he lived according

to his fancy in a very retired manner, himself seeing to the providing of what food and drink was necessary for him.”

This was an anxious year. In it, after some fourteen years of preparation, revision, and alternation of hope and despair, the “Theologico-Political Treatise” at length saw the light. Of the anxiety that must have attended its production, some idea may be formed from the precautions with which its publication was attended. It first appeared anonymously, under the title “*Tractatus Theologico-Politicus, continens dissertationes aliquot, quibus ostenditur, libertatem philosophandi non tantum salva pietate et reipublicæ pace posse concedi, sed eandem nisi cum pace reipublicæ ipsaque pietate tolli non posse. Hamburgi, apud Henricum Kuenrath, 1670.*” Henry Kuenrath of Hamburg was a fiction, designed to lead the press-controlling authorities on to a false scent, the real publisher being Christopher Conrad of Amsterdam. The epitome of the contents of the book given in the declaration of the long title, that it showed “that freedom of philosophizing may not only exist without hurt to piety and the peace of the State, but that it cannot be withheld without hurt to the peace of the State and even to private piety,” reticent though it was, was imprudently honest. The book was officially proscribed, though not, indeed, immediately on its appearance; for in February, 1671, we find Spinoza writing to Jarig Jellis to beg him to do his best to prevent a threatened translation of the book into Belgic; “which to prevent,” he says, “is not only my desire but that of many friends and acquaintances, who would not willingly see the book proscribed, which it certainly would be if it appeared in the Belgic tongue.” The very year it appeared it was attacked by Jacobus Thomasius in a tract, “*Adversus anonymum de Libertate Philosophandi;*” by Fr. Rappoltus, in an “*Oratio contra Naturalistas;*” in 1671 by an anonymous S. M. V. D. M., in a certain “*Epistola*” directed against it; whilst from 1671 to 1676, that is, during the remainder nearly of the author’s short life, it was copiously written against by authors whose names have now lost all interest. These attacks appear to have left Spinoza very much at his ease. Of the bulky quarto, “*Adversus anonymum Theologico-Policum,*” that the professor at Utrecht, Regnerus a

Mansvelt, had written against him, he writes to a friend, “I have seen exposed in the bookseller’s window a book that the Utrecht professor has written against me; and from what I was able to read of it, I judged it unworthy to be read, much more to be replied to. I shall therefore leave alone book and author.” Early in 1671 one Lambert van Velthuysen (or Velthusius), a writer on theology and philosophy, attacked it in a letter of thirty-five pages that he wrote to Isaak Orobios, who forwarded it to Spinoza for refutation. In his letter to Orobios, Velthuysen accuses the author of the “*Tractatus*” of “subverting all worship and all religion, of secretly introducing atheism, or making God such that no room is left for his divine government or providence, or distribution of rewards and penalties;” and thinks he is not far from the truth in judging the author “*tectis et fucatis argumentis merum atheismum docere.*” The manuscript draft of Spinoza’s reply has been discovered, and it is very interesting from the manner in which it shows us the philosopher writing at first under the sway of a flush of wrath, but cooling down, after reflection, into more perfect reasonableness. The first draft began thus (the reply is addressed of course to Isaak Orobios): You are doubtless astonished at my having made you wait so long for my answer; the fact is that I feel the greatest difficulty in bringing myself to reply to the ineptitudes (*ineptias*) of that man.” On second thoughts he ran his pen through the word “*ineptias*,” and substituted that of “*libellum*,” feeling probably that to throw hard words at a theological adversary was mere waste of energy. A little further on in the draft we find a passage that attributed Velthuysen’s misrepresentation of the “*Tractatus*” to malice or ignorance, and his vituperations of the author to malevolence (*malum animum*) and hatred of truth. This passage also he afterwards erased, and substituted a simple “but to proceed (*sed ad rem*)” Again, after his explanation of his doctrine of the liberty of God, he at first wrote a contemptuous “which seems to surpass this man’s understanding,” — and subsequently softened it down into the inoffensive “I really can see nothing in this that any one should fail to understand.” The dispute was conducted, on Spinoza’s side at all events, with great dignity. The “Jew” nourished so little rancour in his heart, that four or five

years afterwards he proposed to Velthuysen that a second attack on the “*Tractatus*” that the latter had written should be published between the same covers as the notes to the “*Tractatus*” that he was then thinking of bringing out. But no very great length of time can have elapsed before the “*Tractatus*” was hunted down and suppressed by the authorities. Three years after its first appearance, it was brought into circulation again as “*Danielis Heinsii operum historicorum collectio prima. Editio secunda priori editione multo emendatior et auctior. Accedunt quædam hactenus inedita. Lugduni Batav., apud Isaacum Herculis, 1673.*” It circulated also at the same time under the titles of “*Francisci de la Boe Silvii totius medicinæ idea nova. Edit. ii., Amstelodami, 1673;*” and “*Francisci Henriquez de Villacorta, doctoris medici, a cubiculo regali Philippi IV. et Caroli II., archiatri, opera chirurgica omnia, sub auspiciis potentissimi Hispaniorum regis Caroli II. Amstelodami per Jacobum Pauli, 1673;*” these two last ingenious titles having been imagined for the purpose of smuggling the book into Spain and Portugal. It appeared in England as the treatise of Daniel Heinsius.

On the 5th November, 1671, the celebrated Leibnitz wrote our thinker a flattering letter addressed to him with the odd superscription, “*A Monsieur Spinoza, médecin très-célèbre et philosophe très-profond; à Amsterdam.*” The matter of the letter is of little interest; it accompanied a copy of an optical treatise of Leibnitz’, on which the latter asks Spinoza’s opinion, “having heard, amongst the other praises that report has published concerning you, that you are remarkably skilled in optics.” Spinoza replied politely in the same strain, touching on no subjects other than optical, and accepted with thanks the offer made him by Leibnitz of a copy of his “Physical Hypothesis;” offering in return to send a copy of the “*Tractatus Theologico-Politicus.*” Shortly afterwards, namely, in the very next month of January, Leibnitz wrote to his old master, Thomasius, concerning Spinoza in terms that implied that the latter was totally unknown to him, speaking of him as “a certain Jew, excommunicated on account of his monstrous opinions — *as they write to me from Holland.*” (!) Other letters, now no longer extant, passed between the philosophers. From those of Leibnitz, Spinoza learned that he

had to do with a man of most eminent talents; but they failed to inspire him with confidence in his character. To Leibnitz' endeavors to obtain, through Tschirnhaus, a sight of the "*Ethica*," Spinoza opposed a quiet but firm "I do not think it desirable that my writings should be communicated to him so soon." On his return from Paris through Holland, he visited Spinoza at the Hague. "I saw him when I passed through Holland," he wrote to the Abbé Gallois, "and had speech with him many times and at great length. He has a strange system of metaphysics, full of paradoxes." A system, we may remark *en passant*, that was not so "strange" as to prevent him from plagiarizing from it his doctrine of the "pre-established harmony," one of the most celebrated of the theories of the relation between "body" and "soul" that have been developed out of the position in which the problem was left by Descartes. Having to touch upon this visit in his "*Théodicée*," he passes over it as dry-footed as possible. "I saw M. de la Court, as well as Spinoza, on my return from France, and heard from them some good anecdotes touching the affairs of the times."

M. de la Court was a writer on politics, and the introduction of his name in this connection was nothing more or less than an ingeniously Jesuitical device for insinuating that for Leibnitz, the great Christian philosopher, the excommunicate Jew Spinoza was only an object of the most disinterested curiosity. His assertion that Spinoza "burnt his imperfect writings lest, being found after his death, they should diminish the glory which he sought to acquire by his writings (*ne gloriam, quam scribendo quærebat, imminuerent*)" is an instructive instance of the manner in which a splendid intellect may be dragged into error by a meanness of the soul. Spinoza did not burn his "imperfect writings," for all of them, except the "*Apologia*," are extant; of the two that were published in his lifetime, only one, the "*Principia*," was signed and for what reason it was signed the reader knows; for the rest we have the testimony of the editors of the "*Opera Posthuma*" that shortly before his death he gave express directions that his name should not be prefixed to the "*Ethica*," the darling work of his life. Gifted with as fine a brain as ever beat, Leibnitz carved out for himself a splendid career that may still dazzle

us, but leaves our hearts unwarmed. As for the “excommunicate Jew” that he pretended to despise, we have come to love him and to honor him; we have made him our master, and have

Learned his great language, caught his clear accents,
Made him our pattern to live and to die.

Notwithstanding that the “Theologico-Political Treatise” had been published anonymously, and that the only other work published by Spinoza, the “*Principia*,” was a mere trifle, his fame had by this time been wafted far and wide. In February, 1673, Fabritius, the professor of philosophy at Heidelberg, wrote to him in the name of the elector palatine (Karl Ludwig, the son of Frederic V.) offering him in most eulogistic terms, the post of professor of philosophy in the University of Heidelberg.

You would enjoy [wrote Fabritius] the fullest liberty of teaching, which his Serene Highness believes you would not misuse to the disturbance of the established religion. . . . I, for my part, add that if you come hither you will be able to lead in peace a life worthy of a philosopher.

The offer must have been a tempting one to any lover of learning, most especially to one so poor as to be obliged to grind a living out of lenses. Spinoza probably took very anxious counsel with himself before writing the refusal that he shortly sent —

If ever [he replied to Fabritius] I could have wished for a professorship, it could only have been this one that his Serene Highness the elector palatine offers me and that especially on account of the liberty of teaching that the most gracious prince deigns to offer me; not to mention that I have long desired to live under the rule of a prince whose wisdom is the admiration of all. But as indeed I have never had any desire to teach in public, so now I am unable to bring myself to embrace this brilliant opportunity, though I have long turned the matter over in my mind. For I reflect, firstly, that I should be hindered in the pursuit of philosophy if I

were to give up my time to the teaching of youth; and secondly, I reflect that I do not know within what limits that liberty of teaching would have to be confined, so that I might not seem to be disturbing the established religion; since schisms arise not so much from an ardent zeal for religion as from the different passions of men, or from the desire of contradicting, which leads them to misrepresent and to condemn even doctrines that are rightly taught. It is not from any hope of higher fortune, but out of love of tranquillity, which I believe myself to be in some measure able to obtain, that I abstain from public teaching.

The following years, too, were not quite bare of emotional excitement. In 1672 the French invaded Holland, under the conduct of Turenne and the Prince of Condé. In 1673 there commanded in Utrecht one Stoupe, the lieutenant-colonel of one of the Swiss regiments of the king of France. Stoupe had been at one time the Savoy minister in London, in the time of Cromwell; and to these political and military activities he added the exercise of theological polemics. Whilst he was at Utrecht he published a book on “The Religion of the Dutch,” in which he took to task the reformed theologians of Holland for having suffered such a book as the “Theologico-Political Treatise” to be printed in their country. By the order of Condé, Stoupe invited Spinoza to Utrecht, of which place Condé was taking over the government, and being greatly desirous to converse with Spinoza judged the opportunity a favorable one for so doing. A passport was forwarded to the philosopher, who in the month of July started for Utrecht; moved by what reasons we are unable to conjecture. Condé had left before he arrived, and he was received by Stoupe, who assured him that his Highness would be delighted to use his interest for him, and had no doubt that he could obtain for him a pension from the king, if he would but dedicate some one of his writings to his Majesty. Spinoza “having no intention of dedicating anything to the king of France, refused the offer with all the civility of which he was capable.” The philosopher was known to have been on terms of personal intimacy with the celebrated Jan de Witt, one of the leaders of the advanced republican party in Holland, who, with his brother, had been massacred by the mob on the occasion of an uprising of the

Orange party. Jan de Witt used to attach great importance to the philosopher's friendship, consulting him frequently on important matters. At one time he desired to learn mathematics of him. During his life he had settled on him a pension of three hundred florins; on his death, his heirs having "raised difficulties" about the further payment of it, Spinoza quietly returned them the document by which it was assured; a step which caused them to reconsider their conduct, and finally to continue to pay him the pension without any further difficulty. The knowledge of this intimacy gave rise to a popular suspicion that Spinoza's visit to the French authorities had been undertaken in the interests of a political intrigue. The mob regarded him as a spy, and on his return were whispering that it would be well to get rid of ("*se défaire de*") so dangerous a man. Van der Spyck was alarmed, apparently not without reason, fearing that the mob would force the house and lay violent hands on the philosopher. Spinoza reassured him.

Fear nothing [he said], I can easily justify myself the objects of my journey are known to many persons, and amongst them to some of the chief persons of the country. If the mob make the least noise at your door, I will go out to them, even though they should treat me as they did the poor De Witt.

Happily the crowd was by some means or other quieted, and Van der Spyck's household left in peace.

The "*Ethica*" had long been finished; and the last few years of Spinoza's life were occupied with the composition of his unfinished works, and with a very large correspondence. The "Political Treatise" was occupying his attention; part of it had been communicated to at least one friend by the year 1674, as we learn from the fiftieth letter of Bruder's collection. Lighter occupation was afforded him by a correspondent who teased him greatly with questions concerning "spectres and lemurs." He had to reply gravely and politely to such questions as "whether there be such things as spectres and lemurs; and if so, how long do they live." Before formally deciding this point, he requested the writer to explain what he meant by these "spectres or spirits." "Are they mad?" he asked, "or foolish? or

childish? for the things I have heard concerning them are like nothing so much as the imbecilities of children or of idiots.” (It is sad to think that two centuries of evolution should have left the spirits unimproved in this respect.) Nothing daunted, the inquirer furnished a statement of the reasons for his belief. He thought that they exist, for the following reasons: “Firstly, because it belongs to the fairness and perfection of this universe that such should exist.” Let us pass over the three remaining reasons, and proceed to record the writer’s opinion, “that there be spirits of all species, yet none of the female sex” — an opinion which certainly procured Spinoza a hearty laugh, as the curious reader may assure himself from his answer (E of Bruder), in which he takes the trouble to examine his questioner’s “reasons” one by one, at great length. Van Vloten has shown, in his interesting “*Collectanea ad vitam Spinoza*,” that the anonymous correspondent to whom the group of letters comprising Nos. 61 to 72 of Bruder are directly or indirectly addressed was no other than Walther von Tschirnhaus, the author of the celebrated work, “*De Medicina Mentis*.” He has also shown, in the most exhaustive manner, that that composition is nothing more than a plagiarism, of the most dishonest description, from the works of Tschirnhaus’s great master. Its principles are taken from Spinoza’s “*De Emendatione Intellectus*,” and are frequently set forth in Spinoza’s own words. Of his debt to his master, Tschirnhaus makes not a syllable of mention, only referring to him once, anonymously, as a “*quidam*” who had “reduced the “*Principia*” of Descartes to a mathematical form.” “And writers have endeavored,” he adds, “to cast their reflections on ethics (*sua cogitata ethica*) into such a form.” Once more, the sad spectacle of great meanness allied to great talents!

We have nearly exhausted the history of Spinoza’s outward life. One or two events, for which the dates are wanting, alone remain to be related. The philosopher’s father died, leaving a scanty succession to be divided between him and his two sisters. The latter endeavored to exclude him from his share, pretexting the fact of his excommunication as a legal bar. He resisted this act of fanaticism and injustice, feeling certainly that he was by so doing combating a

tyrannous principle of thought, rather than resisting an attempt at petty extortion. One would like to think that the sisters were prompted to this unsisterly act rather ‘by the bitterness of fanaticism than by their greed of old furniture but it appears more likely that they were moved by both these forces. They were legally condemned to carry out the division of the succession but Spinoza, having successfully asserted his principle that thought should not be persecuted, abandoned his share to them, “*only keeping out of it for his own use a bed*” — the rest the sisters seem to have accepted. Verily, whom the gods love, they chasten. Small as was Spinoza’s stock of worldly goods, it numbered such articles of curiosity as a *justaucorps* pierced by a dagger-thrust, a parchment that solemnly cursed him and cast him out of the fellowship of man and God, and a bed that reminded him that his sisters would fain have left him without a bed to sleep on: all this because he had dared to say that the letter of the law was dead and insignificant, and that piety is enough, and that the Pentateuch was not written by Moses. We turn with pleasure to the other undated facts. Spinoza’s good friend Simon de Vries brought him one day a present of two thousand florins. The philosopher, “in the presence of his host, civilly excused himself from accepting the money, saying that he was in need of nothing, and that the possession of so much money would only serve to distract him from his studies and occupations.” But Simon de Vries did not abandon his project of providing for the sage’s welfare. He made his will in his favor, constituting him heir to the whole of his property, an arrangement which he was able to make without injury to more pressing claims, as he was without wife or child. But Spinoza gave him to understand that he would never accept the legacy, which he considered to be unjust on account of its defeating the natural expectations of a brother whom De Vries had living. De Vries yielded, and made his brother heir, charging the legacy, however, “with an annuity for Spinoza for his life, sufficient for his subsistence.” On his death, the brother offered Spinoza an annuity of five hundred florins, which he refused, “esteeming it to be too considerable,” and caused it to be

reduced to the sum of three hundred florins; which was paid him regularly until his death.

The last few years of his short life must have been passed peacefully and cheerfully. Peace of mind he had, at all events, for the work of his life was done — perfectly done. The “Theologico-Political Treatise,” the work of most immediate practical importance to mankind, was not only written but published. The “*Ethica*,” that great pyramid of lofty thoughts built upon geometric lines, and fitted together with such minute and careful workmanship — tower of refuge, temple reared to the glory of the One Infinite Substance — was finished. The worker, we think, lingered lovingly over the last finishing touches, loath for very love to quit the work; perhaps, too, a little anxious lest some slight oversight should have been committed that would mar its fairness, and that might still be mended. The picture that history has handed down to us of Spinoza in these latter years is more than romantic in its sweetness and peacefulness. Colerus account of the manner in which he passed his time has already been given. Colerus tells us besides that his manners were sweet and peaceful. He was to an admirable degree the master of his passions. No one ever saw him either very sad or very gay. In anger, he retained his self-possession; and of the vexations that befell him not a trace was visible in his exterior; or if there escaped him one word or gesture that testified to his chagrin, he would retire at once, in order not to offend against good manners. He was affable and easy in the commerce of life, conversing frequently with his hostess and the people of the house. He exhorted the children to attend frequently at church, and to be obedient and submissive to their parents. When the people of the house returned from church he often inquired of them what profit they had derived from the sermon, and in what respects they were edified by it. He had a great esteem for Dr. Cordès (Colerus predecessor in the ministry), “a learned man, of a pious nature and exemplary life, for the which Spinoza often praised him. Sometimes he even went to hear him preach, and attached great value to the learned manner in which he explained the Scriptures, and his solid

applications of their doctrine. He used to exhort his hostess and the people of the house never to miss any of the sermons of so gifted a man.”

Once more he suffered a hard rub from contact with the world. Correspondence with Oldenburg had been interrupted for nearly ten years, when, in the early months of 1675, Spinoza sent his old friend a letter and a copy of the “*Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*.” On the 5th July, 1675, he wrote to Oldenburg that he was about to publish the “*Ethica*,” and at the end of the month he set out for Amsterdam to arrange for the publication of the book.

Whilst I was so engaged [he writes] a rumor was being spread everywhere that there was a certain book of mine under the press, and that I endeavored to show in it that there is no God, which rumor was believed by many. Whence certain theologians (very likely themselves the authors of the rumor) took occasion to denounce me before the magistracy; and certain stolid Cartesians, who are believed to hold my views, began to go about, and are still going about, uttering abuse of my writings and opinions, in order to clear themselves of that suspicion.

This state of things became day by day worse, and the publication of the book was suspended. It is probable that on reflection he decided that the book should be withheld until after his death, promising himself that he would devote the remaining years of his life to the elaboration of the subordinate members of his system of thought. Such works were begun by him, and their remains make us regret that their author did not live to complete them. One of them, the “*De Intellectus Emendatione*,” probably one of his earliest works, is a noble fragment, every way worthy to stand beside the “*Ethica*.” It appears to have been at this time that he made those excursions into the domain of natural history of which Colerus makes mention. “He used to observe with the microscope the parts of the smallest insects, whence he used afterwards to draw the inferences that seemed best to accord with his discoveries.” This may point to biological studies undertaken in the interest of an unwritten book, in which the laws of life were to be exposed. We are unfortunately unable to say whether he was stimulated to these researches by a knowledge of the splendidly persevering and acute

observation of his contemporary and countryman Leeuwenhoek, the father of modern microscopic anatomy.

We can well believe that Spinoza's health was never robust — that he was delicate, unhealthy, emaciated. Colerus adds that he had suffered from phthisis for more than twenty years before his death, and other authors have repeated his statement. It is, however, difficult to believe that such arduous work as that accomplished by Spinoza was performed in the teeth of such an enervating disease as pulmonary consumption. The last twenty years of his life, it should be remembered, cover just the latter half of it from his excommunication, namely, in 1656, to his death early in 1677; that is to say, they include the whole period of his labours as an author. To the labor, assuredly immense, of the composition of such works as the "*Ethica*," we have to add that of the trade by which he gained his daily bread. Phthisis is a disease of a peculiarly enervating nature, peculiarly destructive of the courage necessary to support such long and arduous work. Is it not more reasonable to suppose that, always of a phthisical diathesis, Spinoza brought on an attack of consumption by undue abandonment to his sedentary mode of life? "He would sometimes pass three months without leaving the house." By such a mode of life disease must have been brought on.

Spinoza escaped a lingering illness, and on the afternoon of the 21st of February, 1677, placidly breathed his last. The tongue of slander was not silenced by the presence of death. The imaginations of the seventeenth century could not help dressing out the "deathbeds of infidels" with the blackest colors and the most horribly fantastic incidents. We do not know whether the profession of pantheism in particular was supposed to be visited with "horrible deaths brought on by special diseases;" but our great writer's epigram loses all appearance of caricature when we compare it with the rumors that were current on the occasion of Spinoza's death. The author of "*Menagiana*," a book published in Amsterdam in 1695, asserts that he died in France, from fear of being put into the Bastille. Other stories relate the precautions taken by him during his illness, in order to avoid visitors "the sight of whom would importune him" (that is, we imagine, as the

sight of the blessed forms one of the torments of the damned). One account states that he was heard frequently to pronounce the name of God during his illness, with a sigh. Another declares that he was heard many times to cry, "O God! have pity on me, miserable sinner!"— "which having given occasion to those around him to ask him whether he now believed in the existence of a God whose judgments he had every reason to fear after his death, he replied that the words had only escaped him unintentionally, by force of habit." Amongst still other tales, we read that he kept constantly in readiness "a preparation of mandragora juice, which he drank as soon as he felt the approach of death, . . . and having drawn the curtains of his bed, fell into a deep sleep, losing consciousness, and thus passed from this life into eternity." Even the worthy and usually scrupulous Colerus cannot refrain from contributing a glimmer of lurid fancy to the scene; and allows his dislike of Ludwig Meyer's opinions to draw him into writing that no sooner was Spinoza dead than he "seized a ducat, some small money that the deceased had left on the table, and a silver-handled knife, and retreated with his booty." Colerus himself has thoroughly demonstrated the falsehood of all of these absurd stories, except the last, which may fairly enough be written down as too absurd to need refutation. It is possible, as suggested by the writer of Muller's manuscript, that Spinoza in his last moments may have given his old and tried friend some small articles as keepsakes; and that this may have been the germ from which the libel grew.

Let us sum up. Spinoza was no abstract pedant, susceptible of being fully described by the statement of a handbook of literature that he was a "mathematician and metaphysician," and lived "from such a date to such a date, in such and such places;" on the contrary, he was largely and eminently human. There are two natures in Spinoza, that of the man of quick, wide sympathies, to whom nothing that is human is foreign, as well as that of the mystic, extra-mundane reasoner. In the early years of his life we can trace, with considerable sureness, the quick flashes of the fiery southern blood that fed his veins. He was never wanting in impulsiveness, but impulse in him was always more or less

controlled by reason; and the control of reason grew through the lifelong practice of reflection and restraint into an ever more perfect mastery. The grandeur and the majestic pride of the Portuguese he retained to the last. His Jewish descent appears in the lofty confidence that enabled him to stand fast in the isolation of his philosophic vision, withdrawn from fellowship with the thoughts of men; alone, like the Hebrew prophets of old time, with God. Laboring unremittingly in the practice of piety, he succeeded in moulding his soul at length into a form of consummate moral beauty. He has been accused of pusillanimity, we have found him constantly brave; of bitterness, and we have met with the greatest sweetness of disposition and of behavior everywhere in his life; of sensuality, and we have found every reason to believe that his life was one of perfect purity. We have seen him to have been totally devoid of ambition, that so general concomitant of genius; in all relations of life we have found him surpassingly modest, affable, sincere, and generous. In his contempt, not only of riches, but even of comfort, he was almost quixotic. He loved truth passionately, and with perfect disinterestedness. To the preservation of the independence and integrity of his soul he made unheard-of sacrifices, and it is by his splendid solution of this thorny practical problem, more than for aught else that he has wrung from us our unbounded admiration and our unbounded gratitude. Let us not fall short of the truth through fear of falling into exaggeration: Spinoza's life was of a beauty to which history can hardly find a parallel; on that Sunday afternoon of the 21st of February, two hundred years ago, there cracked as noble and as sweet a heart as ever beat in human breast.

Baruch Spinoza by Andrew Seth Pringle-Pattison



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BARUCH SPINOZA (1632–1677), or, as he afterwards signed himself, Benedict de Spinoza, Dutch philosopher, was born at Amsterdam on the 24th of November 1632. His parents belonged to the community of Jewish emigrants from Portugal and Spain who, fleeing from Catholic persecution in the Peninsula, had sought refuge in the nearly emancipated Netherlands. The name, variously written Espinoza, De Spinoza, D'Espinoza and Despinoza, probably points to the province of Leon as the previous home of the family; there are no fewer than five townships so called in the neighbourhood of Burgos. The philosopher's grandfather appears to have been the recognized head of the Jewish community in Amsterdam in 1628, and his father, Michael Espinoza, was repeatedly warden of the synagogue between 1630 and 1650. The father was a merchant in fair circumstances. He was thrice married and had six children, all of whom predeceased him save a daughter Rebekah, born of the first marriage, and Baruch, the son of his second wife. Spinoza's mother died in 1638 when the boy was barely six years old, and his father in 1654 when he was in his twenty-second year. Spinoza received his first training under the senior rabbi, Saul Levi Morteira, and Manasseh ben Israel, a theological writer of some eminence whose works show considerable knowledge of philosophical authors. Under these teachers he became familiar with the Talmud and, what was probably more important for his own development, with the philosophical writings of Ibn Ezra and Maimonides, Levi ben Gerson, Hasdai Crescas, and other representatives of Jewish medieval thought, who aim at combining the traditional theology with ideas got from Aristotle and his Neoplatonic commentators. Latin, still the

universal language of learning, formed no part of Jewish education; and Spinoza, after learning the elements from a German master, resorted for further instruction to a physician named Franz van den Ende, who eked out an income by taking pupils. Van den Ende appears to have been distinctly a man of parts, though of a somewhat indiscreet and erratic character. He was eventually hanged in Paris as a conspirator in 1674. His enthusiasm for the natural sciences may have been the only ground for the reputation he had acquired of instilling atheistic notions into the minds of his pupils along with the Latin which he taught them. But it is quite possible that his scientific studies had bred in him, as in many others at that time, a materialistic, or at least a naturalistic, turn of mind; indeed, we should expect as much in a man of Van den Ende's somewhat rebellious temperament. We do not know whether his influence was brought to bear in this sense upon Spinoza; but it has been suggested that the writings of Bruno, whose spirit of enthusiastic naturalism and fervid revolt against the Church would be especially dear to a man of Van den Ende's leanings, may have been put into the pupil's hand by the master. Latin, at all events, Spinoza learned to use with correctness, freedom and force, though his language does not, of course, conform to classical canons.

A romance has woven itself round Spinoza's connexion with Van den Ende's household. The physician had an only daughter, Clara Maria by name, who, besides being proficient in music, understood Latin, it is said, so perfectly that she was able to teach her father's pupils in his absence. Spinoza, the story goes, fell in love with his fair instructress; but a fellow-student, called Kerkering, supplanted him in his mistress's affections by the help of a valuable necklace of pearls which he presented to the young lady. Chronology unfortunately forbids us to accept this little episode as true. Recent investigation has proved that, while the marriage with Kerkering, or rather Kerckkrink, is a fact, it did not take place till 1671, in which year the bride, as appears by the register, was twenty-seven years of age. She cannot, therefore, have been more than eleven, or twelve in 1656, the year in which Spinoza left Amsterdam; and as Kerckkrink was seven years younger than Spinoza, they cannot well have been simultaneous pupils of Van den Ende's and

simultaneous suitors for his daughter's hand. But, though the details of the story thus fall to pieces, it is still possible that in the five years which followed his retirement from Amsterdam Spinoza, who was living within easy distance and paid visits to the city from time to time, may have kept up his connexion with Van den Ende, and that the attachment may have dated from this later period. This would at least be some explanation for the existence of the story; for Colerus expressly says that Spinoza "often confessed that he meant to marry her." But there is no mention of the Van den Endes in Spinoza's correspondence; and in the whole tenor of his life and character there is nothing on which to fasten the probability of a romantic attachment.

The mastery of Latin which he acquired from Van den Ende opened up to Spinoza the whole world of modern philosophy and science, both represented at that time by the writings of Descartes. He read him greedily, says Colerus, and afterwards often declared that he had all his philosophical knowledge from him. The impulse towards natural science which he had received from Van den Ende would be strengthened by the reading of Descartes; he gave over divinity, we are told, to devote himself entirely to these new studies. His inward break with Jewish orthodoxy dated, no doubt, further back — from his acquaintance with the philosophical theologians and commentators of the middle ages; but these new interests combined to estrange him still further from the traditions of the synagogue. He was seldomer seen at its services — soon not at all. The jealousy of the heads of the synagogue was easily roused. An attempt seems to have been made to draw from him his real opinions on certain prominent points of divinity. Two so-called friends endeavoured, on the plea of doubts of their own, to lead him into a theological discussion; and, some of Spinoza's expressions being repeated to the Jewish authorities, he was summoned to give an account of himself. Anxious to retain so promising an adherent, and probably desirous at the same time to avoid public scandal, the chiefs of the community offered him a yearly pension of 1000 florins if he would outwardly conform and appear now and then in the synagogue. But such deliberate hypocrisy was abhorrent to

Spinoza's nature. Threats were equally unavailing, and accordingly on the 27th of July 1656 Spinoza was solemnly cut off from the commonwealth of Israel. The curses pronounced against him may be read in most of the biographies. While negotiations were still pending, he had been set upon one evening by a fanatical ruffian, who thought to expedite matters with the dagger. Warned by this that Amsterdam was hardly a safe place of residence for him any longer, Spinoza had already left the city before the sentence of excommunication was pronounced. He did not go far, but took up his abode with a friend who lived some miles out on the Old Church road. His host belonged to the Collegiants or Rhijnsburgers, a religious society which had sprung up among the proscribed Arminians of Holland. The pure morality and simple-minded piety of this community seem early to have attracted Spinoza, and to have won his unfeigned respect. Several of his friends were Collegiants, or belonged to the similarly minded community of the Mennonites, in which the Collegiants were afterwards merged. In this quiet retreat Spinoza spent nearly five years. He drew up a protest against the decree of excommunication, but otherwise it left him unmoved. From this time forward he disused his Hebrew name of Baruch, adopting instead the Latin equivalent, Benedictus. Like every Jew, Spinoza had learned a handicraft; he was a grinder of lenses for optical instruments, and was thus enabled to earn an income sufficient for his modest wants. His skill, indeed, was such that lenses of his making were much sought after, and those found in his cabinet after his death fetched a high price. It was as an optician that he was first brought into connexion with Huygens and Leibnitz; and an optical *Treatise on the Rainbow*, written by him and long supposed to be lost, was discovered and reprinted by Dr Van Vloten in 1862. He was also fond of drawing as an amusement in his leisure hours; and Colerus had seen a sketch-book full of such drawings representing persons of Spinoza's acquaintance, one of them being a likeness of himself in the character of Masaniello.

The five years which followed the excommunication must have been devoted to concentrated thought and study. Before their conclusion Spinoza had parted

company from Descartes, and the leading positions of his own system were already clearly determined in his mind. A number of the younger men in Amsterdam — many of them students of medicine or medical practitioners — had also come to regard him as their intellectual leader. A kind of philosophical club had been formed, including among its members Simon de Vries, John Bresser, Louis Meyer, and others who appear in Spinoza's correspondence. Originally meeting in all probability for more thoroughgoing study of the Cartesian philosophy, they looked naturally to Spinoza for guidance, and by and by we find him communicating systematic drafts of his own views to the little band of friends and students. The manuscript was read aloud and discussed at their meetings, and any points remaining obscure were referred to Spinoza for further explanation. An interesting specimen of such difficulties propounded by Simon de Vries and resolved by Spinoza in accordance with his own principles, is preserved for us in Spinoza's correspondence. This Simon de Vries was a youth of generous impulses and of much promise. Being in good circumstances, he was anxious to show his gratitude to Spinoza by a gift of 2000 florins, which the philosopher half-jestingly excused himself from accepting. De Vries died young, and would fain have left his fortune to Spinoza; but the latter refused to stand in the way of his brother, the natural heir, to whom the property was accordingly left, with the condition that he should pay to Spinoza an annuity sufficient for his maintenance. The heir offered to fix the amount at 500 florins, but Spinoza accepted only 300, a sum which was regularly paid till his death. The written communications of his own doctrine referred to above belong to a period after Spinoza had removed from the neighbourhood of Amsterdam; but it has been conjectured that the *Short Treatise on God, on Man, and his Wellbeing*, which represents his thoughts in their earliest systematic form, was left by him as a parting legacy to this group of friends. It is at least certain, from a reference in Spinoza's first letter to Oldenburg, that such a systematic exposition was in existence before September 1661. There are two dialogues somewhat loosely incorporated with the work which probably belong to a still earlier period. The short appendix, in which the

attempt is made to present the chief points of the argument in geometrical form, is a forerunner of the *Ethics*, and was probably written somewhat later than the rest of the book. The term “Nature” is put more into the foreground in the *Treatise*, a point which might be urged as evidence of Bruno’s influence — the dialogues, moreover, being specially concerned to establish the unity, infinity and self-containedness of Nature; but the two opposed Cartesian attributes, thought and extension, and the absolutely infinite substance whose attributes they are — substance constituted by infinite attributes — appear here as in the *Ethics*. The latter notion — of substance — is said to correspond exactly to “the essence of the only glorious and blessed God.” The earlier differs from the later exposition in allowing an objective causal relation between thought and extension, for which there is substituted in the *Ethics* the idea of a thoroughgoing parallelism. The *Short Treatise* is of much interest to the student of Spinoza’s philosophical development, for it represents, as Martineau says, “the first landing-place of his mind in its independent advance.” Although the systematic framework of the thought and the terminology used are both derived from the Cartesian philosophy, the intellectual *milieu* of the time, the early work enables us, better than the *Ethics* to realize that the inspiration and starting-point of his thinking is to be found in the religious speculations of his Jewish predecessors. The histories of philosophy may quite correctly describe his theory as the logical development of Descartes’s doctrines of the one Infinite and the two finite substances, but Spinoza himself was never a Cartesian. He brought his pantheism and his determinism with him to the study of Descartes from the mystical theologians of his race.

Early in 1661 Spinoza’s host removed to Rhijnsburg near Leiden, the headquarters of the Collegiant brotherhood, and Spinoza removed with him. The house where they lived at Rhijnsburg is still standing, and the road bears the name of Spinoza Lane. Very soon after his settlement in his new quarters he was sought out by Henry Oldenburg, the first secretary of the Royal Society. Oldenburg became Spinoza’s most regular correspondent — a third of the letters preserved to us are to or from him; and it appears from his first letter that their talk on this

occasion was “on God, on infinite extension and thought, on the difference and the agreement of these attributes, on the nature of the union of the human soul with the body, as well as concerning the principles of the Cartesian and Baconian philosophies.” Spinoza must, therefore, have unbosomed himself pretty freely to his visitor on the main points of his system. Oldenburg, however, was a man of no speculative capacity, and, to judge from his subsequent correspondence, must have quite failed to grasp the real import and scope of the thoughts communicated to him. From one of Oldenburg’s early letters we learn that the treatise *De intellectus emendatione* was probably Spinoza’s first occupation at Rhijnsburg. The nature of the work also bears out the supposition that it was first undertaken. It is, in a manner, Spinoza’s “organon” — the doctrine of method which he would substitute for the corresponding doctrines of Bacon and Descartes as alone consonant with the thoughts which were shaping themselves or had shaped themselves in his mind. It is a theory of philosophical truth and error, involving an account of the course of philosophical inquiry and of the supreme object of knowledge. It was apparently intended by the author as an analytical introduction to the constructive exposition of his system, which he presently essayed in the *Ethics*. But he must have found as he proceeded that the two treatises would cover to a large extent the same ground, the account of the true method merging almost inevitably in a statement of the truth reached by its means. The *Improvement of the Understanding* was therefore put aside unfinished, and was first published in the *Opera posthuma*. Spinoza meanwhile concentrated his attention upon the *Ethics*, and we learn from the correspondence with his Amsterdam friends that a considerable part of book i. had been communicated to the philosophical club there before February 1663. It formed his main occupation for two or three years after this date. Though thus giving his friends freely of his best, Spinoza did not cast his thoughts broadcast upon any soil. He had a pupil living with him at Rhijnsburg whose character seemed to him lacking in solidity and discretion. This pupil (probably Albert Burgh, who afterwards joined the Church of Rome and penned a foolishly insolent epistle to his former teacher) was the occasion of

Spinoza's first publication — the only publication indeed to which his name was attached. Not deeming it prudent to initiate the young man into his own system, he took for a textbook the second and third parts of Descartes's *Principles*, which deal in the main with natural philosophy. As he proceeded he put Descartes's matter in his own language and cast the whole argument into a geometric form. At the request of his friends he devoted a fortnight to applying the same method to the first or metaphysical part of Descartes's philosophy, and the sketch was published in 1663, with an appendix entitled *Cogitata metaphysica*, still written from a Cartesian standpoint (defending, for example, the freedom of the will), but containing hints of his own doctrine. The book was revised by Dr Meyer for publication and furnished by him, at Spinoza's request, with a preface in which it is expressly stated that the author speaks throughout not in his own person but simply as the exponent of Descartes. A Dutch translation appeared in the following year.

In 1663 Spinoza removed from Rhijnsburg to Voorburg, a suburban village about 2 m. from the Hague. His reputation had continued to spread. From Rhijnsburg he had paid frequent visits to the Hague, and it was probably the desire to be within reach of some of the friends he had made in these visits — among others the De Witts — that prompted his changed residence. He had works in hand, moreover, which he wished in due time to publish; and in that connexion the friendly patronage of the De Witts might be of essential service to him. The first years at Voorburg continued to be occupied by the composition of the *Ethics*, which was probably finished, however, by the summer of 1665. A journey made to Amsterdam in that year is conjectured to have had reference to its publication. But, finding that it would be impossible to keep the authorship secret, owing to the numerous hands through which parts of the book had already passed, Spinoza determined to keep his manuscript in his desk for the present. In September 1665 we find Oldenburg twitting him with having turned from philosophy to theology and busying himself with angels, prophecy and miracles. This is the first reference to the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, which formed his chief occupation

for the next four years. The aim of this treatise may be best understood from the full title with which it was furnished — *Tractatus theologico-politicus, continens dissertationes aliquot, quibus ostenditur libertatem philosophandi non tantum salva pietate et reipublicae pace posse concedi sed eandem nisi cum pace reipublicae ipsaque pietate tolli non posse*. It is, in fact, an eloquently reasoned defence of liberty of thought and speech in speculative matters. The external side of religion — its rites and observances — must of necessity be subject to a certain control on the part of the state, whose business it is to see to the preservation of decency and order. But, with such obvious exceptions, Spinoza claims complete freedom of expression for thought and belief; and he claims it in the interests alike of true piety and of the state itself. The thesis is less interesting to a modern reader — because now generally acknowledged — than the argument by which it is supported. Spinoza's position is based upon the thoroughgoing distinction drawn in the book between philosophy, which has to do with knowledge and opinion, and theology, or, as we should now say, religion, which has to do exclusively with obedience and conduct. The aegis of religion, therefore, cannot be employed to cover with its authority any speculative doctrine; nor, on the other hand, can any speculative or scientific investigation be regarded as putting religion in jeopardy. Spinoza undertakes to prove his case by the instance of the Hebrew Scriptures. Scripture deals, he maintains, in none but the simplest precepts, nor does it aim at anything beyond the obedient mind; it tells nought of the divine nature but what men may profitably apply to their lives. The greater part of the treatise is devoted to working out this line of thought; and in so doing Spinoza consistently applies to the interpretation of the Old Testament those canons of historical exegesis which are often regarded as of comparatively recent growth. The treatise thus constitutes the first document in the modern science of Biblical criticism. It was published in 1670, anonymously, printer and place of publication being likewise disguised (*Hamburgi apud Heinricum Künraht*). The storm of opposition which it encountered showed that these precautions were not out of place. It was synodically condemned along with Hobbes's *Leviathan* and

other books as early as April 1671, and was consequently interdicted by the states-general of Holland in 1674; before long it was also placed on the *Index* by the Catholic authorities. But that it was widely read appears from its frequent reissue with false title-pages, representing it now as an historical work and again as a medical treatise. Controversialists also crowded into the lists against it. A translation into Dutch appears to have been proposed; but Spinoza, who foresaw that such a step would only increase the commotion which was so distasteful to him, steadily set his face against it. No Dutch translation appeared till 1693.

The same year in which the *Tractatus* was published Spinoza removed from his suburban lodging at Voorburg into the Hague itself. He took rooms first on the Veerkay with the widow Van de Velde, who in her youth had assisted Grotius to escape from his captivity at Loewenstein. This was the house afterwards occupied by Colerus, the worthy Lutheran minister who became Spinoza's biographer. But the widow insisted on boarding her lodger, and Spinoza presently found the expense too great for his slender purse. He accordingly removed to a house on the Pavelioen Gracht near at hand, occupied by a painter called Van der Spijck. Here he spent the remaining years of his life in the frugal independence which he prized. Colerus gives particulars which enable us to realize the almost incredible simplicity and economy of his mode of life. He would say sometimes to the people of the house that he was like the serpent which forms a circle with its tail in its mouth, meaning thereby that he had nothing left at the year's end. His friends came to visit him in his lodgings, as well as others attracted by his reputation Leibnitz among the rest and were courteously entertained, but Spinoza preferred not to accept their offers of hospitality. He spent the greater part of his time quietly in his own chamber, often having his meals brought there and sometimes not leaving it for two or three days together when absorbed in his studies. On one occasion he did not leave the house for three months. "When he happened to be tired by having applied himself too much to his philosophical meditations, he would go downstairs to refresh himself, and discoursed with the Van der Spijcks about anything that might afford matter for an ordinary

conversation, and even about trifles. He also took pleasure in smoking a pipe of tobacco; or, when he had a mind to divert himself somewhat longer, he looked for some spiders and made them fight together, or he threw some flies into the cobweb, and was so well pleased with the result of that battle that he would sometimes break into laughter” (Colerus). He also conversed at times on more serious topics with the simple people with whom he lodged, often, for example, talking over the sermon with them when they came from church. He occasionally went himself to hear the Lutheran pastor preach — the predecessor of Colerus — and would advise the Van der Spijcks not to miss any sermon of so excellent a preacher. The children, too, he put in mind of going often to church, and taught them to be obedient and dutiful to their parents. One day his landlady, who may have heard strange stories of her solitary lodger, came to him in some trouble to ask him whether he believed she could be saved in the religion she professed. “Your religion is a good one,” said Spinoza; “you need not look for another, nor doubt that you will be saved in it, provided that, while you apply yourself to piety, you live at the same time a peaceable and quiet life.” Only once, it is recorded, did Spinoza’s admirable self-control give way, and that was when he received the news of the murder of the De Witts by a frantic mob in the streets of the Hague. It was in the year 1672, when the sudden invasion of the Low Countries by Louis XIV. raised an irresistible clamour for a military leader and overthrew the republican constitution for which the De Witts had struggled. John De Witt had been Spinoza’s friend, and had bestowed a small pension upon him; he had Spinoza’s full sympathy in his political aims. On receiving the news of the brutal murder of the two brothers, Spinoza burst into tears, and his indignation was so roused that he was bent upon publicly denouncing the crime upon the spot where it had been committed. But the timely caution of his host prevented his issuing forth to almost certain death. Not long after Spinoza was himself in danger from the mob, in consequence of a visit which he paid to the French camp. He had been in correspondence with one Colonel Stoupe, a Swiss theologian and soldier, then serving with the prince of Condé, the commander of the French army at Utrecht.

From him Spinoza received a communication enclosing a passport from the French commander, who wished to make his acquaintance and promised him a pension from the French king at the easy price of a dedication to his majesty. Spinoza went to Utrecht, but returned without seeing Condé, who had in the meantime been called elsewhere; the pension he civilly declined. There may have been nothing more in the visit than is contained in this narrative; but on his return Spinoza found that the populace of the Hague regarded him as no better than a spy. The town was full of angry murmurs, and the landlord feared that the mob would storm his house and drag Spinoza out. Spinoza quieted his fears as well as he could, assuring him that as soon as the crowd made any threatening movement he would go out to meet them, “though they should serve me as they did the poor De Witts. I am a good republican and have never had any aim but the honour and welfare of the state.” Happily the danger passed off without calling for such an ordeal.

In 1673 Spinoza received an invitation from the elector palatine to quit his retirement and become professor of philosophy in the university of Heidelberg. The offer was couched in flattering terms, and conveyed an express assurance of “the largest freedom of speech in philosophy, which the prince is confident that you will not misuse to disturb the established religion.” But Spinoza’s experience of theological sensitiveness led him to doubt the possibility of keeping on friendly terms with the established religion, if he were placed in a public capacity. Moreover, he was not strong; he had had no experience of public teaching; and he foresaw that the duties of a chair would put an end to private research. For all these reasons he courteously declined the offer made to him. There is little more to tell of his life of solitary meditation. In 1675 we learn from his correspondence that he entertained the idea of publishing the *Ethics*, and made a journey to Amsterdam to arrange matters with the printer. “But, whilst I was busy with this,” he writes, “the report was spread everywhere that a certain book of mine was in the press, wherein I endeavoured to show that there was no God; and this report found credence with many. Whereupon certain theologians (themselves perhaps

the authors of it) took occasion to complain of me to the prince and the magistrates; moreover, the stupid Cartesians, because they are commonly supposed to side with me, desiring to free themselves from that suspicion, were diligent without ceasing in their execrations of my doctrines and writings, and are as diligent still.” As the commotion seemed to grow worse instead of subsiding, Spinoza consigned the manuscript once more to his desk, from which it was not to issue till after his death. His last literary work was the unfinished *Tractatus politicus* and the preparation of notes for a new edition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, in which he hoped to remove some of the misunderstandings which the book had met with. The *Tractatus politicus* develops his philosophy of law and government on the lines indicated in his other works, and connects itself closely with the theory enunciated by Hobbes a generation before. Consumption had been making its insidious inroads upon Spinoza for many years, and early in 1677 he must have been conscious that he was seriously ill. On Saturday, the 20th of February, he sent to Amsterdam for his friend Dr Meyer. On the following day, the Van der Spijcks, having no thought of immediate danger, went to the afternoon service. When they came back Spinoza was no more; he had died about three in the afternoon with Meyer as the only witness of his last moments. Spinoza was buried on the 25th of February “in the new church upon the Spuy, being attended,” Colerus tells us, “by many illustrious persons and followed by six coaches.” He was little more than forty-four years of age.

Spinoza’s effects were few and realized little more than was required for the payment of charges and outstanding debts. “One need only cast one’s eyes upon the account,” says his biographer, “to perceive that it was the inventory of a true philosopher. It contains only some small books, some engravings, a few lenses and the instruments to polish them.” His desk, containing his letters and his unpublished works, Spinoza had previously charged his landlord to convey to Jan Rieuwertz, a publisher in Amsterdam. This was done, and the *Opera posthuma* appeared in the same year, without the author’s name, but with his initials upon the title-page. They were furnished with a preface written in Dutch by Jarig Jellis,

a Mennonite friend of Spinoza's, and translated into Latin by Dr Meyer. Next year the book was proscribed in a violently worded edict by the states of Holland and West Friesland. The obloquy which thus gathered round Spinoza in the later years of his life remained settled upon his memory for a full hundred years after his death. Hume's casual allusion to "this famous atheist" and his "hideous hypothesis" is a fair specimen of the tone in which he is usually referred to; people talked about Spinoza, Lessing said, "as if he were a dead dog." The change of opinion in this respect may be dated from Lessing's famous conversation with Jacobi in 1780. Lessing, Goethe, Herder, Novalis and Schleiermacher, not to mention philosophers like Schelling and Hegel, united in recognizing the unique strength and sincerity of Spinoza's thought, and in setting him in his rightful place among the speculative leaders of mankind. Transfused into their writings, his spirit has had a large share in moulding the philosophic thought of the 19th century, and it has also been widely influential beyond the schools. Instead of his atheism Hegel speaks of his acosmism, and Novalis dubs him a God-intoxicated man. Schleiermacher's fine apostrophe is well known, in which he calls upon us to "offer a lock of hair to the manes of the holy and excommunicated Spinoza."

Spinoza's personal appearance is described by Colerus from the accounts given him by many people at the Hague who knew him familiarly. "He was of a middle size, and had good features in his face, the skin somewhat dark, black curled hair, and the long eyebrows of the same colour, so that one might easily know from his looks that he was descended from the Portuguese Jews." Leibnitz also gives a similar description: "The celebrated Jew Spinoza had an olive complexion and something Spanish in his face." These characteristics are preserved in a portrait in oil in the Wolfenbüttel library, which was probably the original of the (in that case unsuccessfully rendered) engraving prefixed to the *Opera posthuma* of 1677. This portrait was photographed for Dr Martineau's *Study of Spinoza*. In 1880 a statue was erected to Spinoza at the Hague by international subscription among his admirers, and more recently the cottage in

which he lived at Rhijnsburg has been restored and furnished with all the discoverable Spinoza relics.

Spinoza's philosophy is a thoroughgoing pantheism, which has both a naturalistic and a mystical side. The foundation of the system is the doctrine of one infinite substance, of which all finite existences are modes or limitations (modes of thought or modes of extension). God is thus the immanent cause of the universe; but of creation or will there can be no question in Spinoza's system. God is used throughout as equivalent to Nature (*Deus sive natura*). The philosophical standpoint comprehends the necessity of all that is — a necessity that is none other than the necessity of the divine nature itself. To view things thus is to view them, according to Spinoza's favourite phrase, *sub specie aeternitatis*. Spinoza's philosophy is fully considered in the article Cartesianism.

Literature. — The contents of the *Opera posthuma* included the *Ethics*, the *Tractatus politicus* and the *De intellectus emendatione* (the last two unfinished), a selection from Spinoza's correspondence, and a *Compendium of Hebrew Grammar*. The *Treatise on the Rainbow*, supposed to be lost, was published anonymously in Dutch in 1687. The first collected edition of Spinoza's works was made by Paulus in 1802; there is another by Gfrörer (1830), and a third by Bruder (1843–1846) in three volumes. Van Vloten's volume, published in 1862, *Ad Benedicti de Spinoza opera quae supersunt omnia supplementum*, is uniform with Bruder's edition, and contains the early treatise *De deo et homine*, the *Treatise on the Rainbow*, and several fresh letters. A complete edition undertaken by Dr Van Vloten and Professor J. P. N. Land for the Spinoza Memorial Committee formed in Holland to celebrate the bicentenary of the philosopher's death appeared in 1882 and was reissued in three volumes in 1895. An English translation of *The Chief Works of Spinoza*, by R. H. M. Elwes, appeared in 1883, and translations of the *Ethics* and the *De intellectus emendatione* were published in 1883 and 1895 by W. Hale White; A. Wolf's translation of the *Short Treatise* appeared in 1910; previous translations were unscholarly in execution.

The main authority for Spinoza's life is the sketch published in 1705, in Dutch, with a controversial sermon against Spinozism, by Johannes Colerus. The French version of this *Life* (1706) has been several times reprinted as well as translated into English and German. The English version, also dating from 1706, was

reprinted by Sir Frederick Pollock at the end of his *Spinoza, his Life and Philosophy* (1880). This book, Dr Martineau's *Study of Spinoza* (1882) and Dr John Caird's *Spinoza* (1888), are all admirable pieces of work, and, as regards the philosophical estimate, complement one another. H. H. Joachim's *Study of the Ethics of Spinoza* (1901) and R. A. Duff's *Spinoza's Political and Ethical Philosophy* (1903) are important contributions of more recent date. Careful research by Professor Freudenthal, Dr W. Meyer and Dr K. O. Meinsma has recently brought to light a number of fresh details connected with Spinoza's life and increased our knowledge of his Jewish and Dutch environment. The earliest lives and all the available documents have been edited by Freudenthal in a single volume, *Die Lebensgeschichte Spinozas* (1899), on the basis of which he has since rewritten the Life, *Spinozas Leben und Lehre*, vol. i., *Das Leben* (1904). Meinsma's *Spinoza und en zijn Kring* (1896) appeared in a German translation in 1909. The new material has been judiciously used by A. Wolf in the "Life" prefixed to his translation of the *Short Treatise* (1910), and the greater part of it also in the second edition of Sir Frederick Pollock's *Spinoza* (1899).



The Nieuwe Kerk (New Church) on the Spui in The Hague, the Netherlands — Spinoza's final resting place



The Nieuwe Kerk on the Spui seen from the east, Bartholomeus van Bassen, 1650



Spinoza's grave

Baruch Spinoza

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